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The Irish police, 1836-1914 : a social history

Brian Griffin

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THE IRISH POLICE, 1836-1914: A
SOCIAL HISTORY

by
Brian Griffin

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of
Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

January

1991

TO MY PARENTS

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VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For several decades the trend in Irish historiography has been moving away from a concentration on political topics to an examination of the social history of the country, especially in the case of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of the interest of social historians has been focussed on the agrarian classes - farmers, labourers, "the peasantry" - call them what one will. Their research has resulted in a greater understanding of the land question and, perhaps more significantly, to an acceptance of the need to study the makers of history at a level below that of "high politics." Farmers, the rural and urban working classes, even the clergy have come under the social historians' microscope. (1) It is surprising, given their importance in the life of every Irish community, that the police have been largely overlooked by historians as subjects worthy of research. James Comerford, in his recollections of life in Kilkenny before World War I, recalls that the five "leading men" in each village and town were the parish priest, the doctor, the schoolmaster and the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.)

sergeant.(2) A more hostile observer described the four-man "tyrannical village hierarchy" as consisting of the teacher, the priest or parson, the money-lender and the policeman.(3)

Both sources agree on the importance of the police in Irish society, yet the policeman remains largely an anonymous figure in Irish historiography. A few important contributions have been made towards the history of the nineteenth-century police. The first of these was written by Galen Broeker. Building upon, and surpassing, an earlier article by Tadhg O Ceallaigh, Broeker paints a masterly picture of the factors which influenced the Irish administration in its creation of a unified police force for Ireland. While it is a fine examination of social force impacting on administrative policy, Broeker's work mainly overlooks the police as an occupational group.(4) A recent master's thesis by Nigel Cochrane on the Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.) mostly concentrates, like Broeker, on the thinking behind the establishment of a "modern" police system.(5) Cochrane, however, is more successful in examining the police as an occupational group. Nevertheless there are serious flaws and omissions in Cochrane's work. These relate especially to the question of the social and geographical origins of the recruits, and his assertions about the general popularity and acceptance of the D.M.P. are also open to question.

Stanley H. Palmer's recent book is easily the best survey of the Irish police to date.(6) Much of his emphasis is on the

rationale behind the creation of the various pre-Famine police forces, and in this he surpasses both Broeker and Cochrane; on the other hand, he never loses sight of the fact that flesh-and-blood policemen were needed to bring the schemes of the administrative planners to reality, and his work is certainly a fine study of a group long neglected by Irish social historians.

Most research into the police in Ireland has been devoted to the pre-Famine era. Palmer does venture beyond the Famine period, but his treatment amounts to a postscript rather than a substantial analysis. The contributions of Broeker, Palmer et al notwithstanding, the social history of the "modern" police in Ireland before the First World War remains to be written. In 1838 Dublin, and in 1836 most of the rest of the country, came under the control of such forces - the only exceptions were Belfast, which did not come under the jurisdiction of the Irish Constabulary until 1865, and Derry city, which remained outside of the centralized police system until 1870. The main contribution of previous students of the Irish police is that they have examined how and why pre-Famine Ireland received a modern police system: the main object of this study is to explore what it was like to be a part of that system from 1836 down to World War I.

An advantage of 1836 as a starting point (or 1838, in the case of the D.M.P.) is that one is dealing with police forces which were given permanent shape, which they retained

until the end of the period. The addition of Belfast and Derry to the constabulary system in later years merely meant an extension of, rather than a reform of, a previously well-established framework. Another advantage is that the administrative wrangling which went into the creation of the Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police has already been dealt with by the above-mentioned historians. This means that one can deal with the constabulary and D.M.P. as distinct bodies in their own right, without delving too deeply into the state of policing in Dublin or the countryside before 1838 or 1836. Of course, one cannot escape some reference to the earlier forces, but such crossing of the chronological barrier had proven both a lot easier, and less necessary, thanks to the research already done on the Irish police.

In this dissertation, then, I hope to throw some light on the Irish police experience from 1836 to 1914. The emphasis is mainly a social one, in which the police are treated as an occupational group worthy of study as such, and not as the rather faceless agents they are sometimes presented as having been, deserving of a mention only when they put down a rebellion here, attend an eviction there, arrest a prominent politician somewhere else, and then fading out of the picture as quickly and mysteriously as they had appeared in it.

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER I

¹ See James O'Shea, Priest, Politics and Society in Post-Famine Ireland: a Study of County Tipperary 1850-1891 (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1983).

² James J. Comerford, My Kilkenny I.R.A. Days 1916-1922 (Kilkenny: privately published, 1978), p.144.

³ Robert Lynd, Home Life in Ireland (London: Mills and Boon, 1909), p.83.

⁴ Tadhg O Ceallaigh, "Peel and Police Reform in Ireland, 1814-18" in Studia Hibernica, no. 6, 1966, pp 25-48; Galen Broeker, Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland, 1812-36 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).

⁵ Nigel I. Cochrane, "The Policing of Dublin, 1830-46: a Study in Administration" (University College Dublin: unpublished M.A. thesis, 1984).

⁶ Stanley H. Palmer, Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF AN IRISH POLICE CONSTABLE

Before discussing the process by which a D.M.P. recruit became a regular constable, it is necessary to give a brief account of the state of the pre-1838 force. The city of Dublin was no stranger to the concept of a "modern" or round-the-clock system of policing. Indeed, as Palmer emphasizes, the Dublin police experiments of 1786 and 1808 meant that the Irish capital was the first city in either Britain or Ireland to experience such a novelty. In 1818 there were some 72 chief constables and peace officers, 26 watch constables and 493 watchmen in Dublin, a force which was regarded as fairly efficient by the authorities.(1) However, between 1818 and 1837 the quality of the police, in terms of both the character of the men and their performance, appears to have declined remarkably. The problem did not lie in a dramatic drop in police strength - in 1834 there were 43 chief constables and peace officers, 26 watch constables, 169 foot constables and 29 mounted policemen, which compares very favourably with the strength of the 1818 force.(2)

The watchmen, who formed the bulk of the establishment

and on whom the burden of policing the city at night fell, were the least satisfactory maintainers of law and order. Those of 1818 were described as being "in general stout, young and able-bodied men." (3) These adjectives could be applied to few of the watchmen in the 1830s. In 1839, a year after they had been abolished, the under-secretary for Ireland, Thomas Drummond, described them as "decrepid, worn out, old men." (4) One alderman stated cynically that they were "selected for their age and infirmities and [were] not required to be awake except at their meals." (5) According to G. Locker Lampson, the watchmen were "in many cases" senile. (6) Although there is no other evidence to support this claim, there is a newspaper report from September 1836 of one of the Dublin watch swearing in court to having seen the ghost of "Jemmy Gorman, the peace officer," who had died about six months previously. (7)

One man, who had been a student at Trinity College in the 1830s, has the following to say of the Dublin watchmen of the time:

When I was in college a favourite amusement of the ingenious youth there was to torment the old city watchmen, or 'Charleys' as they were called. They were the only guardians of the city by night.....These watchmen were old and feeble.....They wore long grey frieze coats, with large capes and low-crowned hats. Their only weaponwas what was called a crook, a long pole with a spear at the end, and near the spear a crook for catching runaway offenders. They also carried a rattle, which, when whirled softly around, made a loud, harsh, grating sound like the voice of a gigantic corncrake; with this, when in trouble or danger, they summoned other watchmen to their assistance. To rob them of these was an exploit not to be despised. In the college rooms of friends of mine - some of them afterwards judges, others eminent divines - I have seen, hanging up as trophies, many a crook and many

a rattle.

The duties of these ancient guardians of the peace were to patrol a certain beat, to quell riots, and to arrest and bring to the watch-house disorderly characters. They had also to call out the hour and the state of the weather.....They were not very attentive to their duties, and spent a great part of their time in sleeping snugly in their watch boxes, which were much like soldiers' sentry boxes, but more comfortable, and how often, after a cozy doze, has a poor fellow woke up from his pleasant dreams to find his crook and rattle gone!

To catch a 'Charley' fast asleep, and to over-turn his watch-box face downward on the ground, was the grandest feat of all. When in this position his rattle could not be heard at any distance, and his assailants were wont to let him lie in that helpless state for a considerable time before they turned the box over on its side and let him out.(8)

One of the Kevin Street mounted constables partly blamed the poor performance of the "Charleys" on the inactivity of the watch constables, whose duty it was to visit the watchmen to ensure their vigilance.

According to him, most of their time was spent lying on beds in the watch houses until morning, when they would return to their lodgings and work at their trades in the day-time. As for the watchmen, they were

nearly all old men with very bad clothing and of a cold night you might see them sitting in their box smoking or sleeping with a quantity of straw or hay about their feet and legs to keep them warm. [T]hey might come out of their boxes some times to call the hour and go back to the box again. I have known an old man named Paddy Murphy who was blind of both eyes to be on the watch. [H]is old wife used to lead him to his box at night and come for him in the morning.(9)

It is difficult to believe that watchmen such as the above, or the one-handed Peninsular War pensioner described by another contemporary, were capable of fulfilling their role as guardians of the peace.(10) However, some watchmen were

apparently able to catch offenders, as one Dubliner recalls that they were "susceptible to bribery and always prepared to allow a prisoner to escape on the production of half a crown."

(11) Twenty years after the abolition of the watch a Dublin alderman claimed that "it was notorious that among the old watchmen were to be found greater thieves than those whom the watch were bound to protect the public against." (12) A similar indictment of the day police comes from one of its ex-members, the same mounted constable who described the sad plight of Paddy Murphy: "There were some good men in the old police but there were more very low characters who would drink with thieves and prostitutes and those were generally the favourites of the peace officers." (13)

The disorder in Dublin before the establishment of the D.M.P. was graphically described by a chief superintendent twenty years later:

Previously(sic) to the introduction of the present police, security for person and property, peace and general good order was of the very lowest character in the Dublin police district. The public houses in low neighbourhoods such as Stoneybatter, Smithfield, Church St[reet], Mary's Lane, Hill Lane, Thomas St[reet], [the] Coombe, [the] Liberties, Townsend St[reet], and the quays were furnished with relays of waiters and scarcely ever closed before one o'clock at night. Drunkenness and as a consequence disorderly conduct and fighting were almost universal amongst the lower classes. The practice of stripping, and fighting in a state of nudity, in open day, in the public streets (especially on Sabbath mornings) by violent and drunken characters, might be said to have been hourly occurrences, and was indulged in with all but absolute impunity; the instance being rare in which the parties were interfered with until the fighting ended. The suburbs, such as Ringsend, Irishtown, Harold's Cross, Phibsborough, Dolphin's Barn, and Phoenix Park were the scenes of the most disgraceful and disgusting proceedings,

viz - wrestling, dogfighting, cockfighting, boxing, gambling and drinking in the open air. Unlawful combination in its different forms of 'Ribbonism,' 'Billywelterism,' 'Widdgeonism,' 'Northsidemen,' 'Southsidemen' - words or designations now utterly meaningless - obtained to such an extent amongst the working classes as to be the cause of unceasing alarm and apprehension to the well behaved of every class; and, as illustrative of the 'Reign of Terror' which might without exaggeration be said to [have] exist[ed] in Dublin, the most popular man of his time, Mr O'Connell, not only risked his popularity but his person by presuming even to remonstrate with the Dublin combinations. These parties were so utterly reckless from the impunity they enjoyed that they never missed an opportunity of personally injuring or insulting their opponents; and, a principal object of each was to perpetrate violence and insults at the wakes and funerals of their adversaries. The funerals generally took place on the Sabbath, and it was an unusual thing for a deceased member of any faction to be buried without a fight first taking place over his remains on its(sic) way to Glasnevin, Bluebell or Bully's Acre church yards.....Highway robberies - invariably accompanied with serious injury to the person, were of nightly occurrence on the Swords, Santry, Cabra, Chapelizod, Naas, Milltown and Rack roads; and, such was the fear of highway robbers, that many persons incurred the expense of a night's stay in Dublin rather than proceed to their homes after a certain hour in the evening. (14)

Because of the poor security afforded by the police force of the 1830s, it was decided to reform the city's police system by adopting a number of measures - the first was the abolition of the watch, and the second was to place Dublin under a larger and reformed version of the existing day police. (15) The model chosen for the new force was the London Metropolitan Police. (16) Not only were the ranks of the Dublin and London organizations similar (except that the D.M.P. had a special trainee, or supernumerary, rank) but their mode of operation was the same: the constable was responsible for his beat, the sergeant checked on the activities of the constable,

and the inspector checked on his constables and sergeants. The Dublin beats were organized "upon the London plan," and at least some of the divisional boundaries were fixed by a Superintendent Johnston of the London Metropolitan Police, assisted by a chief constable of the old Dublin force.(17) Another indication of the London influence on the new Dublin police was the fact that the pocket-sized instruction book designed to guide the D.M.P. constable in the performance of his duty was very similar to that used by the London force. (18)

The attitude of the D.M.P., and Irish Constabulary, authorities towards training their men was more rigorous than that of their British counterparts. An English police historian has described the nineteenth-century British policemen as "working class men with no training, dressed up in uniform." W.J. Lowe qualifies this, by showing that mid-century Lancashire policemen, at least, spent some time in learning "routine military drill." The Liverpool borough police had a month-long probationary training period.(19) For the first three or four weeks of their lives as constables, Liverpool recruits spent their time in observing the routine of the police courts, and for three hours daily they accompanied an experienced constable on his beat, during which time they were expected to question their colleague about the area and its inhabitants, and to memorize the locations of important buildings and the names of the various streets.(20)

Liverpool policemen were probably the best trained in Britain. In contrast, in the mid-1860s London Metropolitan Police recruits spent only about two weeks in learning drill before they took to the streets as constables.(21)

The contrast with the D.M.P., and the newly-reformed Irish Constabulary, is striking. D.M.P. recruits were formed into a special supernumerary class in which they were at first paid only seven shillings a week (this was increased to 10 shillings in 1855, and to 15 shillings and sixpence in 1872). A candidate for the Dublin police had to meet a certain number of requirements. He had to be no more than 26 years old, be at least 5'9" tall in his bare feet, be able to read and write and be "generally intelligent," and also be of "strong constitution," as determined by the police surgeon. In addition, he needed a testimonial of character from his last employer and two from householders who knew him; these had to account for his conduct "at least during the five preceding years." (22) Married men with children were at first allowed to join, although candidates were told that unmarried men were preferred. In 1842 the rule was laid down that no married man with more than one child would be accepted as a recruit, and in the 1850s it was decreed that all men had to be unmarried when joining the force.(23)

Before formal acceptance into the training programme, the recruits, from 1841 onwards, had to have their characters and eligibility for the D.M.P. vouched for by the Irish

Constabulary. This extra precaution was probably a result of the rather indifferent performance of the first recruits. The local constabulary gave each candidate a test in writing from a dictated passage, and in arithmetic. A physical examination was also given. A recruit who joined during World War I recalls that his neighbour was rejected because he had "hammer-toes," and that "They paid more attention to one's feet than to the other end!"(24) The final medical check-up was given at Dublin Castle by the D.M.P. surgeon. Particular attention was paid to lungs and feet: flat feet or "fallen arches" could result in one's rejection, "though a few years' service, heavy boots and uniform, [and] much standing, would cause them anyway."(25) In July 1895 Chief Commissioner J.J.Jones listed the principal causes for which candidates had been disqualified as "swelled veins on legs, deficient chest capacity, decayed teeth, defective vision, deafness, want of muscle, skin disease, chicken breast and [poor] general physique and address."(26)

Once passed by the surgeon, the recruit went to the Kevin Street depot for training. This was located in an area which was one of the most difficult parts of the city to police, and the recruits' first glimpse of the depot and its environs was not always a reassuring one:

We were marched to Kevin Street by a senior man. Our way led through mean back streets, flanked by old tenements and tumbledown hucksters' shops. The depot was not much better. Situated in a slum area, everything about it was ancient, dingy and shabby.....The only redeeming feature was the aroma of roasting chocolate from a biscuit

factory. But this was countered by the stench from a knacker's yard.(27)

Daily routine at Kevin Street was closely regulated. The time was divided between drill, cleaning the barracks, and learning police duties from the D.M.P. instruction book under the tuition of a "schoolmaster" policeman.(28) Recruits rose at 6 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter, with night roll call at 9 p.m. or 9.30 p.m. In the 1860s and early 1870s, 1½ hours were devoted to learning drill each day, and by the late 1870s this had increased to 2½ hours; in the former period recruits spent five hours learning police duty daily, but by the late 1870s only three hours were devoted to that task.(29) In 1880, in recognition of the fact that constables often had to attend to injured people in the streets, the Order of St John of Jerusalem started a special ambulance class at the depot.(30) The amount of time spent by a trainee at Kevin Street varied. For much of our period four months was the normal length of training. In the late 1870s this was extended to six months, which period was still adhered to in the early twentieth century. The reason for lengthening the course of instruction was probably Chief Commissioner George Talbot's belief that

it takes time to educate a policeman. We recruit our men from the different counties of Ireland, and if you take men that are only educated, and some of them not very well educated, at a national school, they can read and write, but it requires a great deal of time to instruct them, educate them to the great responsibility that rests upon a policeman. I consider it a difficult thing to educate a policeman in every way so as to keep himself and the government from any excess of his duties.(31)

In the depot great stress was laid upon the recruits'

behaviour. They were warned that "Skylarking, practical joking, swearing, or anything of that nature is not allowed." (32) How often this rule was broken is not known. David Neligan records that when the dormitory guard occasionally opened the door to check that his charges were asleep, "Old boots with iron-shod soles and vessels of dubious content rained on his head, having been suspended over the door. Though he must have been furious, he was decent enough never to report us." (33) The 1837 D.M.P. book of instructions warned that men were liable for "immediate dismissal" due to "unfitness, negligence, or misconduct." This was phrased rather more unkindly in the 1865 instruction book, which stated that "When a man is found to be bad-tempered, stupid, negligent, or impertinent, he is discharged." (34)

One can argue that the D.M.P. authorities, in the emphasis which they placed on a recruit's cleanliness and sobriety, were preparing him for the role of what R.D. Storch has called a "domestic missionary," in his study of the police of northern England in the mid-nineteenth century. (35) A visitor to Kevin Street in the 1850s found the recruits

not only learning to eat a good meal, but how to eat it in clean clothes, with a clean knife and fork, off a clean table-cloth; in short.....they were undergoing the agreeable process of being introduced to a new system of life, in which they were not only to display good behaviour, but.....to be the cause of good behaviour in others. (36)

In the depot school he found the trainees studying to improve their writing, and also learning the policeman's "cathechism,"

which

very clearly expounded to them that the duty they owe their neighbour is to conduct him quietly to the nearest station whenever he is disorderly - carry him there when he happens to be unable to stand - force him there whenever he resists - and handcuff him whenever he is what is professionally termed 'violent.' (37)

There is a copy of this "catechism" in the back of the 1870 instruction book for supernumeraries. Consisting of 122 questions and answers, it condenses the police instructions into a form which could be learned by rote, much as a child preparing for communion or confirmation learns his catechism.

(38)

On completing his training, the recruit was promoted from supernumerary to third class constable (in 1855 the rank of fourth class constable was created, to which rank a trainee was advanced). On attaining constable rank a man received his badge, great coat and cape, hat (in the early years of the force), two pairs of trousers and boots, and various other appointments, and was assigned to one of the divisions. (39) At first the fledgling policeman was probably sent direct to the streets to do duty, but there is evidence that later on, when there were enough experienced men, he was gradually introduced into the complexities of the police system. The 1870 instruction book states that new constables should first be kept on reserve for a week at the principal station of the division. Reserve duty was rather light, consisting of not much more than directing enquirers into the presence of the station inspector, or occasionally cleaning the windows,

yards, revolvers, cutlasses and handcuffs at each station if ordered by the officers. During this week the constable attended at the police courts "to acquire a knowledge of their duties, the manner in which charges are made, and the general discipline of the service." In addition, for the first month of his career the new constable was excused the more rigorous night duty; instead he was placed on a day-duty beat near the station house, where the sergeants and inspectors were to pay "particular attention" to him, and give "every possible information and instruction during the period in question."

(40) By 1879 the newly-appointed constable was given two weeks' duty at the courts, and a week before his promotion he also had to satisfy the D.M.P. assistant commissioner not only of his knowledge of police duties and proficiency in drill, but also of his knowledge of the boundaries of the D.M.P. district and the police divisions within it, as well as the locations of the station houses, military barracks, hospitals, railways and prisons in the city. (41) While there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the D.M.P. training was more suited towards preparing a recruit for his role than that available in Britain, one should bear in mind the claim that, at least during World War I, trainees actually knew in advance what questions the assistant commissioner would put to them, and thus were able to answer to his satisfaction. (42)

At first there were four divisions in the D.M.P. district. These were the A or southwest division, the B or

southeast division, the C or northeast division and the D or northwest division. The D division was the largest, as it included the Phoenix Park. In 1840 the size of the D.M.P. district was greatly enlarged by the addition of the E division, which stretched from Crumlin in the west to Ringsend in the east, and included Rathmines, Rathgar, Milltown, Donnybrook, Sandymount and Irishtown, and the F division, which stretched from Booterstown to Killiney and Ballybrack and included Blackrock, Stillorgan, Galloping Green, Kingstown, Kill-O-Grange and Dalkey.(43) The district boundaries remained almost constant from the time of the addition of the E and F divisions, with the exception that in 1901 the D and C divisions were slightly enlarged to include the new Urban Districts of New Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clonliffe, Glasnevin and Clontarf.(44)

Whichever division he served in, a constable, if unmarried, resided in a barracks or section house. None of these were specially built for the purpose of housing large numbers of men, and conditions in them were rather poor down to the 1870s. In October 1853 the D.M.P. receiver reported that repairs had been carried out in the Beresford Place section houses "to remedy the rising of water, periodically and during heavy rains, in the basement floors - which resulted in great inconveniences and frequently much sickness amongst the force stationed there."(45) In July 1854 he wrote that repairs had been completed in the Grand Canal Harbour

station, "which have rendered it.....habitable to the men," which suggests that the building was in a poor state earlier. (46) However, he stated in 1858 that policemen's living quarters were no better than "the tenements of the poor:"

Instead of being an example of neatness and order in the neighbourhood, I think they are quite the reverse. Nor have I seen one that I think at any time could have been in a fit state for the occupation of the police, who must have been quartered in them in an unfinished condition rendering it imperative to waste thousands of pounds in the requisitioning of repairs from such a state of mismanagement and neglect. With respect to the stations, I found them in even a worse state condition than the barracks. (47)

In 1872 Dr Thomas Nedley, the D.M.P. surgeon, unfavourably contrasted the state of the Dublin police barracks with those in Liverpool and Manchester. In the two English cities hot and cold running water was available at all times, and also every barracks had a water closet, "which is not the case in Dublin." (48) In 1882 he still considered the typical English station house to be "far superior to what it is here," but credited Chief Commissioner Talbot with having seen to the improvement of the ventilation and sewerage systems of the larger barracks since 1872. (49)

What was a typical day like for the men who resided in these station houses? While of course the "typical day" was determined by the exigencies of the beat and by particular occurrences (or absence of occurrences) in a neighbourhood, and the condition of Dublin in 1838 was not necessarily the same as in 1914, certain features of the constable's daily round remained fairly constant throughout the period. (50) The

duty for 24 hours was divided between a night relief and two day reliefs. The men of a relief for duty were expected to assemble at their station house around a quarter of an hour before starting the beat, when they were inspected by their respective sergeants to see that they were "all perfectly sober, and correctly dressed and appointed." Each division was divided into a number of sub-divisions, which were supervised by inspectors; sub-divisions were divided into sections, each section being under the charge of a sergeant or, after 1855, an acting sergeant, and each section was divided into a number of beats. Constables were held responsible for the "protection of life and property" on their beat.

After hearing the orders of the day from their sergeant, the men were marched off to their respective beats. They were expected to patrol these at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. Constables usually did beat duty singly; however, at the height of the Fenian scare, and also in areas considered dangerous for a lone policeman to enter, the beats were doubled.(51) The weapon usually carried by a beat constable was the truncheon or baton. A journalist who witnessed the first parade of D.M.P. men, prior to their taking over the policing of the metropolis in January 1838, wrote of the baton that it was "composed.....of lignum vite, and a stroke from which, impelled by an arm ordinarily strong, would, from the weight of the wood, be sufficient to fell an ox."(52) This was not entirely a piece of journalistic hyperbole: one of the

early celebrities of the D.M.P. was a Constable 184B who, using his truncheon, "dashed out the desperate brains of a mad bullock" in Smithfield.(53)

Constables did not always confine themselves to the use of the baton, however. One Dubliner describes how in the early twentieth century heavy rain capes were "a favourite police weapon," one blow from which could have a "stunning effect." Another records the rumour that some policemen "packed a few stone marbles in the fingers of their black woollen gloves." (54) One finds occasional newspaper reports of D.M.P. constables carrying swords or cutlasses on the beat; there are accounts of prisoners attempting to snatch swords from policemen, or of constables using these weapons or having them used against themselves.(55) There are also occasional accounts of D.M.P. men chasing after mad dogs, cows and bulls and using rifles and revolvers to kill the animals, although it is not clear from the reports whether the constables had already been armed with these weapons, or had gone to their station house to procure the firearms to meet the emergency. (56) These reports notwithstanding, there is no doubt that it was the constable armed with a baton on whom the authorities ordinarily relied to perform the duties of the beat.

It was emphasized to the constable that the prevention of crime was the principal object of the police, rather than the detection of crimes already committed. Men and officers were told that they should "endeavour to distinguish

themselves by such vigilance and activity, as may render it extremely difficult for any one to commit a crime within that portion of the district under their charge."(57) Superintendents were reminded that when watching the conduct of "loose and disorderly persons" or people "whose behaviour is such as to excite just suspicion," the best way to ensure the prevention of crime was to make it clear to the suspects that "they are known and strictly watched, and that certain detection will follow any attempt to commit crime."(58) The habit of vigilance was to be instilled in the men by the sergeants, who were to "set the best example to the men of alacrity and skill in the discharge of duty." Sergeants were also expected to visit the beat constables and report on conditions to their inspector. The inspectors had to send a written report of complaints or charges to the superintendent of the division, and he, in turn, had to send a daily report to the commissioners of the previous night's occurrences in his division, as well as to send people given in charge or arrested to the police magistrates' offices. To further keep the men on their toes, the superintendent was reminded of "the importance of visiting some part of his division at uncertain hours every day and every night."(59)

In making the rounds of his beat the constable was required to be "perfectly acquainted" with the streets and courtways of his section, and to "possess such a knowledge of the inhabitants of each house, as will enable him to recognise

their persons."(60) Strict rules were laid down for his behaviour on the beat; above all, he was to have a "perfect command of temper, never suffering himself to be moved in the slightest degree by any language or threats that may be used."(61) He was ordered not to "shoulder" past pedestrians, but to "give way in a mild manner:" it was hoped that his "civil and respectful" conduct would win him the support of the public in the execution of his duties.(62) In the 1865 instruction book the following complaint about the discourteous conduct of some policemen appears:

It having been repeatedly brought under the notice of the commissioners of police that constables, when asked for their numbers by civilians, give it in a discourteous and uncivil manner, sometimes by holding up their collar and letting the parties who require it to take it, and other times giving it themselves in a gruff and surly manner; nothing is more calculated to irritate the public and make the police unpopular than behaviour of this sort, and the commissioners are determined to punish most severely any constable who, when asked for his number, is proved to have given it in any other way than by answering civilly, and himself telling the parties what his divisional number and letter are.(63)

The repetition of the above warning in the 1879 instruction book suggests that there was a gap between the ideal policeman, as envisaged by the authorities, and the flesh and blood policeman on the streets.(64)

The amount of time spent by constables on beat duty varied during the period under examination. It was estimated in 1872 that they spent an average of nine and a half hours daily on day duty, or seven and a quarter hours on night duty; in 1882 the figures were estimated at nine hours for day duty

or seven hours for night duty. David Neligan records that in World War I the average was eight hours in the day or seven hours at night. In addition, though, the policeman was expected to spend several more hours either attending at parade, the police magistrates' courts, or performing duty other than the beat.(65) The commissioners did not exaggerate when they stated that one's "whole time" was to be devoted to the police service.(66)

The constable's day ended, rather as it had begun, with an inspection by the sergeant to ascertain that the men of his section were sober and "correctly dressed."(67) Constable Ernest Cochrane gives the following description of the end of the Dublin policeman's day in 1883:

Our work is very hard, but I like it better every day. 'Turn out' is at five in the morning; and I think I am well off, if I get to bed 18 hours afterwards. Between drill, meals, cleaning accoutrements, and 9 hours' street duty, I have little time to myself.....What 'home life' we have here is not half bad: and sitting round the mess-room fire, having a smoke, helps to keep away hard lines. You would laugh if you saw me and a lot of the men, mending our uniforms, [and] darning gloves and socks.(68)

In discussing the training of Irish Constabulary recruits, one must bear in mind that the gulf between the old County Constabulary and the post-1836 force was not as wide as that between the old Dublin police and the D.M.P.(69) At first the backbone of the Irish Constabulary was comprised of experienced men and officers of the County Constabulary. Some weeding out of the older force took place in 1836. Entry into the old police was not always a closely regulated process. In

1828 it was found that one constable of four years' experience in Wexford had never been sworn into his office, and that another had been accepted into the force even though he was lame. The Wexford chief constable, Captain Lawrence Dundas, admitted that he never considered it necessary to give a recruit a physical examination, "unless he was blind, or had an obvious defect," lameness apparently not being considered an obvious enough impediment. One Wexford sub-constable claimed that the only medical examination which he underwent before joining the police was one to see whether he had venereal disease, and it was also found in Co. Wexford that a surgeon had been appointed to a sinecure, in which he charged a shilling for the inspection of every constabulary recruit, which inspections never took place.(70) Discipline in the County Constabulary was described by an ex-officer in 1869 as "partial and uncertain;" the Leinster provincial inspector stated in May 1828 that the force's discipline varied "according to the accidental circumstance of the officer having served in the army or otherwise."(71)

Discipline in the County Constabulary was tightened up to varying degrees in the early 1830s.(72) However, these reforms did not guarantee that serving members would be automatically accepted into the "new," centralized force of 1836. An observer at the inspection of the Kilkenny mounted police, prior to the operation of the 1836 Act, noted that "none will be retained but such as bear unimpeached characters

in every sense of the word."(74) Not all of the County Constabulary could measure up to the standards demanded by the 1836 Act - at least 96 sub-constables and constables were dismissed for being members of secret societies, for example. (75) Most, however, were deemed to be up to the grade required. Palmer estimates that some 94% of the rank and file were accepted into the new force. All of the 250 head constables, 89% of the chief constables, and 80% of the sub-inspectors in 1836 had been members of the County Constabulary.(76)

The Irish Constabulary was the first uniform, national police force to exist in Ireland, with only the cities of Dublin, Derry and Belfast remaining outside of its jurisdiction. It had a uniform standard of clothing and equipment, it had one officer - the inspector-general - at its head, and most importantly, it had a set of rules and regulations which applied to all policemen, regardless of the part of Ireland in which they served.(77) Although the Irish Constabulary continued to use four depots for training recruits, as the County Constabulary had, for a number of years - these were located at Phillipstown, Ballincollig, Ballinrobe and Armagh - the introduction of uniform rules and regulations in 1837 helped to guard against the uneven standards of discipline which had been a feature of the earlier police establishment.(78)

A candidate for the new force had to be "of a sound

constitution, able bodied, and under the age of forty years, able to read and write, [and be] of a good character for honesty, fidelity, and activity." Colonel James Shaw-Kennedy, the first inspector-general, considered that the ideal age for recruits was between 19 and 27, "but it is not intended that there shall be a positive regulation that men not between those ages shall be excluded."(79) In 1860 the minimum age for recruits was fixed at 18, and by 1866 the maximum age of 27 was decided upon.(80) In 1871 the sons of "respectable men" of the force, and pensioners' sons, were allowed to enter at 17½ years of age.(81) By 1914 the minimum age requirements had risen slightly, to 18 years for members' and pensioners' sons, and to 19 for other candidates.(82)

The minimum height standard also varied only slightly throughout the period. This was usually 5'8" at first, but there were exceptions to this rule. For example, in May 1847, at the height of the Famine, and due to the large augmentation of the force to meet that crisis, county inspectors were temporarily authorized to attest young men who were only 5'7" tall, as long as they were "of good intelligence," "respectable appearance," less than 21 years old, and "likely to grow."(83) In 1857, due to the large number of men leaving the force, the height of 5'7" was again restored as a minimum requirement for recruits.(84) In 1860 the county inspector for Donegal, because of the "paucity of applications for the force" from his county, was permitted to recruit "growing lads

of 5 ft 7 inches," but he was to "take care that this is not made public." In September 1865, "in consequence of the great number of vacancies at present existing in the force," the minimum of 5'7" was re-introduced, but in July 1873 the minimum standard of 5'8" was restored.(85) From 1889 to 1914 the minimum standard was raised to 5'9" (by which time the D.M.P.'s lowest height requirement was 5'10", the highest in the United Kingdom), when, once again due to a drop in the numbers applying to enter the force, the standard was lowered to 5'8".(86) While the height of recruits might appear to the modern reader a matter of slight consequence, it was not viewed in this light by the constabulary authorities. In 1847 Inspector-general Duncan McGregor stated that

a recruit's height & strength are a matter of no trifling importance to his efficiency. For policemen, unlike soldiers, come into frequent personal collision with the people, on which occasions it has been found that those of diminutive stature, however spirited they may be, have not inoften encouraged assaults which the very appearance of taller & stronger men would have averted.(87)

In the late 1830s and early 1840s constabulary candidates had to have a certificate from a magistrate testifying to their "good conduct and behaviour." They had also to fill out a questionnaire designed to show , among other details, that they had never been dismissed from any branch of the armed forces, had never been sentenced to a prison term, and had not participated in a faction fight during the previous twelve months.(88) Possession of a magistrate's recommendation was not a guarantee of a recruit's

steady conduct in the police, however. Inspector-general McGregor complained in 1847 that some magistrates were not "sufficiently cautious" in granting certificates to applicants, "as our dismissals for drunkenness & similar defaults.....abundantly testify." Nevertheless, he considered a certificate of "moral character" from a magistrate to be "indispensable." A later inspector-general claimed in 1864 that no candidate recommended by a magistrate was ever rejected "unless something turns up that is prejudicial to his character." (89)

The officers of the force were expected to play an active role in recruitment, especially when magistrates were unable to vouch from personal knowledge of candidates' character. Inspector-general McGregor declared his determination in 1839 to "mark those officers for censure" who showed "supineness" in recruiting, while officers would "strengthen their other claims to consideration" when found to be active in this area. He added a warning not to recommend any individual "with whose past history, as well as present habits, they are not familiar - neither ought they to be forward in receiving any, whatever may be their own conduct, whose parents, or relations, are of suspicious character." (90) Almost 30 years later this advice was repeated, and it was added that young men who were recommended by a sub-inspector would be allowed to join the force irrespective of whether or not they had a magistrate's certificate of

character.(91) However, it seems probable that most of the work of finding potential recruits fell on the shoulders of the rank and file, who were more likely to be on familiar terms with the classes from which they were drawn than the officers were. Jeremiah Mee, who joined the R.I.C. in 1909, provides an example of how the recruiting process began. One day Mee set out for the local constabulary barracks at Williamstown in order to buy a dog licence, after which he joined the sergeant and two constables in a game of cards. During the course of the afternoon the sergeant produced a measuring tape, took Mee's chest measurements, set him some simple papers in mathematics, assured him that he was a "likely recruit," and forwarded "Mee's" application to the proper authorities.(92)

All recruits had to be either single men, or widowers without children; to be able to read, "without hesitation," printed and written documents, and to be legible writers, and have a "good character for honesty, sobriety, fidelity and activity."(93) In the early 1840s eligible candidates were divided into three classes, with the first class including "only such men as combined in the highest degree physical strength and appearance, with good education and superior moral character." The other classes consisted of those whose education or physical strength were deemed in need of improvement. Sons of policemen were placed at the head of whichever class to which they had been assigned. Whenever

there were vacancies candidates were to be drawn, if possible, from the first class only. These were also supposed to be selected in accordance with their native county's proportion of the general population.(94) From 1889 candidates were divided into just two classes, with the lower consisting of those who were only physically qualified for the force. At this period county inspectors had to test candidates' handwriting, reading skills and ability to answer simple arithmetical problems.(95) Before a recruit began his training he had to undergo a medical examination. A preliminary check was given in his native county, preferably by a military surgeon, with the final and definitive examination being given at the Dublin depot by the constabulary surgeon. Candidates also received a final literacy test in Dublin. In 1872 county inspectors were warned that while they would not be held accountable for a man's rejection on medical grounds, they would be held responsible for the expenses of any candidate rejected because of "deficiencies in literate qualifications." (96)

The training depot in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, was established in 1840. It was also the headquarters of the reserve force, started in the same year to provide a reserve which could be sent quickly to disturbed parts of the country. Part of the reason for establishing a single depot for the force was so as to provide the superior officers with a better opportunity of drilling the officers and men, "inherited" in

1836, to their satisfaction. In March 1840, Inspector-general McGregor "remarked with regret, the great deficiency of a large number of officers and head constables in their knowledge of drill." This was due to "the ignorance or indolence of many of the officers, some of whom [were] confessedly unacquainted with the first principles of drilling." However, the main purpose of the depot was to train recruits in drill and police duties, prior to their departure for service in the counties.(97)

An Englishman who joined the R.I.C. as an officer in the early 1870s remarked that the depot "differs in no respect from an army infantry barracks."(98) It consisted of "barrack-looking buildings" which formed three sides of a large rectangular parade ground. There was also an officers' mess, dormitories for the recruits, a hospital and separate mess rooms for the rank and file, and the whole establishment was supervised by an officer aptly designated a commandant.(99) The recruits were repeatedly drilled, the model of drill being that of a British army light infantry regiment.(100) But they were also taught manoeuvres which were felt by the authorities to be of particular use to police in Ireland. One of these was witnessed by Sir Francis B. Head in 1852:

For the purpose of clearing away a mob, the infantry [i.e. the foot police] advanced rapidly in the form of a solid wedge, which as soon as it was supposed to have penetrated the mob, gradually extended itself into line. They then quickly formed themselves into small defensive squares; and although they have happily never had occasion to carry it into effect, they went through a movement of street firing adapted for a small force, which it would be

impossible for any undisciplined crowd to resist. Advancing in sections about the length of a narrow street, the leading men no sooner fired than a section from the rear in double quick time ran in front and fired again; and so on a rapid succession of volleys was administered. (101)

As well as a concentration on drill, there was an emphasis on cleanliness. Jeremiah Mee remembers that cleanliness was "a kind of religion," in which every room of the depot was ritually disinfected once a week, and bed-sheets changed twice weekly. The "first thing" that struck a new recruit was "the absolute orderliness of everything both inside and outside the depot buildings," including the "creased pants of the men, the neat uniforms and shining horses." The depot ground was "spotless, not even a cigarette-butt or match could be found on it;" the rooms were inspected each morning and "woe betide the man who had left even a handkerchief out of place." Such a regimen of order could not have failed to impress a trainee straight from the country - Mee states that the change which the course of training at the depot had on "a young country boy" was "almost unbelievable." (102) Garrow Green, who joined the R.I.C. some 40 years earlier, had a similar observation to make about the depot instructors "turning country louts into smart infantry men in a short time." (103)

There was another side to the depot, however, which placed the Irish Constabulary far ahead of its British counterparts in preparing recruits for police life, and that was the school, in which new sub-constables were given a grounding in what was expected of them as policemen. In the

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1850s they were required to write down for themselves the voluminous rules and regulations by which the force was governed (there were some 730 sections in 1837); this was partly due to a shortage of printed regulations, but also probably partly a means of helping recruits to memorize them better. They were "strictly examined" as to their knowledge of the constabulary rules, and were also taught in orthography, grammar, arithmetic, geography (especially of Ireland), the rudiments of geometry, and bookkeeping. (104) Trainees were instructed in three or four squads, spending a certain amount of time in each one and being exposed to the influence of both conscientious and lackadaisical instructors, possibly in the hope that a satisfactory "golden mean" would be reached in the end. Martin Nolan, who joined the R.I.C. in 1879, remembered that "You got a fair amount of instruction from some, punishment from others, and [there were] still others who did practically nothing only watched the clock for the hour to be up to get back to the canteen for a pint." (105)

This impression was not borne out by Chief Secretary John Morley, when he visited the depot 15 years later and listened in on a lecture given to recruits by a head constable:

Particularly interested in the school, where they are taught and catechised in the whole range of their duties, and the law as it affects them in common circumstances: cruelty to children, licensing, murder and manslaughter, interfering in riot, etc, etc. Then a really first-rate lecture, addressed to them with extraordinary spirit and go by a certain Head Constable S-----, a Kerry man. Nothing could be better in its whole spirit and drift;

enjoining courtesy to all, poor as well as rich; considerateness to persons charged and persons arrested; the cultivation of comradeship - a complete manual of conduct and good sense, down to changing wet clothes. (106)

By the early twentieth century, trainee sub-constables were being taught a wide range of subjects at the depot. These included drill, musketry (carbine and revolver exercises), jiu-jitsu, first-aid, swimming and life-saving, police duties and criminal law, fire-fighting, "rope climbing" and "physical culture." C. Budding, a German visitor to the depot, calculated with stereotypically Teutonic methodity in 1908 that of 738 hours spent in training, some 238 hours were devoted to drill, 236 hours to police duties and criminal law, 97 hours to various physical exercises, 20 hours to swimming, 84 hours to shooting, 84 hours to first-aid (a strange coincidence!) and 24 hours to fire-fighting (including practicing how to halt runaway horses). (107)

The fact that the depot was placed in Dublin placed certain temptations before the largely-rural recruits, and the constabulary authorities felt obliged to adopt a number of measures to prevent the minds of the men from straying from their training regimen. One of these was the establishment of a constabulary band at the depot in the early 1860s. According to Inspector-general Brownrigg, this "tends in some degree to keep them from more objectionable amusements in the city, during their leisure hours." The proposed building of a ball court would, he hoped, "further tend to the same end." (108)

By the early 1870s patrols were sent out each evening from the

depot to the Phoenix park and neighbouring parts of the city "to watch the conduct of members of the force - particularly as to their being in company, walking or conversing with improper females."(109) The depot's system of fines for offences against discipline not only hit the policeman in his pocket, but was also used to deny him permission to go to the theatre or other amusements in the city or leave to meet his parents or other relatives who came on day-trips to Dublin to visit him.(110)

One man who joined the R.I.C. in 1870 and retired from it 35 years later, recalled in 1913:

The way we were taught in those days is very different from the way they are taught now. We were then 'broken in' on much the same principle that country people break in young horses - viz, give them very little food, work them hard, and they won't kick over the traces.

The first article of equipment which a recruit had to provide himself with in those days was a patent-leather stock. It was about 3½ inches in height, very stiff and hard. This he had to put round his neck when falling in for drill; it was fastened at the back by a buckle and strap. I need scarcely say this made him hold his head up, as he could not look down.(111)

Sir Francis B. Head witnessed a number of recruits wearing these appliances which were designed to encourage them to walk with head erect. According to him, the men were "in various degrees of strangulation," and had a noticeable "protuberance to their eyes" in their "star-gazing attempts to march."(112)

Complaints about the quality of the depot food were made in 1872 and 1882. An inspection committee of men and officers was supposed to test the men's provisions before their consumption. According to some sub-constables, when objections

were raised by the men, they were over-ruled by the officers and they were compelled to eat the provisions anyway. One sub-constable claimed in 1872 that "The meat has been so bad sometimes you could not cut it; in fact, it would be just like an old block of wood, it would be so tough." Another complained in 1882 that "officers cannot be considered to take the same interest in the provisions for the men as the men that are using them, nor can they be expected to know so much about them." (113) The poor depot fare was known to at least some outsider. The satirical magazine Zozimus noted in 1871 that

There's a place in the Park where they make rural policemen. A young man who is in the course of conversion into a rural policeman is a very queer-looking thing. A man once told me that he consists chiefly of a mouth and four long limbs joined by a belt, and that he can eat eighteen pounds of flesh-meat in twenty-four hours and drink nineteen quarts of porter during the same time. Large numbers of these young men are to be seen in the Park. They have pimples on their faces, red handkerchiefs, and hair watch-chains. They are mostly weak-minded and civil, and when they are hungry, and can find nothing better in the way of food, they lie down in a lonesome part of the Park and pluck up the young grass and eat it. (114)

Despite a few indications of discontent at the depot, there is no evidence that large numbers of recruits resigned during the course of their training. Most completed their instruction period. The duration of the training varied over time. In 1837 recruits were trained at the provincial depots for a month. In the early 1870s they were given four months to have a "perfect" knowledge of drill, and a "fair" knowledge of "police and detective duties," before being posted to a

county. In the early twentieth century a trainee spent at least six months at the depot.(115) The heads of English police forces looked in envy at the constabulary's course of preparation: in 1872 Inspector-general John Stewart Wood claimed that because R.I.C. recruits were "well tutored" at the depot school, they were "much sought after in England." (116) This is hardly surprising, when we contrast the length of the Irish trainee's preparation with that of his English counterpart. Even as late as the 1890s only one month's training in police duties and criminal law was normal in "large" English forces, while as late as 1918 many English police establishments had no formal training schemes for recruits.(117)

When the constabulary recruit completed his training at the depot he was posted to one of the many hundreds of barracks scattered throughout Ireland. There were some 1,594 of these in 1852, in 1883 there were 1,508 permanent barracks and an additional 477 temporary protection posts, in 1901 there were 1,475 barracks and in 1914 there were 1,397.(118) These varied widely as to location, the strength of the police complement stationed in them, the size of the buildings and their sanitary condition. In 1893 567 of the barracks, over one third of the total number, were what was termed "rural" or "roadside" stations; these were located "in country places, on the roadside.....[and were] of but little note except locally." There were also barracks on the islands of Aran,

Arranmore, Achill, Boffin, Clare Island and Haulbowline.(119) Some of the buildings were quite large. For instance, in 1906 the Mountpottinger barracks, the largest in Belfast, housed 116 men, and that in Brown Square housed 41.(120) But most were much smaller than these. A visitor to Ireland in 1872 noted that they were "generally small stations for only a sergeant's guard," while a retired R.I.C. officer wrote in 1909 that the average strength of a station party in country districts was just five men.(121)

The type of building used for constabulary barracks did not conform to any overall pattern. In 1843 those at Arklow, Baltinglass, Banagher, Navan and Wexford in Leinster; Ballaghaderreen, Ballinrobe, Carrick-on-Shannon, Castlebar, Dunmore, Foxford, Meelick, Oughterard, Roscommon and Sligo in Connacht; and Ballinamult, Bandon, Clogheen, Mitchelstown, New Inn and Waterford in Munster were disused military barracks. (122) The police of Athy resided in a castle.(123) However, in 1859 Inspector-general Brownrigg wrote that most barracks were "not great buildings constructed expressly for the purpose, but, for the most part, simple dwelling houses, in no respect differing from those of their neighbours."(124) Only 11 of the police barracks in use in Ireland in 1868 had been built especially for the constabulary, according to the chief secretary, Lord Naas. These included the buildings in Sligo, Macroom, Mulgrave in Kerry, the Curragh, Ballinacurra in Limerick, Longwood in Meath, Heath in Queen's County,

Lisclougher in Westmeath and Glenbane in Tipperary; the others were "ordinary dwelling house[s]" rented from private owners. (125)

Travellers' accounts often contain descriptions of constabulary barracks as fine, solid structures. J.G.Kohl came across a barracks in the "wilderness" of Kerry in the early 1840s which "appeared like a little strong castle," while in 1862 Thomas Lacy regarded as "handsome" the buildings inhabited by the police at Balbriggan, Boyle, Ennis and elsewhere. (126) But the constabulary authorities a few years later were not so satisfied about either the defensive features or the sanitary condition of many barracks. The Fenian attacks in 1867 had exposed the defensive inadequacies of police barracks, including those of the successfully-defended Kilmallock. (127) A survey of barracks in 1867 found that only around 300 were considered satisfactory as to defence and the health of the occupants. (128) The government persuaded landlords to improve the defences of their buildings, so that by the time of the Land War most stations were fitted with steel shutters for windows and loop-holes for rifles to fire through, thus giving the fortress-like descriptions of police barracks more substance. (129) The problem of unsanitary buildings, however, persisted.

As there are no statistics available on the number of sanitary or unsanitary barracks, one cannot state with complete accuracy what conditions in the buildings were like.

Undoubtedly some were rather comfortable for their inhabitants, while others appear to have been dreadful places in which to live. The impression that one gets from the evidence is that most were in-between the two extremes, affording policemen a sparse degree of comfort. A barracks which was considered to be extremely comfortable was that at Haulbowline, built by the naval authorities in 1877; another was the "new and commodious" building erected in 1876 in Newtownards by the Marquis of Londonderry at a cost of £1,000. It was deemed to be "one of the best, if not the very best, police barracks in Ulster." (130) The author has located many more references to unsanitary barracks, and while of course this does not necessarily mean that there were more undesirable than comfortable buildings, one can at least say that there were often occasions when the constabulary found themselves living in unpleasant conditions. An early example is that of the thatched Mayo barracks in Queen's County in 1837, described as a "wretched" building which was not weather-proof and which was "damp and very cold" in the winter; that of Stewartstown was described by County Inspector May in 1852 as simply "a bad old house;" the poor state of repair and the dampness of the Union Quay barracks in Cork city was commented upon by one of its inhabitants in 1860. (131)

Lord Naas wrote in 1868 that "It is quite true that a great number of [police] barracks are unhealthy and

insufficient.....Several of them are so rotten and bad that it would be perfectly useless to ask proprietors to spend any money on them."(132) Part of the problem was that barrack owners were either unwilling or unable to carry out repairs to their buildings. In 1878 Spiddal barracks, condemned by a Poor Law sanitation officer as "most offensive and injurious to public health," could not be renovated because its proprietor was "miserably poor, and badly requires money." In 1884 Bantry R.I.C. barracks, which building the inspector-general considered was "always unsuitable for a barrack," had to be given up because it had fallen into a "dangerous condition," which the landlord refused to remedy without a considerable rent increase.(133)

The medical attendant of the R.I.C. in Cork complained in 1882 that "There is not a barrack in the city of Cork, with one exception, that I consider suitable for police. I consider that the barracks in Cork for many years are not at all suitable for the health of the constabulary."(134) A series of complaints were made in the same year about conditions in Omagh R.I.C. station. James Kirkpatrick of the sanitary committee of Omagh Poor Law Union wrote that

the constabulary force in Omagh have serious cause for complaint in the matter of barrack accommodation. The building is situated in a back yard a long distance from the publick(sic) street, very defective sewer arrangement - the under or ground floor & yard, also the stables [are] always flooded during heavy rains, [with] today turf, coal etc floating in all directions. As a member of the Sanitary Board I have been more than once called upon to visit the place, but owing to the bad site no permanent remedy could be adopted. This state of things has been

going on for years but no member of the force would like to report the matter, for reasons best known to themselves. At present I hear there are 5 men complaining of not [being] fit for duty in this place and taking everything into consideration I do not wonder at this.(135)

Three years later, complaints were made that Villierstown R.I.C. station had been allowed to "fall into a very bad state of repair" by the landlord, despite clauses in the lease by which he promised to maintain the building in "good and tenatable" condition.(136)

There are also some examples of poor living conditions in R.I.C. barracks from the turn of the century. Some of the unpleasantness arose not from structural defects but simply from circumstances arising out of their being police stations. Constable Thomas Healy, serving in Ballymena, described in 1914 how the barracks day room, where the station party cleaned their clothes and ate their meals, was "open to all classes of society," was frequently used as a court room and as a lock-up for lunatics and, when the cells were full, drunken prisoners, so that it was "often more like a common urinal than a place set apart for the accommodation of respectable persons."(137)

The poor structure of many barracks also gave rise to problems. In March 1905 the barracks at Ballygurteen in Cork was described as "at present in a wretched state and not at all worth the rent now paid;" in May of the same year it was claimed that parts of Carrickfergus barracks were subject to periodic flooding, while in December the Ferns R.I.C. barracks

was said to be "of a poor class." In March 1906 the inspector-general was informed that the Glenduff, Co. Limerick premises were "in a very dilapidated state and are at present unfit for occupation as a barrack" : problems included unsafe gables, cracks in the walls, no convenient water supply, rotting timbers, holes in the floor in several places, and the men's dormitory "in a bad state." Two medical officers condemned Cushendall barracks as unsanitary in July 1907, although a treasury official, anxious to cut down on the expenses of the constabulary vote, claimed that it was "better than two thirds of those that I have seen." A February 1908 report on Richhill barracks, in Armagh, states that it was in "such a wretched state of disrepair that it almost required rebuilding," and in the same month Ballinacally station was stated to be in "a very bad state of repair." (138) The Limerick Docks station party were relieved to move to a new barracks in Frederick Street in August 1912. Not only was their old home an "uncomfortable, unsightly, gaseous old building," but every morning at five o'clock the men had been awakened from their slumbers by the commotion of "carts and trolleys rattling on the block-paved street under their windows." (139) In April 1914 the fact that rheumatism and influenza were "the order of the day at Ballaghaderreen station" was attributed to the poor condition of the barracks. (140)

Regardless of the state of the buildings to which the new sub-constable was sent, they all shared one thing in

common - a strict observance of the standards of order which had been evident in the depot. As early as 1834 it was decreed in Ulster that the constabulary barracks "ought to be the pattern for cleanliness and order" in the neighbourhood.(141) Such a concern was a standard feature of the post-1836 force. The 1837 code of regulations stated that the men "are to keep every part of the barrack, its approaches, passages and yards clean and in good order, and are to study to uphold the appearance of neatness and regularity in every thing connected with their post." No article in a barrack was ever to be without its appointed place, and "coals, turf, or provisions are not to be exposed to view, [n]or are mess utensils to be left unarranged or [un]cleaned." Beds had to be made before 8 a.m. in summer and 9 a.m. in winter, and the rooms swept and "set in order" by the same times; there was even a regulation way to fold blankets, sheets and mattresses on the beds.(142) The interior of each building had to be whitewashed at least once a year at first; by 1872 this process had to be done twice a year inside, and once a year outside. Wherever there were cases of contagious diseases the police had to fumigate their barracks using chloride of zinc or lime.(143) There were even regulations concerning the use of the barrack garden. Inspector-general Andrew Reed ordered in 1891 that no part of a garden should go to waste, as a neglected garden

reflects seriously upon the party to which it belongs, as it indicates either want of taste or energy on their part and may also be taken as exhibiting, on the part of the officer, some want of interest in his men. It may in any

case be safely assumed that there is something wrong at a station when such neglect appears.(144)

The mania for neatness was not limited to the barrack and its surroundings. All single men and many married policemen resided in barracks and they - and the wives and children of the married men - were expected to live up to the standards of cleanliness decided upon by the police authorities. While it was up to the man in charge of a station party to ensure that the various regulations were carried out from day to day, each barrack was also subject to periodic inspection - once a month from the sub-inspector, and once a quarter from the county inspector - to see that the desired standards were maintained. Their inspections were sometimes quite meticulous. An examination of the Timooney inspection book in the 1890s shows the officers noting the following on various occasions: the lack of blackening on a constable's rifle, that the men's shirts were not rolled up in the proper manner, that some of the mattresses contained insufficient straw, that a revolver had a defective cylinder action, that an armchair needed painting, that the inside of a constable's box "should be painted vermilion instead of orange," that there was " a piece inserted in end of Sgt. Cusack's trousers contrary to orders," and that the crown on the station badge was painted the wrong colour. Most of these observations were made by a rather contrary officer, County Inspector Allman Smith. On several visits he cautioned a Constable Palmer for having finger-nails which were too long or dirty; one of his

final complaints against the constable was that "his hair is long turning up at back of head also turning gray."(145) At an inspection of Killylea R.I.C. station in January 1911 even the fact that an ink bottle had a crack in it did not escape the district inspector's notice.(146)

The fetish for neatness and order is well exemplified by the following description of everyday barrack-room activity by a Galway sub-constable in 1880:

Every policeman is told that the end and object of his calling is to prevent crime and detect offenders, but how, in the name of common sense, can they devote their study to this when experience shows them that it is more prudent and profitable to spend their time polishing their belts and burnishing their swords? Every man's interest is the eleventh commandment, 'Man mind thyself.' Therefore, be on the alert for the inspection; get Japan varnish, Brunswick blacking, and Prussian blue, mix them with finish and spirits of wine; make up your belts with the mixture, adding military paste; ink the scabbard of your sword, burnish the steels. That's the recipe which constitutes a good policeman in these days. The man who does that, and even that only, is the man who will get the credit from his officer, and the consequence is that there is nothing but buff-sticking, burnishing, varnishing, and white-washing in the barracks till the next inspection, and very properly, because every man has to mind that point, and besides it behoves him to get his share of the credit by having an extra shine up. It is only a waste of paper to say that while this vain system of dandyism is carried on in the constabulary, the men will never be content, because if a man captured five criminals tonight, and that he appeared on the morning parade with a sign of dust on his appointments, a fine will be the certain result. He then learns sense, and commences to buff-stick and burnish.....and will retrieve his character by a few years' scrupulously clean inspections before he reaches his former marks.(147)

Sub-constable Joseph Merrifield had a similar complaint to make about the excessive obsession with the appearance of neatness in the R.I.C. :

Their full time is taken up preparing for the inspection - in fact, they are always thinking of it, and when a man goes on duty, it is not the idea of doing his duty that he is thinking of, but the fear that an officer would pass him, or that he would meet him turning round the corner of a street, [and] that he would not put up his hand to salute him, or not have two gloves on. I knew a man to be fined 5s for taking off his gloves in the street.(148)

A typical day under the constabulary regime was supposed to start with a morning parade at 9 a.m. in summer or 10 a.m. in winter, at which the policeman in charge checked to see that the station party's arms and appointments were tidy and the men shaven and clean, in keeping with the police authorities' view that "men who are negligent in these respects must be looked upon as careless and slovenly in the execution of their official duties, and cannot be retained in the establishment."(149) Perhaps half an hour might be spent in drilling the men or questioning them on police duties or in their knowledge of the Hue and Cry, the constabulary gazette, which gave descriptions of fugitives from justice. The routine after the parade varied. One man at every station was appointed barrack orderly for 24 hours, which task was rotated among the junior policemen. The orderly was expected to be constantly on the alert, checking that the doors and windows were secured, and he was to give warning to his colleagues in times of alarm. He was not allowed to leave the barrack until relieved by a new orderly the next morning. This duty was particularly irksome in towns where, due to the likelihood of there being prisoners in the lock-up during the night, the orderly was forbidden to go to sleep.(150) For the

rest of the men the main duty was that of the patrol in rural areas, and the beat in towns. No policeman was allowed to leave the barrack without wearing his side arms (bayonet and truncheon) or without informing the orderly where he was going and, throughout the nineteenth century, no man was allowed to proceed on any duty on his own. Undoubtedly the mayhem in Ireland in the pre-Famine period had convinced the police authorities of the necessity of the two-man patrol system. It remained in operation long after it could reasonably have been considered necessary, and was not ended until 1904.(151)

While on patrol or beat the constabulary man, like his D.M.P. counterpart, was expected to be scrupulously courteous to everybody he met. The 1837 regulations warned that

upon no occasion or any provocation, should they so far forget themselves as to permit their feelings to get the better of their discretion, and conduct themselves rudely or harshly in the performance of their respective offices; for nothing will serve more to create a kindly feeling, and cause the force to be respected and looked up to, than a mild, conciliatory, moral, and decorous line of conduct..... while an opposite course and bearing could only engender in the mind of the public an angry or hostile feeling towards the members of the force, and consequently bring the establishment into disrepute.(152)

The sub-constable was told in the early 1880s that "In his walks and whenever he has an opportunity he should have a friendly greeting and a kind cheery word for everyone he meets."(153) A close knowledge of all the "roads, passes, residences and characters" in the neighbourhood was also deemed essential for the efficient sub-constable. A policeman was forbidden to serve in his native county, and while this

might appear to have been a system which made it more difficult to become acquainted with local residents, the acquiring of a local knowledge was facilitated by the constabulary's practice, since 1823, of keeping a list of all the householders in each sub-district. This register, compiled by the senior policeman at each station, included the names of the inhabitants of each house, as well as other information such as a list of public houses, forges, sellers of gunpowder and arms, and the names of people licensed to keep firearms. There was also a "private register" which contained the names of all persons "likely to commit crime," as well as the names of convicts on ticket-of-leave and prostitutes in the area. When a new man joined the station, the people on the private list were to be pointed out to him "without exciting observation." (154) A rule was introduced in 1890 that a new policeman was to become "personally acquainted" with the inhabitants of his sub-district within three months of joining his station. (155)

The constabulary, like the D.M.P., were urged to be vigilant when making their rounds, and the crime-preventing role of the policeman was stressed. Men on patrol were advised to "frequently traverse the fields and bogs, and conceal themselves near suspected passes, or other localities favourable to the detection of night walkers." When on the roads they were expected to frequently stop and listen for sounds of people approaching: the method of listening through

a ramrod placed on the ground was especially recommended. (156) While an acquaintance with the "individual character" of the people of his area was considered vital for the efficiency of a rural policeman, it was deemed to be "doubly essential" in cities and towns, "from the greater degree of vice that exists in them, and from the adroitness with which delinquents endeavour to evade detection." Police stationed in villages were enjoined to be particularly active, "the idle lounging of the men at their barracks being calculated to give the public an unfavourable impression of their zeal and vigilance." (157)

Although it was an armed force, the constabulary carried no firearms for most of its duties. Rural day-time patrols (except in disturbed areas) and beats in towns were performed by pairs of policemen carrying only their sidearms. Night-time rural patrols were performed by one man armed with a firearm and another wearing sidearms only. Firearms were carried in towns only in times of threatened disturbance. On such occasions, when "strong patrols" were ordered, two thirds of the men carried firearms and one third carried truncheons. The latter moved on the patrol's flanks, and the patrol was preceded and followed by plainclothes police, who were "always to keep a sharp look out, and give timely notice of any probable attack." If any arrests were necessary, they were to be made by the truncheon-men. (158)

However, such patrols were rare in the police routine

and, moreover, even late night patrols after 11 p.m. were not carried out every night, to judge from the evidence which has survived. Indeed, constables were expected to be in their quarters at 9 p.m. in winter and 10 p.m. in summer. A certain number of "rising patrols," at hours between midnight and 8 a.m., were expected from the men each month, but these were much less numerous than day or evening patrols. Jeremiah Mee records that in Co. Sligo in the years before World War I, R.I.C. men had to perform two such patrols each month - hardly a colossal number. Even then the Kesh policemen assigned to do these patrols simply went to bed; the next morning, after checking that no untoward incidents had occurred in the district during their slumbers, they simply entered in the patrol books that they had found "all regular" during the night. (159)

It is difficult to state how long the constabularyman's average working day was. Technically, a policeman was supposed to devote all of his time to the police service, although when he was not on patrol or other duty he could apply for a leave of absence from his barrack. By 1914 he was entitled to eight of these free hours each month. Even during his period of absence his movements were restricted to within a radius of a quarter of a mile from the barrack, down to May 1883; after that month he was allowed a mile radius. (160) In 1910 it was estimated that an R.I.C. man spent an average of seven and a half hours daily on duty outside his barrack, but obviously

the length of the working day could vary substantially, depending on whether a man was stationed in a town, city or rural barrack, the amount of crime in a particular area, even the inclination of the men themselves. The constabulary at Coleraine in the 1830s, because of its being a market, Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions town, and its proximity to villages such as Garvagh which regularly held fairs, often performed tours of duty for more than twelve hours outside of barracks, and on Garvagh's frequent fair days could spend as much as 20 hours on duty in one day.(161)

To talk of an average working day in terms of the number of hours of duty performed is perhaps meaningless, when one considers that in the eyes of the authorities there was never a moment when a sub-constable ceased to be a policeman. In the 1840s the constabulary recruit was told that he should always "support the character of the establishment to which he belongs, either on duty, or during his hours of recreation, or when absent on leave." Each head or other constable was entitled to one month's vacation or leave each year, but even then they were told to "consider themselves subject to every order, rule, and regulation of the force, and as liable to the consequences of any breach of discipline or good order as if they were serving at their proper stations."(162) The English policeman enjoyed more freedom in his day than his Irish counterpart. Though subject to regulations which, if rigidly enforced, would have made his lot an unenviable one, the

English constable often enjoyed less restrictive working conditions than the Irish sub-constable. The former "spent most of his career alone in a small village," in circumstances which clearly made supervision of his daily routine less rigorous than in Ireland, where a senior man in every patrol was held responsible for the conduct of his juniors. English policemen in the nineteenth century also usually had a day free from duty every four to six weeks, and in 1910 they were allowed a day off duty every week. (163)

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER II

¹ Palmer, Police and Protest, p.158.

² Return of the Police Force of Every Description Within the City of Dublin H.C. 1834 (310) xlvii 361.

³ Palmer, Police and Protest, p.158.

⁴ Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire Into the State of Ireland Since the Year 1835, in Respect of Crime and Outrage, Which Have Rendered Life and Property Insecure in that Part of the Empire, and to Report to the House H.L. 1839 486-I. 486-II xi.1.423, p.1002. Hereafter cited as 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee.

⁵ Quoted in Earnan P.Blythe, "The D.M.P." in Dublin Historical Record, vol. 20, nos 3-4 (June-Sept. 1965), p.117.

⁶ G.Locker Lampson, A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), p.248.

⁷ Freeman's Journal (Sept. 1, 1836).

⁸ W.R. Le Fanu, Seventy Years of Irish Life, Being Anecdotes and Reminiscences (London: Edward Arnold, 1893), pp 81-82.

⁹ Account of Acting Inspector R.Thompson, D.M.P., to Chief Superintendent Monaghan (Feb.16,1857)(N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7600).

¹⁰ John Flint, The Dublin Police, and the Police System (Dublin: James McCormick,1847), p.6.

¹¹ Sir Charles A.Cameron, Autobiography of Sir Charles A.Cameron (Dublin: Hodges Figgis,1920), p.5.

¹² Freeman's Journal (June 30,1858).

¹³ Account of Acting Inspector R.Thompson, D.M.P., to Chief Superintendent Monaghan (Feb.16,1857)(N.L.I: Larcom

Papers, MS 7600).

¹⁴ Account of Chief Superintendent Monaghan to D.M.P. chief commissioners (Feb.17,1857) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7601).

¹⁵ Cochrane, "Policing of Dublin, 1830-46," p.12.

¹⁶ Ibid, passim; Palmer, Police and Protest, p.403.

¹⁷ Freeman's Journal (Sept.8,1836).

¹⁸ Nigel I.Cochrane, "The Policeman's Lot was not a Happy One: Dublin, c.1838-45," in Dublin Historical Record, vol. xl, no.3 (June 1987), p.94.

¹⁹ Jennifer Hart, "Police" in W.R.Cornish et al, Crime and Law in Nineteenth Century Britain (Dublin: Irish University Press,1978), pp 208-209; W.J.Lowe, "The Lancashire Constabulary, 1845-1870: the Social and Occupational Function of a Victorian Police Force" in Criminal Justice History, vol. iv (1983), p.43.

²⁰ J.J.Tobias, Crime and Police in England 1700-1900 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1979), pp 110-11.

²¹ Ibid, p.102.

²² The requirements for a D.M.P. recruit are outlined in a letter from Chief Commissioner Browne to Inspector-general McGregor of the Irish Constabulary (Apr.11,1842) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

²³ Ibid; Return of the Income and Expenditure of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Two Financial Years 1856-57 and 1857-58; Copies of Notices or Proclamations Issued From Time to Time to Procure Recruits for the Force; Statement of the Annual Pay of Each Class of Officers and Men; Number of Superintendents, Inspectors, and Men of the Force on 1st January 1858, With the Proportion of Each Professing the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Religions; and Number of Resignations and Dismissals From the Force Since 1st January 1856 H.C. 1857-58 (430) xlvii 815, p.5. Hereafter cited as Return of Income etc of D.M.P. 1856-58.

²⁴ Constabulary circular (Oct.6,1841) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111); David Neligan, The Spy in the Castle (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), p.33.

²⁵ Neligan, Spy, p.33.

²⁶ Royal Irish Constabulary List and Directory (Dublin: Thom, January 1898), p.195.

²⁷ Neligan, Spy, pp 33-34.

²⁸ Cochrane, "Policeman's Lot," p.95.

²⁹ Details from Instruction Book for the Dublin Metropolitan Police (Dublin: Alexander Thom, revised edition, 1865), p.5; Instruction Book for the Supernumeraries, Kevin Street Depot (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1870), p.4; Instruction Book for the Government and Guidance of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1879), p.124.

³⁰ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1881 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1882), p.xiii.

³¹ Report From the Select Committee on Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill; Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix H.C. 1877 (198) xvi 1, p.39 (hereafter cited as 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors); 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.251; C.Budding, Die Polizei in Stadt und Land In Grossbritannien (Berlin: J.Guttentag, 1908), p.201.

³² 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.3.

³³ Neligan, Spy, p.34.

³⁴ Dublin Metropolitan Police. Instructions, Orders, etc., etc., etc. (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1837), p.7; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.5.

³⁵ For rules regarding bathing, washing feet, shaving, and changing socks and shirts see 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries Book, pp 3-4; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.123. For the regulations on sobriety, see chapter vii below. For the policeman as a type of "domestic missionary" see R.D.Storch, "The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and popular Culture in Northern England, 1850-1880" in Journal of Social History, vol. ix, no. 4 (1976), pp 481-509.

³⁶ Sir Francis B.Head, Fortnight in Ireland (London: John Murray, 1852), pp 103-104.

³⁷ Ibid, p.103.

³⁸ "Catechetical instructions for supernumeraries in the general duty of constables" in 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries' Book, pp 34-50.

³⁹ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.6.

⁴⁰ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.168; 1870 D.M.P.

Supernumeraries' Book, pp 6-7; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.273.

⁴¹ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 124-25, 251.

⁴² Neligan, Spy, pp 40-41.

⁴³ The A,B,C and divisions were known as the city divisions, and the E and F as the "rural" divisions.

⁴⁴ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1902 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1903), p.81.

⁴⁵ Report of Henry Redmond, D.M.P. receiver's office (Oct.13,1853)(S.P.O: Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, 1853/9430). Hereafter cited as C.S.O.R.P.

⁴⁶ Report of Henry Redmond, D.M.P. receiver's office (July 19,1854)(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1854/16648).

⁴⁷ Quoted in Gregory Allen, "The New Police: London and Dublin - the Birth of the Dublin Metropolitan Police" in The Police Journal, vol. L, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1977), p.314.

⁴⁸ Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to Enquire Into the Condition of the Civil Service in Ireland on the Dublin Metropolitan Police: Together With the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices H.C. 1873 (c.788) xxii 69, p.18. Hereafter cited as 1872 D.M.P. Commission.

⁴⁹ Report of the Committee of Inquiry Into the Dublin Metropolitan Police. With Evidence, Appendix, and Maps H.C. 1883 (c.3576) xxxii 1, pp 196, 198. Hereafter cited as 1882 D.M.P. Commission.

⁵⁰ The details of the D.M.P. constable's "typical day" are taken from 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 9, 11, and 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 10-11. It is intended here to give only a general outline of a constable's duty. There is a more detailed discussion in chapter vi below.

⁵¹ See for example Freeman's Journal (May 1,1866) (Nov.1, 1867).

⁵² Ibid (Jan.6,1838).

⁵³ Ibid (Jan.8,1844).

⁵⁴ Frank Robbins, Under the Starry Plough: Recollections of the Irish Citizen Army (Dublin: Academy Press, 1977), p.209; Wilmot Irwin, Betrayal in Ireland (Belfast: Northern

Whig, n.d.), p.9.

⁵⁵ Freeman's Journal (May 1, 1838) (Oct. 28, 1850) (July 22, 1851) (Aug. 5, 1851) (Apr. 12, 1852) (Nov. 7, 1854) (Nov. 23, 1855) (Oct. 14, 1862) (Dec. 12, 1864) (Aug. 4, 1871) (Mar. 25, 1875) (Apr. 3, 1875) (Aug. 8, 1882) (Feb. 23, 1883).

⁵⁶ Ibid (Apr. 24, 1875) (Jan. 24, 1883) (Oct. 18, 1888) (Mar. 21, 1898).

⁵⁷ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 3-4.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp 19-20.

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp 12-14, 18-19, 33.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.38.

⁶¹ Quoted in Nigel Cochrane, "Public Reaction to the Introduction of a New Police Force: Dublin 1838-45" in Eire-Ireland, vol. xxii, no.1 (spring 1987), p.73.

⁶² 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.13.

⁶³ Ibid, p.20.

⁶⁴ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.90.

⁶⁵ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p.43; Report of the Committee of Inquiry Into the Royal Irish Constabulary; With Evidence and Appendix H.C. 1883 (c.3577) xxxii 255, p.497.

⁶⁶ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.1.

⁶⁷ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.12.

⁶⁸ Constable Ernest Cochrane to Katherine Finlay, Hollywood, Co. Down (Mar.23,1883)(P.R.O.N.I: T.3504/1/3).

⁶⁹ For a discussion of reforms in the County Constabulary which preceded the better-known reforms of 1836 see Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 342-53. The official name of the newly centralized force of 1836 was the Irish Constabulary (altered in 1867 to the Royal Irish Constabulary). The pre-1836 constabulary had no official title; I have settled on County Constabulary to distinguish it from its successor.

⁷⁰ Copies of the Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into Charges of Malversation in the Police Establishment of the Leinster District, Sitting During the Last Winter in the Castle of Dublin H.C. 1828 (486) xxii 179, pp 2,5,11,24.

⁷¹ Robert Curtis, The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Moffat, 1869), p.42; A Copy of the Report Made by Sir John Harvey to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the State of the Constabulary Establishment in Leinster H.C. 1828 (537) xxii 41, p.1.

⁷² Palmer, Police and Protest, p.350.

⁷³ 6 Wm iv, c.13, s.3.

⁷⁴ Freeman's Journal (Sept.13,1836).

⁷⁵ Broeker, Rural Disorder, p.222. Under the new Act, policemen were not allowed to be members of secret societies, with the exception of the Freemasons.

⁷⁶ Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 360-61.

⁷⁷ The best discussion of the thinking behind the 1837 code is Gregory J.Fulham, "James Shaw-Kennedy and the Reformation of the Irish Constabulary, 1836-38" in Eire-Ireland, vol. xvi, no. 2 (summer 1981), pp 93-106. Curiously, Stanley Palmer has overlooked the training manuals of both the Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police in his study of the Irish police forces.

⁷⁸ Standing Rules and Regulations for the Government and Guidance of the Constabulary Force in Ireland; as Approved by His Excellency the Earl of Mulgrave, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland (Dublin: George and John Grierson, 1837) (hereafter cited as 1837 Constabulary Rules); Seamus Breathnach, The Irish Police From Earliest Times to the Present Day (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1974), p.37.

⁷⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.107.

⁸⁰ Constabulary circular (Aug.16,1860) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/113); Report of the Commissioners Directed by the Treasury to Inquire Into the State of the Constabulary Force of Ireland, With Reference to Their Pay and Allowances, Strength and Organization, Conditions of Service, and System of Superannuation H.C. 1866 93658) xxxiv 167, p.6. Hereafter cited as 1866 Constabulary Report.

⁸¹ Constabulary circular (May 15,1871) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114).

⁸² Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police. Appendix to the Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1914. Containing Minutes of Evidence With Appendices H.C. 1914-16 Cd. 7637 xxxii 359, pp 9,16. Hereafter cited as 1914

R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence.

⁸³ Constabulary circular (May 15, 1847) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/112).

⁸⁴ Freeman's Journal (Dec.22,1857).

⁸⁵ Constabulary circulars (July 20,1860) (Sept.23,1865) (July 26,1873) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/113-15).

⁸⁶ Constabulary circular (Oct.30,1889) (N.L.I: Royal Irish Constabulary circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine (Aug.1914), p.314. The 1889 circular also laid down a chest measurement of at least 37" for men of 5'9".

⁸⁷ Report of Inspector-general McGregor on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec.10,1847) (S.P.O: O.P.M.A. 145/8). The highest standards for Irish police recruits were generally greater than those for recruits in Britain. In the early 1840s 5'7" was the minimum requirement for recruits to English county forces, while in 1872 the London Metropolitan Police was accepting recruits below that height: J.P.Martin and Gail Wilson, The Police: a Study in Manpower: the Evolution of the Service in England and Wales 1829-1965 (London: Heinemann, 1969), p.9; 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p.50.

⁸⁸ 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 108,110; Constabulary List (Dublin: Alexander Thom, January 1843), p.165.

⁸⁹ Report of Inspector-general McGregor on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec.10,1847) (S.P.O: O.P.M.A. 145/8); Sir Henry John Brownrigg, Examination of Some Recent Allegations Concerning the Constabulary Force of Ireland, in a Report to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1864), p.12.

⁹⁰ Constabulary circular (Nov.15,1839) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

⁹¹ Ibid (Jan.18,1866) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114); Standing Rules and Regulations for the Government and Guidance of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Alexander Thom,1872, 3rd edition), p.259.

⁹² Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to Enquire Into the Condition of the Civil Service in Ireland on the Royal Irish Constabulary: Together With the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices H.C. 1873 (c.831) xxii 131, p.32 (hereafter cited as 1872 R.I.C. Commission); 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.27;

Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p.189; J.Anthony Gaughan, Memoirs of Constable Jeremiah Mee, R.I.C. (Dublin: Anvil Books, 1975), p.11.

⁹³ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.107; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.258.

⁹⁴ Constabulary circulars (Nov.15,1839)(Feb.13,1844) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 261-62.

⁹⁵ Constabulary circular (Oct.30.1889)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

⁹⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 260-63.

⁹⁷ Constabulary circular (Mar. 23,1840)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111). The slack officers were warned by McGregor that "the period is fast approaching when it will be in his power.....to subject them to an ordeal such as they have not yet undergone."

⁹⁸ G.Garrow Green, In the Royal Irish Constabulary (London: James Blackwood, 1905), pp 22-23.

⁹⁹ Head, Fortnight, pp 56, 63-64.

¹⁰⁰ Fulham, "James Shaw-Kennedy," p.100.

¹⁰¹ Head, Fortnight, p.60.

¹⁰² Mee, Memoirs, pp 13-14.

¹⁰³ Green, In the R.I.C., p.12.

¹⁰⁴ Head, Fortnight, p.64.

¹⁰⁵ Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.206 (University College Dublin: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264); Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p.191.

¹⁰⁶ John Morley, What I Have Seen and Heard (London: Macmillan, 1917, 2 vols), i, p.378.

¹⁰⁷ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.17; Mee, Memoirs, pp 12,14; Budding, Polizei in Grosbritannien, p.190.

¹⁰⁸ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Report on the state of Ireland in the year 1863," p.48 (N.L.I: MS 915).

¹⁰⁹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.135.

¹¹⁰ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.48.

- ¹¹¹ Reminiscences of "Old Times" in R.I.C. Mag. (Jan. 1913), p.97.
- ¹¹² Head, Fortnight, p.61.
- ¹¹³ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.48; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.107.
- ¹¹⁴ Zozimus (July 1,1871), p.255.
- ¹¹⁵ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.108; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.264; Mee, Memoirs, p.12; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p.190.
- ¹¹⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.132.
- ¹¹⁷ Martin, Police: Study in Manpower, p.24.
- ¹¹⁸ Head, Fortnight, p.43; Report on the Reorganization of the Police and Criminal Administration of Ireland (Foreign Office[?]: 1883), p.21 (N.L.I: IR 32341 p 49); Royal Irish Constabulary. Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1901 H.C 1902 Cd. 1087 xlii 279, p.32 (hereafter cited as 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.192.
- ¹¹⁹ District Inspector George Dagg, "Devia Hibernia." The Road and Route Guide for Ireland of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1893), p.v and passim.
- ¹²⁰ Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Appendix to Report of the Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, Appendices, and Index (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1907), p.2; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.89.
- ¹²¹ James Macaulay, Ireland in 1872: a Tour of Observation. With Remarks on Irish Public Questions (London: Henry S. King, 1873), p.291; C.W.Leatham, Sketch and Stories of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Edward Ponsonby, 1909), p.8.
- ¹²² Constabulary List (Dublin: Alexander Thom, July 1843), p.103.
- ¹²³ Thomas Lacy, Sights and Scenes in Our Fatherland (London: Simpkin and Marshall,1863), p.170; Sinn Fein (Dublin) (July 29,1907).
- ¹²⁴ Report of Inspector-general Brownrigg for 1859 (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).
- ¹²⁵ Lord Naas to Charles Hamilton, Clonee (Feb. 1,1868), and memorandum on defences of R.I.C. barracks (Jan.9,1868)

(N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11194(2)). When selecting a house to rent as a barracks, officers were told to choose a building which was dry, had a supply of water on or near the premises, was spacious, preferably slated and detached from other buildings. A thatched house could be taken if no slated ones were available: 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.158; William Campbell (ed), Rules and Regulations for the Control and Management of the Financial Department of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1913, 5th ed), p.114.

¹²⁶ J.G.Kohl, Travels in Ireland (London: Bruce and Wyld, 1844), p.143; Lacy, Sights, pp 59,297,618,687.

¹²⁷ Leon O Broin, Fenian Fever: an Anglo-American Dilemma (New York: New York University Press, 1971), p.158.

¹²⁸ Return of the Number of Police Barracks in Each County in Ireland in a Satisfactory Condition, Both as to the Security and Health of the Constabulary; Number the Defective Condition of Which has Been Represented to the Government; Number Which the Landlords Have Agreed to Fortify on the Government Plan; and, Average Cost of Defences of Each Barrack Completed H.C. 1867-68 (291) lvii 499.

¹²⁹ Constabulary circular (Dec.7,1867)(N.L.I: Crofton Papers, MS 20778); C.D.Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under the Land League: a Narrative of Personal Experiences (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1892), p.61; L.Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland (Dublin: Maunsell, 1908), p.196.

¹³⁰ Belfast Newsletter (May 23,1876); R.I.C. Mag. (Apr. 1912), pp 193-94.

¹³¹ S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/1456/14; Inspection book of Stewartstown constabulary barracks (June 23,1852)(P.R.O.N.I: D.804/2); letter from "A member of the force" in Cork Examiner (Feb.11,1860).

¹³² Lord Naas to Charles Hamilton, Clonee (Feb.1,1868) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11194(2)).

¹³³ Reports of Sub-inspector Gambell, Spiddal (Feb.19,1878)(July 20,1878)(S.P.O: Chief Crown Solicitor's Papers 1877/280); also Chief Crown Solicitor's Papers 1884/116. Hereafter cited as C.C.Sol. Papers.

¹³⁴ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.461.

¹³⁵ Report of James Kirkpatrick, Omagh (Sept.25,1882) (S.P.O: C.C.Sol. Papers 1885/366).

¹³⁶ Memorandum on condition of Villierstown R.I.C.

station (Feb.14,1885) (S.P.O: C.C.Sol. Papers 1885/144).

¹³⁷ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.133.

¹³⁸ Paymaster General's Office: Constabulary expenses letter book, 1905-1912 (Mar.1905), p.6 (May 12,1905), p.15 (Dec.14,1905), p.42 (Mar.8,1906), pp 53-54 (July 29,1907), pp 121-22 (Feb.18,1908), pp 143-44 (P.R.O.(Dublin): Presented Documents Misc. Nos 754-56. 1A/42/188).

¹³⁹ R.I.C. Mag. (Aug.1912), p.326.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid (Apr.1914), p.190.

¹⁴¹ Circular of Ulster provincial inspector-general (Apr. 3,1834) in Coleraine constabulary barrack journal, Feb.1838-Apr.1839 (Trinity College Dublin: Goulden Papers, MS 7367).

¹⁴² 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 48-51.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p.159; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 57-59.

¹⁴⁴ Constabulary circular (June 6,1891)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁴⁵ Inspection book of Timooney, Co. Tipperary, R.I.C. station Aug. 1893-Aug.1900(Aug.1,1894)(Oct.1,1894)(Dec.8,1894)(May 25,1895)(Apr.11,1896)(Feb.14,1898)(May 21,1898)(July 27,1898)(Aug.23,1899)(Oct.26,1899)(Feb.20,1900). MS in possession of Dr David Fitzpatrick, Trinity College Dublin.

¹⁴⁶ Inspection book of Killylea R.I.C. station, Aug.1910-Aug.1921 (Jan.10,1911)(T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7370).

¹⁴⁷ Letter from "A Galway sub" in Freeman's Journal (Sept. 13,1880).

¹⁴⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.38. At that time a fine of five shillings represented over two days' pay for sub-constables with less than 12 years' service.

¹⁴⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 23,46; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.54.

¹⁵⁰ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.47; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.54.

¹⁵¹ Ibid; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.15.

¹⁵² 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.2.

¹⁵³ Andrew Reed, The Policeman's Manual, Intended for the Use of the Sub-constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1883), p.6.

¹⁵⁴ Chief Secretary Lord Eliot to Inspector-general McGregor (Sept.4, 1844); McGregor to Lord Eliot (Oct.10, 1844) (British Museum: Add MS 40480); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 267-68; Freeman's Journal (June 2, 1881).

¹⁵⁵ Constabulary circular (Sept.1890) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁵⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.223-24.

¹⁵⁷ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.66; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 74-75.

¹⁵⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 222-23.

¹⁵⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.46; Barrack journal of Coleraine constabulary, Feb.1838-Apr.1839 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7367); Mee, Memoirs, pp 21-22.

¹⁶⁰ Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.15.

¹⁶¹ Barrack journal of Coleraine constabulary, Feb. 1838-Apr. 1839 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7367); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.15.

¹⁶² Depot Standing Orders, 1846 (Dublin: J. Chambers, 1847), p.13; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.25.

¹⁶³ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.155; Tobias, Crime and Police, pp 108-109.

CHAPTER III

THE POLICE AND THEIR PAY, PROMOTION AND PENSIONS, 1836 TO 1914

Who were the men who joined the Irish police forces? The rules for admission to the D.M.P. suggest that while entry was open to all able bodied men who met with the height and other qualifications, they also had to have a certain amount of money saved. Notices for intending recruits in the early 1840s stated that they should have 30 shillings in their possession, a sum representing several weeks wages for an agricultural labourer. In the 1850s and 1870s this amount was reduced to £1. In addition to a certain amount of money, recruits in the early 1840s had to have a respectable suit of clothes, two pairs of strong boots, three good shirts and four pairs of stockings on joining the police. Later on these regulations were eased slightly: in the 1860s and 1870s policemen were allowed one week after their acceptance into the D.M.P. as supernumeraries to produce a regulation sized trunk, two shirts, two pairs of socks, two towels, and various cleaning items. Before being appointed to a division each recruit was expected to produce a pair of boots, with

another pair to follow one month later.(1) These regulations suggest that the D.M.P. did not become a haven for the most impoverished in Irish society. Nigel Cochrane suggests that a quota system was laid down for accepting trainees from the various counties; however, an analysis of the counties of origin of the recruits shows that if there was such a plan it was not followed.(2) Also no questions were asked (until the late 1850s) about a recruit's religion. This was in accordance with the example set by the London Metropolitan Police.(3)

An examination of the occupations of the D.M.P. recruits, prior to their acceptance into the force, clearly shows their plebeian origin. In 1838 almost 1500 men were taken into the D.M.P. Since there were only 987 men of all ranks in the force at any one time, the large number of recruits indicates a high turnover in its first year.

Table 1: Occupations of D.M.P. Recruits, 1837-38.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Labourer	841	(56.1)	Clerk	41	(2.74)
Farmer	61	(4.07)	Teacher	8	(0.53)
Gardener	23	(1.53)	Shopkeeper/ assistant	84	(5.6)
Artisan	173		Other	46	(3.07)
Weaver	48	(3.2)	None	125	(8.34)
Servant	33	(2.2)	No Information	16	(1.07)

Source: D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).(4)

There are almost 90 different occupations listed in the D.M.P. register for the first year of the force's existence, which

have been arranged for convenience sake into twelve major groups. There was a certain amount of variety within some categories, for example the artisans, but the bulk of these were composed of the boot and shoemakers (92) and the carpenters (26), whereas the other trades such as plumbers, brassfounders and plasterers appear only once in the register. The shopkeepers and their assistants are another disparate group; there were single entries for apothecaries, jewellers and booksellers, whereas twelve - one seventh of the total - are described as butchers. However the majority of recruits to the D.M.P in its first year, and indeed for most of the period of our study, are registered as labourers. It is safe to assume that most of these were agricultural labourers, even though it was not until 1903 that farm labourers were described as such in the general register. The predominantly rural origins of most D.M.P. men leads one to assume that most who are described as labourers were agricultural labourers - an observer of the first parade of the D.M.P. in January 1838 described the recruits as "young and athletic countrymen, as if selected for their physical powers of endurance in the severe exercise to which they shall be subjected."(5) In 1872 the D.M.P. chief commissioner, Henry Atwell Lake, believed that rural labourers, presumably because they were used to physical hardships, made the best recruits to his force. He told the treasury commission formed to enquire into the conditions of

service in the D.M.P. that "I like best to get the man with the frieze coat on him, and with the fingers that have been in the habit of using the spade."(6)

An interesting feature of the first D.M.P. recruits is the high number of men who had previous experience of policing, or of service in the military. Two hundred and thirty six men, 15.74% of the total, had served for some time in the constabulary. Their periods of service ranged from 6 weeks to 14 years, with the average being around 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ years. Some 57 are recorded as having served in the army for periods varying from 8 months to 28 years. Another 19 recruits had served in the Revenue Police.(7) A small number of ex-members of the Yeomanry were also accepted, which is somewhat surprising, since that force had close links with the Orange Order and had a reputation as a sectarian body: six had served in the Yeomanry alone, three had been in both the Yeomanry and the constabulary, four had served in both the Yeomanry and the old Dublin police, and one had served in both the army and the Yeomanry.(8) The D.M.P. commissioners brought in a number of men from British police forces. Some twenty men had served in the London Metropolitan Police, four had served in both the Irish Constabulary and the London Metropolitan Police, two had served in the Liverpool Borough Police, one had served in the Bath Police, and one had been in both the army and the London Metropolitan Police. In addition 106 of the men had served

in the old Dublin police, and there were even 22 ex-members of the Dublin Watch, which slightly qualifies the claims that watchmen were not suitable for police work. One man had served in both the old Watch and the old Dublin police, one had served in the navy and another in the coastguard, and two had been in the militia.

There was another sprinkling of men who had served in several of the above-mentioned bodies. For example, thirteen had been in the old Dublin police and the constabulary, two had served in both the army and the old Dublin force, two had been in the militia and the old Dublin police, and one had been in each of the Yeomanry, constabulary, and the old Dublin force. One man had served in the constabulary and the Dublin Watch, four had been in the army and the constabulary, one had served in both the Revenue Police and the army, and one had been in both the constabulary and the Belfast Borough Police. Altogether, 512 of the men - over one third of those who joined the D.M.P. in its first year of existence - had already served in some other police or military force.(9) The reason for the reliance of the commissioners on men of this type is obvious - the need to quickly organize a number of experienced policemen, or men used to being subjected to discipline, as a backbone for their new force. Until 1840 the D.M.P. district consisted of four divisions, each in the charge of a superintendent; three of these came the from London Metropolitan Police, and the other had been a sergeant

major in the 71st Regiment. The 18 inspectors were mainly men sent over from the London Metropolitan Police at the request of the D.M.P. commissioners, and the remainder were men who had served in the army or the constabulary.(10) Sixty-one of the 88 sergeants had seen service in the various forces described above, with one third of these coming from the London Metropolitan Police.(11)

The inclusion of a large number of men with previous police or army experience meant that the average age of the D.M.P. recruits in 1838 was quite high. Their ages ranged from 17 years to 51 years, with an overall average age of 25. Later the average age of recruits dropped. Between 1845 and 1850 their ages ranged from 18 to 33 years, with the average at 22, and from 1865 to 1870 their ages ranged from 18 to 29 years, with the average at 21. From 1896 to 1901 the average age of recruits, after their period of instruction in police duties, was 22 years.(12) An examination of the heights of the first policemen shows that the popular image of the D.M.P. as a force of "giants" is not borne out by police registers: only 8.8% of the 1499 men in 1838 were six feet tall or more. In 1844 a survey of the heights of the men found that their average height was 5'10", with 153 men - 14.4% of the force - six feet tall or more. Some 138 of these were serving in the B division, with only 60 men of that division being less than six feet tall. In 1852 all of the men of the B division were at least six feet

tall, and the tradition grew of sending only men of that height to that division. In 1844 425 of the force - 39.9% - were only 5'9", or less.(13) The indications are that while the men of the D.M.P. were taller than their British counterparts, they were not at first the imposing figures often commented upon in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The plan of bringing in men from the London police to serve in the D.M.P. had prompted one correspondent to a Dublin newspaper to complain that the new force would be "poisoned with Toryism - low Englishmen will be appointed who are pregnant with bigotry and prejudice against this country."(14) However, most recruits to the D.M.P. were Irishmen. This was true even of the men accepted from English police forces, with only two of these being native Englishmen. A survey of the origins of D.M.P. constables shows that not only were most of them Irish, but that, down to 1914, a disproportionate number came from Leinster. In fact, until the 1890s most recruits came from Leinster; in the last 25 years or so of our period the proportion of Leinstermen in the D.M.P. dropped, but they still constituted the largest regional element in the Dublin police. Recruits did join the D.M.P. from other provinces but, with the exception of Munster in the 1890s onwards, they contributed a smaller number of men relative to their proportion of the general population. Even within Leinster there was a

tendency for most men to come from the counties nearest to Dublin. This seems to have been anticipated by the D.M.P. authorities, insofar as police regulations forbade members of the force from voting in Kildare, Wicklow, Meath, or the county and city of Dublin. (15) Indeed, as appendix iv shows, those four counties, and Queens County, provided over two fifths of the recruits in the force's first year of existence and in the following decade, almost half of those in the 1850s, and almost two thirds in the 1860s. The proportion declined to over two fifths in the 1870s. Improvements in pay and other features of the D.M.P. brought increasing numbers of applicants from other parts of the country after 1882, so that in the 1880s the proportion of recruits from the five counties fell to just below one third, and later it declined to a still sizeable one fifth of all the recruits. Throughout the period under study 4226 men, or 41.37% of all recruits, came from the area.

While Dublin policemen came from hundreds of parishes throughout Ireland, some supplied noticeably more men than others. Many parishes sent only one recruit to the D.M.P.; others sent many more. In the first year of recruiting, for example, 16 constables gave Clonenagh in Queens County as their parish, while 15 came from Wicklow, 14 from Abbeyleix, 13 from Baltinglass, 12 from Trim, Upperwood and Ardagh, eleven from Newbridge and ten from Castlecomer. Altogether, one recruit in every thirteen came from these nine parishes.

From 1839 to 1849 244 men, over one eighth of the total enrolled in that period, came from just 17 parishes: Upperwood (20 men), Wicklow (19), Baltinglass and Gorey (17 each), Dunlavin (16), Castledermot and Newbridge (15 each), Leighlinbridge and Moynalty (14 each), Arklow, Tullow, Rathdrum, and the unlikely-named Crookstown (13 each), Nobber and Kells (12 each), with eleven coming from Rathfarnham and ten from Maryborough. In the 1850s over one recruit in every twelve came from Monasterevan, Baltinglass, Gorey, Rathfarnham, Johnstownbridge, Dunlavin, Kells, Broadford, Myshall and Killeigh. The top 26 parishes, which between them supplied 15.36% of the D.M.P.'s recruits down to 1869, are shown in appendix v. In addition to these areas, a number of men came from the district policed by the D.M.P., that of Dublin city and its suburbs. Stanley Palmer claims that Dublin residents were ineligible for service in the D.M.P. (16) It is true that the D.M.P. authorities did not want Dubliners to serve in their force. In 1872 Chief Commissioner Lake observed that "I object to a man belonging to the city, and having his friends always about him." Lake stated that he occasionally accepted a Dubliner "of unexceptionally good character" into his force, but claimed that this was a recent development. (17) In fact, as the D.M.P. general register makes quite clear, considerable numbers of Dublin residents were accepted into the force at the start, and that this continued down to 1914, although at

a diminished rate. In 1838 125 men, 8.34% of the total, were natives of the D.M.P. district. In the 1840s this proportion was 76 men (3.91%), in the 1850s it was 96 men (5.8%), in the 1860s 48 men (3.73%) and in the 1870s it was 45 men, or 3.94% of the total. In the 1880s the proportion fell to 30 recruits (3.12%), in the 1890s to just 20 men (2.95%), and from 1900 to 1914 it was only 16 men (1.53%).(18)

The Irish Constabulary, like the D.M.P., insisted that its recruits show evidence of a very modest income before their acceptance into the force. At first they were expected to have £2 in their possession to tide them over until the first pay day, as well as to have four linen shirts, a suit of plain clothes and a hat, which articles were to form a permanent part of their necessary equipment. Until 1838 they were also expected to purchase their own handcuffs and handcuff cases.(19) During the Famine the police authorities removed the obligation on applicants producing £2, "in consideration of the prevailing state of distress throughout the country, and the probable difficulty that candidates may experience in procuring this sum." For a while recruits were required to have £1 on applying for membership in the force; in September 1847 the £2 rule was restored, to be removed again in October 1849. The £1 rule may have remained in force for some time, as it was included in the Constabulary Code of 1872.(20)

In November 1839 Inspector-general McGregor tried to

ensure that recruits be taken from counties according to their proportion of the general population. Ideally he envisaged every 1000 recruits being taken according to the following format:

Table 2: Proposed Recruiting Quotas, 1839

<u>Ulster</u>	<u>Leinster</u>	<u>Munster</u>	<u>Connacht</u>
Antrim 43	Carlow 11	Clare 35	Galway 55
Armagh 31	Dublin 46	Cork 104	Leitrim 18
Cavan 29	Kildare 15	Kerry 35	Mayo 47
Donegal 37	Kilkenny 24	Limerick 41	Roscommon 33
Down 44	Kings 18	Tipperary 52	<u>Sligo</u> 22
Fermanagh 19	Longford 14	<u>Waterford</u> 23	Total 175 (17.5%)
Derry 29	Louth 13	Total 290 (29%)	
Monaghan 25	Meath 25		
<u>Tyrone</u> 38	Queens 18		
Total 295 (29.5%)	Westmeath 18		
	Wexford 23		
	<u>Wicklow</u> 15		
	Total 240 (24%)		

Source: Constabulary circular (Nov. 15, 1839) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/111).

Such a scheme, while showing the anxiety of the police authorities that the membership of the constabulary be a fair reflection of society as a whole - in contrast to the pre-1836 force - was probably unworkable in practice. (21) In

order to test the extent to which the system of proportionality in recruiting was actually carried out, the author examined the constabulary registers preserved by the Home Office. There are over 67000 entries in these registers down to 1914; to select a reasonable sample, the entries of recruits in and around the various census years from 1851 to 1914 inclusive, were selected. The results are shown in appendix vi.

There is an obvious contrast between the origins of recruits to the Irish Constabulary and those who joined the D.M.P., as shown in appendix vii. Whereas D.M.P. recruits tended to come mainly from one province, no single province dominated the recruiting returns of the sister force. However, each province at certain periods supplied recruits to the constabulary to an extent larger than its proportion of the general population. This was the case with Ulster in the early 1850s, with Munster in the early twentieth century, and with Leinster in the early 1850s, 1860s and 1870s. Connacht was the province which most consistently over-supplied the constabulary with recruits, being over-represented in each of the census periods from the 1860s to the turn of the century, and this trend was most marked towards the end of the period. Only in the early 1850s was the province under-represented in the recruiting returns, but not to a large extent. It is probably not without coincidence that Connacht was the province with the highest

proportion of small farms in Ireland; as we shall see, labourers and the sons of small farmers supplied the bulk of police recruits. Early recruits to the reformed Irish Constabulary from Connacht were not of a particularly good stamp. In 1839 the chief constable for Meath, John Hatton, claimed that most men dismissed from his county had been sent to him from the Ballinrobe depot: "In the county of Mayo they are a very bad class, the worst class we get." (22) In the post-Famine period Connacht, and indeed Ireland in general, experienced a marked decline in illiteracy rates; while Connacht's illiteracy rate remained the highest in Ireland, the fact that it declined steadily might have made applicants from that province more acceptable to the police authorities. (23)

Using the province as a unit of analysis is one way of examining the constabulary recruiting registers. An even more useful approach is to investigate the rate of recruitment from each county of Ireland. Examining the same years as above we can see that some counties supplied much higher rates of recruits than others (see appendices vii-xiii). For example, Dublin, Cork, Down and Antrim consistently had a comparatively low rate of recruitment: no doubt the cities of Dublin, Cork and Belfast offered enough employment opportunities to working men to obviate the necessity of joining the police. In the rest of the country there was no inflexible pattern to the areas from which the

recruits were drawn. In the early 1850s the south Ulster counties of Fermanagh, Cavan and Monaghan, and the adjoining north Leinster county of Westmeath, showed fairly high recruiting levels; the same can be said of Queen's County and neighbouring Tipperary, and also of Wicklow. In the early 1860s one can see a definite tendency to supply more recruits in the middle of the country, stretching from Leitrim, Fermanagh and Monaghan in the north to Tipperary in the south, with especially high rates once again in Fermanagh and Queen's County, as well as Leitrim and King's County. In the early 1870s recruitment was highest in a generally similar area, with the exception of Tipperary and the inclusion of Sligo, Kilkenny and Carlow. Leitrim, Fermanagh and Queen's County feature strongly once again, as do Sligo, Longford, Cavan, Westmeath and Monaghan. In the early 1880s the highest areas were once again the counties of south Ulster and east Connacht along with Longford, Queen's County, King's County, Kilkenny and Kerry. In the early 1890s the same three western Connacht counties, along with Longford and Cavan formed the area of the highest recruitment; Fermanagh's rate was by then modest although still higher than most of the remaining counties. Kerry also showed a moderately high recruiting rate. At the turn of the century the core area of Sligo, Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan and Longford was similar to that of the three earlier periods; Kerry also retained a high recruiting rate, while for the first time Galway,

Donegal and Mayo had similar or higher rates than Fermanagh's. Queen's County also had a moderately high rate. Generally speaking, the most fruitful areas of recruitment were south Ulster - the counties of Fermanagh and Cavan were always amongst those with the highest rates ; the Connacht counties of Roscommon, Leitrim and Sligo, with Monaghan, Longford and Queen's County also often providing a comparatively high rate of police recruits.

What was the social background of the men who formed the rank and file of the constabulary? The first force, in 1836, consisted largely of men who had served in the pre-reform constabulary. While most of these came from the general working population, with a very high proportion of farmers and labourers, (24) there are indications that they came from a superior class than recruits to the police after 1836. The chief constable for Meath in 1839 stated that "the class of persons who are now getting into the establishment are inferior to what we used to get," and that the policemen who had served in the force before 1836 "found it unpleasant to associate in barracks with the inferior class of men lately enlisted." (25) There does not seem to have been any change in the occupations of recruits coming forward; in fact, the only appreciable difference between recruits to the pre-1836 force and the reformed constabulary was that most of the former were Protestants and most of the latter were Catholics - perhaps it was this difference to which the chief

constable was delicately adverting.

It was not unknown for gentlemen who had fallen on hard times to join the Irish Constabulary in its lowest ranks. For example, in 1841 the only son of Church of Ireland clergyman, Reverend George Benson, joined the force so as not to be a "burden" to his impoverished father. It was not a congenial move for the younger Benson, as his father alluded in 1852 to "the painful unpleasantness which his son has willingly endured for so many years" in the plebeian-dominated rank and file.(26) In 1851 three men joined the ranks who described their occupation as "gentleman."(27) In 1886 a retired sergeant of the R.I.C. wrote the following:

Serving in the ranks are to be found the sons and heirs of the embarrassed or utterly ruined landed gentry. Their fathers and grandfathers had taken mortgage after mortgage on the paternal estates, until at length they do not own as much land as would 'sod a lark' and the young men of the family have to look round for a living. They have learned no trade nor occupation, they "do not toil, neither do they spin," and they naturally gravitate towards the constabulary. It just suits them for a few years, till the mortgage is redeemed, when they resign their appointments and resume their proper position in society. Some indeed, whose patrimony is swallowed up and irrevocably gone, perhaps in the gulf of long Chancery suits, resolve to make the force their profession for good, and take their fallen fortunes in as philosophical a manner as possible.(28)

One of these out-of-luck gentlemen was Sir Thomas Echlin of Kilmeague, Co. Kildare, who became a baronet in August 1877. He was obliged to join the constabulary in 1863, and retired on a pension as a sergeant in September 1893. His brother, Henry, worked as a servant before joining the police in February 1862; he resigned from the force in April 1865 to

emigrate. The third son in the family joined the Life Guards as a private soldier.(29) An American visitor to Ireland in 1888 was told by Assistant Inspector-general Colomb that in recent years "not a few men of family, reduced in fortune," had joined the force. One of these was "a young Irishman of title, and of an ancient race, who is a sergeant in the force" - this was possibly Echlin - who had declined to accept an officer's commission "as his increased expenses would make it harder for him to support his two sisters."(30) Sergeant Michael Brophy gave another example of a gentleman who became a sub-constable in the R.I.C. after his family had been ruined, mainly by betting on horse races.(31) He also claimed that there were quite a few "spoiled priests," the sons of "well-to-do farmers," in the R.I.C. These men had returned to their "disconsolate parents" after discovering that they had no vocation for the priesthood: "Not being originally intended or adapted to labour on the farm, these 'fallen angels' are obliged to cast around for a living, and as the needle to see the pole, they gravitate towards the constabulary."(32) A teacher in Armagh in 1913 records making the acquaintance of an R.I.C. sergeant, a native of Donegal, who in his youth had been studying for the priesthood, but discovered that he had no vocation. As his family were hostile to the idea of having a "spoiled priest" around the house, and he had acquired no alternative skills in his youth due to his clerical studies, entry into the

constabulary seemed the only option for him.(33)

Most constabulary recruits, however, did not fit into the category of impoverished gentry or "spoiled priests." Men of certain occupations were forbidden by law from joining the force; these included any gamekeeper, wood-ranger, tithe proctor, bailiff, parish clerk, servant, or the keeper of "any house for the sale of beer, wine, or spiritous liquors by retail."(34) Other men, for example ex-soldiers, while not barred from joining the police were looked at askance by the constabulary authorities. The reason for this was similar to that expressed by the chief constable of the Liverpool police in 1882, who was an ex-R.I.C. officer: "I find that the extra amount of freedom they get, through not being so constantly watched as when in the army, makes many of them come to grief in a very short time, through taking to drink."(35) Inspector-general Chamberlain of the R.I.C. in 1914 explained the reluctance of the constabulary to enlist ex-soldiers as based partly on the fact that British soldiers tended to be much shorter than the average R.I.C. man, and also their discipline was poorer. Only ex-soldiers who had "exemplary" characters were taken on. Despite the misgivings of the authorities, some soldiers were accepted. For example, in 1910 5.5% of R.I.C. vacancies were filled by ex-soldiers, while the figures for 1911 and 1912 were 1% and 2.6% respectively.(36) Even men whose occupations made them ineligible before the law as candidates for the police were

accepted into the force "if the candidates be eligible in other respects."(37)

Appendix xiv, which is based on the previous sample of almost 18000 constabulary recruits, gives a clear indication of the social background of the men who joined the force in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are many similarities between these recruits and those who joined the D.M.P. from 1837 to 1914, as outlined in appendix xv. The most striking feature of both tables is that the largest proportion of men came from the rural working classes, whether they be described as "labourers" (in the R.I.C. to the early 1870s, in the D.M.P. down to the 1880s, and again before World War I) or "farmers" (in the R.I.C. in the last three periods examined, and the D.M.P. in the 1880s and 1890s). In comparison, the number of recruits of other occupations was usually quite negligible. Some clarification of the occupational groups used in the tables needs to be given here. It may be assumed that recruits who were property owners were scarce in the police forces. It is unlikely, for example, that when a man was described as a farmer that he actually owned or held a farm - farm ownership or tenancy would probably have prevented the need of joining the police; what is probably meant is that he was actually a farmer's son, with no prospect of inheriting his father's farm. In a similar vein it can be reasonably assumed that there were very few actual shopkeepers in the

"shopkeeper/assistant" category used in the tables. It is difficult to imagine a baker, grocer, draper or butcher - to give some of the more frequent descriptions used in the registers - actually owning a shop and giving it up to join the police; such people were in all likelihood assistants.

It is not possible to be certain that recruits described as being of "no occupation" were what we would consider unemployed or living a hand to mouth existence. For example, William Maher of Kilkenny, recorded in the R.I.C. personnel registers as being without occupation, joined that force on 20 July 1887; he resigned in March 1891 "To aid his mother who is a publican in looking after her business." (38) A separate source from the constabulary registers shows that of the 4636 recruits who joined the R.I.C. from 1891 to 1900, 537 - 11.58% of the total - were the sons of members or retired members of the force. Comparing this figure with the return of recruits of no occupation from 1890 to 1892 and from 1900 to 1902, the likelihood is that a large proportion of these men were the sons of policemen. (39) How valid such a conjecture is for the earlier years of the constabulary, or for the D.M.P., is open to speculation.

The occupational groups described in the R.I.C. and D.M.P. registers which are most in need of clarification are those of "farmer" and "labourer." The distinctions between these two social groups in nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland are much more blurred than the registers of

the two police forces would suggest. It was quite common for sons of small farmers, and indeed for tenant farmers themselves, to hire themselves out as labourers for other farmers at certain times of the year, thus making it difficult to distinguish rigidly between farmers and labourers in Irish society. Nor was it uncommon for "true" or landless labourers to call themselves farmers.(40) It is not surprising then that the descriptions by contemporaries of the social origins of police recruits are at variance with the descriptions used in the police registers. Sir Francis B. Head on his visit to the constabulary depot in 1852 wrote of the recruits there that "almost all had been selected as the sons of deserving small farmers." In 1854 Inspector-general McGregor stated that they were "in general" the "sons of small farmers." The Nation newspaper in 1860 described the constabulary as the "sons of peasant farmers . . . and therefore the more likely to sympathize with the sufferings of that class."(41) A similar tendency to describe policemen as the sons of farmers, despite the evidence of the registers, was shown by Chief Commissioner George Browne of the D.M.P. in 1858. He claimed that before the Famine "there had been a pretty good supply of the sons of small farmers," but that since the Famine most recruits were labourers.(42) However, an examination of the personnel register of the D.M.P., as appendix xv demonstrates, shows that there were scarcely any candidates enrolled as farmers, either before

or after the Famine.

What is one to make of these apparent anomalies? Clearly the number of farmers' sons was much larger than the registers of both forces would suggest, but they have been described in these as "labourers." There are several indications that this was the case in the R.I.C. returns. The following are examples of men recorded in the registers as labourers: Thomas Rogan, Leitrim, joined May 1861, resigned December 1865 "To assist his father in managing his farm;" Michael Cunningham, Roscommon, joined January 1867, resigned January 1869 "Supposed to get a farm of land from his father;" Matthew Lazenby, Kildare, joined March 1868, resigned February 1871 "To take charge of his father's farm," and Patrick Gibbons, Limerick, joined September 1875, resigned July 1878 "To go home to aid his father in his farm." (43) There are several other examples of men enrolled as labourers but who nevertheless stated when resigning from the R.I.C. that they were returning home to farm. The registers do not state that they were returning to take charge of their parents' farms, but this is most likely. (44)

There is not much information as to the size of farm held by the parents of young men who joined the constabulary, although most witnesses generally describe such farms as "small." A constable serving in Down - a county which did not supply a large number of constabulary recruits - said that policemen from that county came from farms of from 20

to 50 acres in size, with one Downpatrick man, an exception to the rule, claiming his father held between 60 and 70 acres. Evidence for the same year from Tyrone suggests that recruits came from farms of between 20 and 40 acres in size.(45) However, five years later, a visitor to Tyrone was told by a landlord in Dungannon that farmers' sons who joined the R.I.C. came from "small farms of ten or twenty acres on the slopes of mountains."(46) A farmer who had several sons on a farm of that size would be unlikely to have been able to provide employment for all of them; many of them would have had no option but to migrate or emigrate in search of work, or apply to join the police. Sergeant Michael Brophy claimed that the sons of farmers that joined the R.I.C. were the younger sons for whom their fathers were unable to provide.(47) An officer stationed at the Dublin depot before World War I, on questioning recruits who described themselves as farmers' sons was told that "their fathers had a few acres of land, and that they themselves had been working for hire with other farmers in the locality."(48) It seems probable that before the 1880s such recruits were registered as labourers, as that was what they were working at prior to joining the police. It is possible that the advent of the Land League led to an aversion amongst such men to being described as labourers, and this would account for the noticeable change in employment categories before and after the 1880s. Whatever the exact proportion of labourers and

farmers' sons in the police - and the differences between the two are not always distinct - the police authorities preferred to enlist young men from rural areas. Gregory Fulham plausibly argues that farmers' sons were preferred because "they already possessed some respect for property and public order." (49) Assistant Inspector-general Singleton in 1901 claimed that farmers' sons were preferred because they were "independent respectable fellows," in contrast to servants or even the sons of labourers; the perceived quality of independence was considered important, as it was often stressed to recruits that they should be able to act on their own initiative in the absence of an officer. (50)

It is important for a social history of the police to examine why recruits joined the D.M.P. and the constabulary. While of course the reasons for the decision to apply for police membership could be as numerous as the recruits themselves, it is possible to identify some of the factors which influenced such decisions. One of these factors was that, especially in the post-Famine period, Ireland experienced a dramatic decline in the rate of marriage. While there were regional and class variations in this rate, the overall pattern is clear; less Irish people were marrying in Ireland, and at a later age than in the earlier part of the century. The desire of tenant farmers to prevent subdivision of farms often meant that the sons who were not to inherit were faced with the choice of remaining at home

as bachelors and as "assisting relatives" on the farm, or emigrating. the commercial approach to marriage made it increasingly unlikely that these effectively disinherited sons would marry at home.(51) Their position contrasted starkly with that of young men in the police. Because a policeman had permanent employment, often had good wages, and had the prospect of a pension on retirement, he was regarded in a favourable light by unattached Irishwomen. A Belfast barrister noted in 1866, just one year after the Irish Constabulary had taken over the policing of that city, that "It is a notorious fact that all the pretty girls of Belfast are deserting the military and going to the constabulary."(52) An official of the Local Government Board noted later in the century that public houses on the western seaboard did a brisk business in a home-made scent called "White Rose." According to a carman, "The girls do be puttin' it on their handkerchers . . .if they're goin' walking out with the police . . . [I]t takes the smell of the turf out of their hair and clothes and gives them a great charrum." The official found that the scent had "a rank powerful odour of shaving-soap and hair-oil." While this might hardly seem an ideal perfume to wear, it at least shows that young ladies in the west of Ireland were prepared to go to special lengths to make themselves attractive to policemen.(53) A Co. Longford district inspector noted in 1901 of young women in his area that "They look upon the

police as the best catches in the country. All the girls in the country are going after them." In the same year a constable serving in Kanturk claimed that a policeman could get married because a young woman "becomes infatuated with the uniform." (54) Such a state of affairs could not have passed the attention of young men pondering on whether or not to join the police.

The perceived easy life of a policeman was another powerful incentive in the eyes of hard-working young men in rural Ireland for applying for membership in the force. Although there were periods when due to agrarian troubles or in times of distress like the Famine that the lot of policemen in Ireland was not an easy one, it is also true that for much of the period under discussion most of rural Ireland was quite peaceful, and rural policemen did not have a great deal to do outside of routine patrolling duties. There are numerous descriptions by contemporaries to show that this view of the policeman's life in the countryside was a widespread one. Thomas Francis Meagher, who attended school in Clongoweswood from 1834 to 1840, recalled the constabulary barrack in nearby Clane village, "with a policeman perpetually chewing a straw outside on the doorstep, rubbing his shoulder against the whitewash of the doorpost, and winking and spitting all the day long." (55) Such an idyllic scene would have greatly appealed to the Co. Cork constable who admitted with candour in court in 1844 that

"the less I do the better I like my berth."(56) A colonel in Birr was unfavourably impressed by the Irish Constabulary in 1862. He felt that their duties were to "loungue at the door of their barracks, march two-by-two a certain number of miles along the road, gossip with their comrades at the next barrack, walk back again, clean their arms," and "take care that their uniforms are not spoiled by hard work, or by exposure to rain, or to dirty roads."(57) Disgruntled rate payers in Co. Cork in 1856 claimed that the constabulary had "no other occupation than that of smoking in their barracks, reading accounts of English murders, or visiting the servant maids of the villages."(58) A Mayo resident magistrate was given the following piece of advice on how to recognize members of the R.I.C. in the late nineteenth century: "You can always tell a Brackloon policeman . . . by the shine on the seat of his trousers. They do be always sittin' down."(59)

According to a member of the 1901 committee of enquiry into conditions of service in the R.I.C., a policeman's duty in rural Ireland in peaceful times consisted of "Simply an afternoon's exercise."(60) James Comerford sums up well how young farmers' sons contrasted their lot with that of members of the R.I.C.:

As they patrolled the roads in rural Ireland they attracted the favourable attention of the girls. They were the envy of the young sons of farmers who plodded daily, except on Sundays, with heavy boots caked with clay when working in ploughed fields with or without horses for eight or nine hours a day, who sweated in the

meadows making hay for twelve hours a day in hot summer weather until twilight, or who slogged along on a wet day through the fields while feeling wet and cold, but still doing essential farm work.(61)

Many farmers' sons turned policemen gave as their reason for joining the force that they hoped for an easier life than that to which they had been accustomed. One man who joined the R.I.C. in 1867 recalled in 1882, "When I joined the police I had little idea what they were at all. I joined the police, seeing them walking about, and that they had fine idle times of it, while I was working hard at home."(62) In 1901 a head constable of 24 years' experience in the R.I.C. explained: "I was a farmer's son, reared in County Tyrone, and when I was young I saw the police walking about, and thought they had good times. I did not know there was such a thing as an Act of Parliament." According to a sergeant of 23 years' service, "I believed they had a gentleman's life when I saw them walking about, and I said them fellows have fine times. I don't know why I would not have as fine a time."(63)

The impression that the men in the police had "fine times" was partly created by policemen on leave of absence in their home areas. Evidence from 1901 and 1914 shows that in order to create as good an impression as possible among their friends such men would borrow suits, portmanteaus, and hire or borrow gold watches "to go home as respectable as they possibly can." The figure that they cut at home induced other young men to enter the police. Young policemen on

leave were wont to add to their prestige amongst their friends by painting a bright picture of their lot. David Neligan records that he received "glowing accounts" when he asked a friend who had joined the R.I.C. about life in that force: "It appeared that it was money for jam: the duty was so easy that one got paid for strolling around."(64) Policemen who had once earned their living by physical labour were anxious to be considered a step above manual workers in the social scale. A sub-constable serving in Louth in 1882 stated that the police "look upon themselves as a superior class of men" to "Mechanics, tradesmen of all descriptions, and quay porters." According to a Belfast sub-inspector in the same year, the police should be considered socially superior to mill-workers and on a par with workers in linen warehouses who "as the saying goes, never soil their fingers."(65)

In September 1882 the United Ireland newspaper published an imaginary account, but one which has plenty of accuracy to it, of the thought process involved in a rural recruit's decision to join the R.I.C. The account is that of "A poor Peeler," who had been employed minding sheep on a mountain for "two meals of potatoes and sour milk," as well as sixpence per day, with his wages increasing by degrees as he grew older:

Sometimes my mistress made me a straw hat of her own making. I knew not shoes. On that bleak hill-side, solicitude and starvation set me thinking, and my dreams were of full meals and clothes to wear. I learned how

to read and write. I frequently saw policemen lounging lazily up the mountain road; sometimes they sat down to rest on the heather of my hill, smoked, read, chatted to the girls, lounged home to good dinners. My ambition was fired. As soon as I was old enough I joined the force. The change from two bad meals of potatoes and milk to plenty of meat . . . worked a change in my disposition - changed me from an extreme rebel to a loyal lover of our constitution.(66)

For some rural recruits, the lure of the police lay in becoming a member of the petty eminence of the village hierarchy described in chapter one: a Longford district inspector claimed at the turn of the century that "they associate with the very best in the town of Ballymahon."(67)

An Arklow sub-constable recognized in 1882 that for many restless individuals the police force offered an escape from a monotonous existence at home - he stated that many recruits "join simply to get away from home."(68) A Ballintoy man working in an office in Belfast in May 1882 wrote to a friend that "one of my old rambling fits is on me. Where it will lead to I don't know yet, but I think I will light on my feet." In fact he landed in the Dublin Metropolitan Police. After joining that force he wrote in December 1882 that "I have played the last card in my hand, and I am going to abide by the throw." However, not long afterwards another one of his "rambling fits" came upon him, and he emigrated to join the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.(69) Jeremiah Mee is another example of a restless countryman who joined the police. In his memoirs he recalls that "At the age of twenty I was anxious to leave home, but

there seemed to be no place to go." Joining the R.I.C. was the "last thought" in his head, until it was suggested to him by the local sergeant.(70) David Neligan's ambitions to enter the police were fired by R.I.C. men returning to his parish on leave. However, he did not wish to join the constabulary, as one could be "stuck for years at some cross-road," and he had "seen enough of cross-roads" to last him a life time. He preferred to break with rural life and join the D.M.P.: "I wanted to go to the city, which was an unknown entity to me. I had never been in any town bigger than Limerick, our county capital. Somewhere, I'd find the streets that were paved with gold."(71)

Evidence from the late nineteenth century suggests that joining the police was an unsatisfactory alternative to emigration for some recruits. A Kanturk constable of 19 years' service in the R.I.C. explained some of the factors involved in a man's decision to enter that force:

The love of home is one thing. I know what impelled me to join. I was anxious to emigrate at the time, and my parents would not hear of my emigrating. They wanted me to keep at home, and, in order to satisfy them, I joined the police, and remained there ever since. That is why I joined the police, and, I think, there are a great many others who joined for the same reason.(72)

Deference to parental wishes also explains why Constable Martin Dolan, a farmer's son serving in Letterkenny in 1901, joined the R.I.C. He outlined how the future of a farmer's son could be decided by his father: "When he comes up to eighteen or nineteen years of age, his father thinks of

putting him to something. There is little employment in the country. It was my wish to emigrate, but I would not be allowed to do so, and that is mostly why I did join the police."(73) Another constable of ten years' service explained that he had wanted to leave the country but he added: "My parents would not allow me to leave or provide me with the means. And I joined the force, thinking that I would save something to bring me out."(74) Flor Crowley remembers how west Cork small farmers with large families planned the futures of their sons and daughters:

The not very comely daughter must be a teacher where her salary ensured her of suitors galore. The less brainy son was to be a farmer, where, in their simple way, they believed brains to be less necessary than brawn and where natural intelligence would be entirely wasted. The tall, strong son was for the police, the lazy lad of the family was for America where he would later make his own fortune and theirs as well. The quiet, studious youth 'might be a priest, with God's help.' It was all planned out in simple mins and the strange thing was that a good deal of it came to happen.(75)

For some recruits, joining the police was something of a family tradition, just as in some families enlistment in the army was the norm.(76) The constabulary regulations recognized that family tradition motivated some recruits, insofar as it was against the rules for a father and son, or for brothers, to be quartered in the same barrack or to serve in adjoining sub-districts.(77) An example of a member of this type of family was William Foster, who from 1849 to 1857 worked as a gatekeeper for a Dublin engineering company, served for three years in the Irish Constabulary and four

years in the D.M.P.: he was one of seven brothers who served in either the army or the police.(78) Sergeant A. Osborough, serving in Portstewart in 1911, was one of four brothers in the R.I.C., while another brother was a sergeant in the Inniskilling Fusiliers. One of his sisters was married to an R.I.C. head constable, and another two were married to soldiers.(79) Sergeant Thomas Brennan, who served in Mullaghroe in the same year, was one of six brothers in the constabulary.(80)

We have already seen that in the 1890s more than one tenth of all recruits to the R.I.C. were the sons of policemen. Some could point to several generations of service in the police. For example, Sergeant John Kinlough, stationed in Ballylinan in the early twentieth century, had three sons enrolled in the R.I.C. and his brother served in the force as clerk to the county inspector for Donegal. The first of the Kinloughs to join the constabulary was the sergeant's father, who enrolled at the Ballinrobe depot in 1839.(81) Acting-sergeant M.J. Lyons, serving in Edenderry in December 1913, was another member of a family with three generations of service in the police; his father had served for 33 years in the constabulary and his grandfather for 30 years. His great-grandfather was killed at the Battle of Waterloo, whilst holding a commission under Wellington.(82) Undoubtedly there were many families in Ireland to whom joining the police was the done thing; but there is also some

evidence to suggest that some policemen's sons followed reluctantly in their fathers' footsteps. A policeman's son and a native of Co. Limerick, who in 1882 was a sub-constable of 14 years' experience, explained that where he grew up there was "not much open there for a young fellow, so I had to join the police, and I am sorry I remained."(83) A constable serving in Kilkenny in 1901 told the R.I.C. committee of enquiry of that year that

If a policeman puts his son into a shop, to business, he is called by the employees, 'the Peeler's son', so that things are made uncomfortable for him. The result is that the son says to himself that he might as well go and join the force at once, because, otherwise, the father's stigma will come down on him.(84)

Most applicants, however, were not forced by circumstances to join, except insofar as conditions in their previous employment paled in comparison with the benefits offered on donning the policeman's uniform. It is probably accurate to say that most recruits willingly joined the police, in the hope of improving their lot. The most immediate attraction of the D.M.P and R.I.C. was the rate of pay which they received. In the constabulary, second class sub-constables from 1836 onwards were paid £24 a year, while those of the first class received £27 14 shillings. These sums amounted to almost nine shillings and threepence per week for a second class sub-constable, and to almost ten shillings and tenpence per week for a first class sub-constable. The real value of the sub-constables' income differed from these amounts, however, as each man received

a uniform free of charge, and all single and many married men received free barrack accommodation. All policemen were entitled to extra pay of one shilling per day for attending as witnesses at assizes or quarter sessions. If they were on duty at the assizes, quarter sessions, elections or on any extraordinary duty which detained them from home or barracks during the night, they received an extra sixpence. An allowance of one shilling was granted for a march from one county to another, three shillings per year were allowed for repairing arms and accoutrements, and there was an annual medical allowance of six shillings.(85) There was also a system of rewards in operation for the performance of exceptional duty. It was partly offset by a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ from pay, which amounted to around nine days' pay. This sum was set aside to establish a reward fund and a fund for paying pensions and gratuities to policemen and, in some cases, their wives.

Due to the high cost of living in Dublin, D.M.P. men were paid considerably more than their constabulary counterparts. At first, in 1838, all constables were paid 14 shillings a week, or £36 and eight shillings a year. In 1839 constables were divided into three grades. Third class constables - that is, those in their first six months of service after completing their supernumerary course - received ten shillings and sixpence per week. After six months they were promoted to second class, and paid at the

original rate of 14 shillings weekly. Second class constables whose conduct was "generally good" were promoted, according to seniority, to the first class whenever vacancies occurred. The pay of the first class was 15 shillings ninepence weekly, or £40 and 19 shillings a year. In 1840 new rates of pay were introduced, which lasted to 1855. Under these rates constables of the third class received 11 shillings and sixpence a week (£29 and 18 shillings per annum), those of the second class were paid 15 shillings per week (£39 per annum) and the first class received 16 shillings and ninepence a week (£43 11 shillings a year). In addition to these salaries, married men were paid sixpence a week (£1 six shillings a year) fuel allowance. From 1839 onwards all sergeants and constables received two shillings and one penny a month (13 shillings per annum) boot allowance. As in the constabulary there were certain deductions made from their pay, the largest of which was the one shilling per week (£2 12 shillings per year) from unmarried men's pay for barrack accommodation. (86)

One can best judge the generosity of the policeman's pay by comparing it with that of the largest wage-earning group in Ireland and the class which, at least as recorded in the registers, constituted the largest single source of police recruits - the rural labourers. The amount and type of wages of labourers in pre-Famine Ireland varied enormously from one part of the country to another. The seasonal nature

of their work also meant that they could expect to receive their highest rate of pay during the times of peak demand for their labour, during planting and harvesting, and the lowest rate during the slack summer and winter periods. Another problem which labourers faced, and which policemen did not, was periodic unemployment: a survey of almost 3000 labourers in nine Cavan parishes in 1836 shows that less than one third were constantly employed throughout the year.(87) The regional variations in labourers' wages almost defy analysis, but the general consensus of contemporary observers and historians alike is that the lot of the pre-Famine agricultural labourer was a miserable one. If paid in money alone, wages could vary from eightpence to one shilling per day; if combined with diet they could be only fourpence to sixpence, and labourers sometimes worked just for food.(88)

Policemen, in view of the fact that they were permanently employed and received substantially higher wages, were considerably better off than the agricultural labourers. The claim of one student of the pre-Famine D.M.P that their rates of pay were "far from generous" does not, then, appear to be valid.(89) Although the Irish Constabulary rank and file received lower wages than their D.M.P. counterparts, Inspector-general McGregor wrote in March 1843 of "the vast numbers of candidates that are pressing for admission into its ranks;" indeed it was the "vast increase of applicants for admission into the force" which allowed McGregor the

luxury of dividing recruits into three distinct grades, with only first class candidates being deemed eligible for entry.(90) The Nation in 1843 recorded that young men from Ulster who were normally "content to keep body and soul together with bad potatoes and coarse salt" or Scotch oatmeal, bannocks, buttermilk and vitriolic whiskey" were pressing forward to join the constabulary, in which policemen were "enabled to live tolerably well upon their pay."(91) One might reasonably surmise that for recruit Thomas Hutchinson, a "raw, athletic, country-looking young man" from Fermanagh, who admitted in court in 1840 that he had never worn a pair of boots before joining the D.M.P., the attractive wages of the Dublin force were enough to entice him to the capital. He was typical of what a Dublin barrister described as "raw country fellows, coming up from the bogs of the north, with the prospect of the promise of getting themselves enrolled in the metropolitan police force."(92)

Attractive as pre-Famine police wages were, they were not always enough to entice recruits from the countryside. A hostile observer of the inspection in Mullingar in 1837 of about 70 applicants, "principally labourers," for admittance to the D.M.P. reported that one of the 30 candidates deemed suitable asked what pay they were to receive for "their loss and bother in seeking for the situation." On being told that the pay of D.M.P. constables was to be 14 shillings per week,

"these bog-trotters - who at home would be glad to get 10d per day - seemed to be woefully disappointed." They had expected to be paid at least £1 per week.(93) Elizabeth Smith, a landlord residing in Baltiboys, about a mile and a half from Blessington, Co. Wicklow, records that it was "Black '47," the worst year of the Famine, which finally prompted many labourers in her area to seek employment in the D.M.P. Widow Mulligan, one of Smith's tenants, "had to be scolded for her selfish folly in refusing her son to the police": the widow was understandably reluctant to see her son, her main support, leave home. According to Smith, Larry Mulligan, the brother of her kitchen maid, was working as a herd for "five shillings a week and a house in which mother and daughter seem inclined to keep him and themselves starving for they have no energy to do anything for themselves." She lent Mulligan the money to join the police, which he was to repay in small installments. Smith also lent the necessary funds to a tenant named Pat Hyland, who according to her should have had the money saved from his wages but instead "he has been going about in rags . . . that every penny not required for food may go to the family of beggars he belongs to, two or three of whom might earn if they were so inclined." Another tenant to whom she contributed money for his equipment "spent it otherwise and is now writing begging letters to a brother to entreat his assistance which if granted may avail so unprincipled a lad

as little." Smith's diary extracts barely conceal her delight that at last her maternal "scolding" of her tenants to be more thrifty and ambitious was at last bearing fruit. On May 6, 1847, she writes "The young labourers hereabouts are all trying to get into the police. None will be taken who cannot read and write; this will speak to some of the parents surely, shew them the necessity of school for their children." On May 6 she wrote that

large families which in the days of potatoes would lounge on in listless poverty all together, neither sons or daughters ever keeping places that were procured for them by some exertion, now have separated voluntarily. All are dispersed trying their luck, as they call it - putting up with work, wages, hardship, they would not formerly have brooked for half a day.

Applying for police membership was one of the "hardships" which the young men of the area were now prepared to tolerate.(94)

In the pre-Famine and Famine periods a sufficient number of mainly rural recruits came forward to fill the vacancies in the two main Irish police forces. This state of affairs did not apply for many years after the Famine. The period from the 1850s to the 1870s was generally a period of rising prices, which meant an increase in the cost of living; anyone living on fixed incomes, like policemen, were consequently worse off than they had been before the Famine unless they received a pay increase sufficient to compensate for the price increases. After the Famine the trend was for labourers' wages to increase, at least to the extent that

cash wages rose, although extras such as food tended to be cut down on. The extent of the rise in the cost of living is still a matter for debate. Chief Commissioner Lake of the D.M.P. claimed in 1872 that the cost of food had risen by one third since 1838, but that the wages of the police force had failed to keep pace with this increase.(95) Different figures were claimed from rural areas. Sub-inspector Henry Balke of Tipperary town claimed that the cost of living rose by 75% since 1848; a head constable had served in Cork city alleged that the cost of meat had more than doubled, that butter was up by 75%, and eggs by more than 133% by 1872.(96) William Vaughan estimates that the cost of living in Ireland rose by only 17% between 1854 and 1874, with another estimate placing it at 25%.(97) The spending power of police wages fell during these years, to the extent that rural recruits no longer looked on the police forces as attractive a choice of employment as they had before the Famine. While labourers' wages were still subject to wide seasonal and regional variations, a general increase in their pay did occur. In 1866 it was estimated that their wages averaged between seven and nine shillings a week, and that therefore the pay of the lower ranks of the constabulary "by no means contrasts with the pay of the mechanic or the labourer so favourably as in days gone by."(98)

The police authorities had long recognized this fact. In 1854 Inspector-general McGregor complained that due to the

post-Famine increase in emigration and the great demand for labour, the police experienced "extreme difficulty" in recruiting, "so much so, that I find the question may become very embarrassing." Despite his reducing the height standards by an inch and a quarter, easing the system of punishments for infractions of the regulations and being "less particular" about candidates' standard of education, the difficulties in recruiting persisted. In earlier years there were usually several men on his lists "who used great interest to gain early admission," but in the early 1850s police officers had to urge magistrates to greater efforts to try and fill the vacancies in the force.(99) The D.M.P. also met with difficulty in keeping its ranks up to an adequate strength. Its surgeon, Dr. Ireland, responded by introducing a "reduced standard of physical excellence" for recruits: of 1392 candidates between 1847 and 1851 almost a third - 32.33% - were declared to be unfit for the service; of the 1477 candidates between 1852 and 1856 only 276, or 18.69%, were deemed to be unfit.(100) Chief Commissioner Browne pointed out in December 1857 "the indisposition of men . . . who are not pressed by necessity, to join the service."(101)

The post-Famine inadequacies in pay were not just reflected in the reluctance of recruits to come forward. They were also evident in the reluctance of men who joined the police forces, to stay in them. Policemen voiced their

dissatisfaction over pay and other grievances - but mainly over pay - by voting with their feet and resigning or "deserting" (resigning without offering the required notice). Resignations occurred amongst both experienced and new constables. For example, of the almost 3000 men who joined the Irish Constabulary from 1844 to 1846, 27% resigned the force. The average length of service of those who resigned was almost seven and a half years; most stayed in the force during the Famine period, but left it during the early 1850s. Inadequate pay accounted for most of these: 81% of those who assigned a reason for leaving the police expressed their intention to emigrate.(102) Some 365 of the 936 recruits who joined the force in 1851, 40% of the total, resigned: 64.77% of those who gave a reason for resigning said it was because they wished to emigrate.(103) In general, resignation rates were low in the 1840s, accounting for just over a quarter - 27.7% - of all removals from the force. With the exception of 1847, which was, as we shall see, a year of extreme hardship for the Irish Constabulary, never more than 3% of the force resigned in any one year. In the 1850s and 1860s, however, resignations accounted for almost half of all removals, and the proportion of the force resigning often rose above that of the severe year of 1847. (See appendices xvi and xvii). There are no data of annual removals from the D.M.P. for this period, but in December 1857 a chief inspector of that force pointed out the tendency of their

policemen to resign after a few years' service: of the 5706 men who joined the D.M.P. down to November 1857, 1181 - 20.7% - resigned after less than five years in the force.(104)

In September 1851 a newspaper report claimed that it was particularly common for members of the constabulary serving in Munster to emigrate to the United States:

The inducements are so few to spend a life in the force, the final prospects so poor, the promotion so slow, and the advantages in another land so superior to men of good conduct and intelligence . . . that it is not surprising they prefer seeking their fortunes in those climes where so many of their countrymen are gone before them . . . [U]nless a policeman remains unmarried all his life and is closely economical, he cannot spare anything for his old age, or be the slightest assistance to any of his relatives.(105)

In 1854 Inspector-general McGregor described how groups of six policemen would club together to send one of their number to Australia, "trusting to his honour that he will, as soon as possible, remit from the colony the amount advanced, to enable another of his comrades to emigrate in a like manner."(106) Such a system of organized emigration to Australia was said to be especially prevalent amongst policemen in parts of Ulster, who were lured by accounts of carpenters, builders and shoemakers earning from £1 to £1 and ten shillings a day, of constables in convict prisons earning £208 annually, and mounted policemen earning £150 a year, as well as food and clothing.(107)

In an attempt to cut down on the number of policemen resigning for the purpose of emigrating, Inspector-general McGregor warned in 1853 that ex-policemen who received

assisted emigration to Australia by representing themselves as agricultural labourers would be subject to a penalty of £50.(108) The D.M.P. chief commissioners also attempted to dissuade their members from leaving for Australia. In October 1854, when 40 men of the B division volunteered to join the Australian police forces, Chief Commissioner Browne refused to accept their applications.(109) The lure of Australia for Irish policemen did not go away, however. When advertising for applicants from the Irish Constabulary for his force in 1859, the superintendent of the Western Australian Police pointed out that the lowest rate of pay for constables was £70 a year, rising annually by £2 to £80 a year. In addition there was £13 a year lodging allowance. Mounted constables received £80 a year, rising annually by £2 and ten shillings to £90, and they also received £13 a year for lodging.(110) Inspector general Brownrigg wrote in 1863:

It cannot . . . be concealed that there is a wide spread feeling amongst the men that they are inadequately paid; that while the standard of fitness is high, the pay and the prospects are low: that, considering all that is required of them - good character, good constitution and health, a good degree of intelligence, a certain amount of education, unremitting attention to duty, restriction from working at a trade to supplement their means, from indulging in amusements, from joining societies - and the not infrequent imposition of new duties without any additional emoluments - they are not well treated.

Under these circumstances it was hardly a matter of surprise that many policemen resigned, and especially a large proportion of the mounted force, and that they went to

various other police establishments, particularly that of Queensland, where they found "immediate employment." (111)

The police authorities adopted a number of new financial measures in the 1850s in an effort to attract more recruits and to retain their experienced policemen in their forces. The first of these came in September 1853, when it was allowed that second class sub-constables in the Irish Constabulary (pay £24 a year) who had served "with propriety," should be recommended by their county inspectors for promotion to the first class (pay £27 and 14 shillings a year) after six months in that rank, and not after a year as was the case hitherto. In addition, policemen on any duty at quarter sessions were to be allowed the same amount of extra pay as that given to men acting as prosecutors or witnesses, the extra pay for duty at elections was doubled to a shilling a day, and men absent on duty from their barrack for ten hours were to be entitled to the rate of extra pay hitherto granted for a night's absence. (112) A more important measure was introduced in the next year, in May 1854. This was the granting of long service pay to the rank and file, in addition to their ordinary pay. In fact "long service" pay was something of a misnomer as it was given to all men over two years' service. Men who served more than two years were granted three shillings and tenpence a month (£2 and six shillings a year), men with over seven years' service received seven shillings and sevenpence a

month (£4 and eleven shillings a year), those who served for more than 15 years received 11 shillings and fivepence a month (£6 and 17 shillings a year) and those of over 20 years' service received 15 shillings and twopence extra a month, or £9 and two shillings a year. These increases were, in fact, illegal, as they meant that most policemen of more than 15 years' service were receiving wages in excess of the maximum laid down by Act of Parliament, and the long service pay was abolished after the 1866 committee of enquiry into the Irish Constabulary. (113)

In October 1855 the government sanctioned increases in pay for the men and officers of the D.M.P., which lasted until 1867. The new system gave ten shillings a week to supernumeraries. On promotion to the newly created rank of fourth class constable they received 11 shillings and sixpence, while those of the second class received an extra shilling and ninepence a week. (114) Although these wages were considerably higher than those of the constabulary rank and file, the D.M.P. chief commissioners still found that suitable recruits were slow to come forward, as we have already seen. A minor, short term reason for the scarcity of recruits was the reported fear in western areas that recruiting officers of the D.M.P. were in reality engaged in entrapping men for the army. (115) Nor did the constabulary wage increases succeed as well as the authorities had hoped. In 1863 the commandant of the Dublin depot reported a

"startling lack of the requisite number of eligible candidates" for entry into the force.(116) One county inspector described the state of morale in the constabulary in the early 1860s. Men with about five or six years' service resigned to go to America or Australia where their relations were "earning heaps of money," and the cost of labour rose "to more than double what it had been even within a short time" so that many of the "junior members" of the force resigned and returned home at the prompting of their fathers. He summed up the attitude of the fathers of young recruits thus: "Tom is in resate of three-and-sixpence a day, besides mate and dhrink, an' what id keep Mick in the Peelers?"(117)

Inspector-general Brownrigg reported in 1863 that the inadequate police pay was "most keenly felt by the married men," who were "sorely put about, although struggling to conceal their embarrassments."(118) In 1864 a Westmeath resident magistrate claimed that the constabulary of that county were reluctant, even in emergencies, to incur the expense of hiring a car or horse to notify their sub-inspector, justice of the peace or stipendiary magistrate. Instead they conveyed the necessary information on a slip of paper "entrusted to a respectable mounted civilian."(119) It is no coincidence that the Irish Constabulary fell to a dangerously low level around this time. On January 1, 1865, there were 999 vacancies in the force, around one twelfth of

the desired strength. A further 579 resignations took place between January and October.(120) To meet the "general complaint of the inadequacy of pay" in the constabulary, the treasury appointed a commission in 1866 to investigate conditions in the force and to make recommendations for their improvement.

The commission recommended the abolition of the long service pay for all men over two years' service, but compensated for this by increasing the ordinary wages. The pay of sub-constables who served between six months and six years were to receive 14 shillings weekly, which, taking the abolition of long service pay into account, meant an increase of about £6 and eight shillings a year. Men with between six years and twelve years in the force were to receive 15 shillings a week, which meant a raise of about £7 annually when one subtracts long service pay. These increases, and especially the payment of 14 shillings to men who were less than six years in the police - this sum was felt to be more than five shillings a week better than a labourer's wages - were designed to attract labourers and farmers' sons intending to emigrate, as well as to encourage the junior sub-constables to stay in the force.(121) The D.M.P. received pay increases the next year. A sum of £3000 was granted by the treasury to be shared by the members of the force, with awards ranging from £2 to each second class constable to £11 for superintendents, in recognition of the

extra duty they had performed and their important role in defeating the Fenian conspiracy.(122) (The British parliament was not so generous to the men of the Irish Constabulary. Although the establishment in general was honoured by the addition of the epithet "Royal" to the official name of the force, only the 97 men and officers from the ten barracks which had actually come under fire from the rebels were entitled to a share of a reward, with £15 going to each sub-constable and £104 to each sub-inspector involved.)(123) Of more importance than these gratuities were the permanent (and mainly slight) increases in salary granted to most D.M.P. men and officers in 1867. The lower ranks were the greatest beneficiaries, with the fourth class constables receiving four shillings a week extra and those of the third class one shilling and ninepence.(124)

The effects of these measures were, in the short term, encouraging for the police authorities. Vacancies in the R.I.C. fell from a high of 1,800 to just 600 in January 1868, and the chief secretary was optimistic that by the end of the year the force would be recruited to its full authorized strength.(125) Also the numbers of men resigning in 1867, 1868 and 1869 fell to their lowest level since 1850.(126) However, in 1870 the problems of a dearth of recruits, and a great increase in the number of men resigning, returned. Ireland was still affected by a high price inflation, and its effects on policemen's wages caused potential recruits to

look elsewhere for employment. One historian who has constructed a commodity price index for three important items in the household's budget - bread, potatoes, and beef - from 1865 onwards has calculated that they cost over one third more by 1872. Although she only examines these three items, she plausibly argues that they are indicative of the general trend in food prices in the 1860s and early 1870s.(127) Her general picture, if not her actual estimates, is supported by evidence from the county inspector for Cork, West Riding, in 1872, who claimed that the price of bread had risen by almost one third, the price of flour by two thirds, that bacon prices had almost doubled, that egg prices had doubled and that those of potatoes more than doubled since 1865.(128)

Morale was quite low in the R.I.C. in the early 1870s due to the perception by the men that their pay was inadequate. In 1872 Inspector-general Wood stated that the discontent over the issue "has become a sort of epidemic throughout the force, and that in twenty counties already inspected this year, the complaint is universal."(129) The sense of grievance of the men was strengthened by the higher wages and perceived better working conditions enjoyed by certain other sections of society. Head Constable Ransome, stationed in Cork in 1872, claimed that "A tradesman will not join the force: he can earn five shillings or six shillings a day. He has Sunday to enjoy himself, and he can rest in the evening."(130) A sub-inspector estimated that artisans

such as carpenters, masons and painters in the Bagenalstown area were earning on average four to five shillings a day, while another officer claimed that skilled workers such as stonemasons in the Mohill area were receiving five shillings daily.(131) It was not only tradesmen whose lot appeared rosier in the early 1870s. A constable of 23 years' service, who was stationed in Cork city in 1872, claimed that labourers there were paid from 19 to 24 shillings a week, and that "there is not a man on the quay who would take my situation." Another policeman claimed bitterly that he knew of one Waterford quay porter who could afford to pay fines of 22 in one year for drunkenness.(132)

In both the R.I.C. and D.M.P. it was an offence against discipline, punishable by dismissal, for policemen to fall into debt. The reason for this rule in the D.M.P. was that "It is impossible for men who contract debts to conduct themselves with that independence, uprightness, and impartiality which is expected from every constable," and similar sentiments were expressed to members of the R.I.C.(133) A large number of policemen found it difficult to obey this regulation, especially in the R.I.C., as its members were liable to be dispatched on detachment duty to any part of the country, on occasions such as elections, evictions at which disturbances were feared, or the various northern anniversaries. One of the major grievances of the constabulary in the 1860s and early 1870s was that, because

of insufficient allowances, the men were obliged to spend their own savings or even to go into debt on these occasions. It was not uncommon for food and lodging to be charged at exorbitant prices to parties of police sent on detachment duty.(134) The lot of married policemen sent on such duty is described in a letter to the Freeman's Journal in September 1865:

Imagine how it must be with a poor married man, who has a wife and often eight children to support, and is ordered off to attend an election, or preserve the peace in the north; he is detained on such duty perhaps for three or seven weeks, and it every day costs him 2s6d or 3s for his support, &c, and where, in the name of wonder, is this to come from? No one surely supposes that he can draw it from his savings out of 1s6d or 1s9d per day. No; but here is how he comes by the needful.(sic) He has the good fortune to be acquainted with some shopkeeper who mercifully lends him a pound or two, that in too many instances is never entirely paid, and the result is the poor Peeler falls into disgrace.(135)

The sub-inspector of Tipperary town said in 1872, "As to some married men who went to the north of Ireland, it simply beggared them, and in some instances their families would be almost starving but for the assistance given them by their comrades and by their officers."(136) It was not only married men on detachment duty who ended up out of pocket. This happened to all of the men sent to do duty in Co. Galway during the acrimonious election and election petition of 1872. Because of the inadequate allowances the men were obliged to borrow from the local gentry, with the knowledge and probable tacit approval of the county inspector.(137) According to one policeman, it was a common expedient for men

sent on detachment duty to pawn watches, to break the regulations by borrowing from their comrades who remained behind at the home station, to write home to their relatives to forward them money, or to try and earn some extra cash by composing poems or other material for which newspaper editors might be willing to pay.(138)

Many married men who were not accommodated in barracks were in straitened circumstances at this period. A Cork head constable of 28 years' service claimed in 1872 that married policemen were "in a very wretched situation" and gave an example of two men who were paying five to six shillings a week for bare rooms in Cork city. A Belfast head constable with a large family complained about the poor quality of his diet because of his low pay. While these claims may not be unbiased, coming as they do from members of the rank and file, they were backed up by evidence from some officers. For example, the county inspector for Kildare stated that married men living outside of barracks paid around £6 to £8 at least per year in rent alone and were "in a state next door to starvation." The sub-inspector for Tramore said that lodgings for married men cost from £6 to £10 a year, and that "a policeman marrying at the present time, must be the most miserably under-fed man in the world." The Newry sub-inspector admitted that the married men were in a "very miserable" state and in debt, but that the officers turned a blind eye to this infringement of the regulations.(139)

Nevertheless, married policemen were unlikely to resign from the R.I.C. They had the longest service in the force - the regulations forbade a man from marrying with less than seven years' service; after this period a man could marry if he met certain other conditions laid down by the police authorities, and most men of long service did marry.(140) Married men, and also unmarried men of long service, were likely to remain policemen because of the prospect of receiving a pension on retirement, but naturally such a consideration was not much of an inducement to a man with just a few years' service to stay in the R.I.C.(141) Constabulary recruits in the 1860s and early 1870s did not remain long in the force. Inspector-general Wood explained in 1872 that

most of the young men in the present day, after four or five years' service, go to America or to the colonies; after three or four years' service there is a sort of restlessness amongst the men, and they look out for better payment for labour, and they frequently transfer their services to some police force in England.(142)

Because of the recruiting difficulties, the R.I.C. authorities reduced the standards for entry into the force. Colonel George Hillier, deputy inspector-general in 1872, was struck by the "Deteriorated appearance" of recruits in training at the depot.(1453) A contemporary observer claimed that "the standard both of physical and moral qualification" for applicants was lowered to increase the numbers coming forward.(144) The sub-inspector for Mallow considered that "Within the last seven or ten years the standard of education of the men who have joined the ranks has been very low. The

same class of men is not in the force who joined us long ago."(145) Perhaps the main exception was the sprinkling of National School teachers who resigned their posts to join the constabulary. There were certain parallels between the lot of the National School teacher and the policeman. Both were expected to have a certain minimum standard of education to gain acceptance of their posts and to be of exemplary behaviour, and both came from mainly rural backgrounds. Both could look forward to permanent employment so long as they did not run foul of their superiors, and were entitled to pensions on retirement. However, schoolteachers often contrasted their lot unfavourably with that of policemen: throughout the nineteenth century their pay and pensions remained lower and their term of service longer.(146) In 1867 a teacher made the caustic remark that "Had the national teachers been as well paid as the Royal Irish Constabulary there would have been as few of them sent to jail for Fenianism as of the latter."(147) In February 1869 William Newell, one of the secretaries of the National Board of Education, stated that the pay of the lower ranks of the R.I.C. and D.M.P. was sufficient to entice schoolteachers away from their positions and to join the police.(148) Teachers turned policemen were welcomed by their comrades and their officers, as many of them tutored those who were preparing for competitive examinations for promotion.(149) Undoubtedly they were also regarded as a welcome source of

recruits by the police authorities at a time when applicants for entry into the forces were falling. However, disgruntled teachers could fill in only some of the gaps in the ranks and, despite the lowering of standards for recruits, vacancies in the R.I.C. rose to 1338 by May 1872.(150)

The problems experienced by the R.I.C. in this period were very similar to those affecting the D.M.P. Inflation-hit Dublin from 1870 to 1872 saw a considerable rise in incidents of industrial unrest, with strikes for better pay and reduced working hours among such diverse groups as building labourers and carpenters, telegraph clerks, scavengers and tram labourers, quay porters and tailors, bakers, chandlers and cordwainers.(151) From 1867 to 1872 third and second class D.M.P. constables received only slightly more than half the 1860 wage for skilled trades such as painters, cabinet makers and the building crafts, and some brewery workers in 1860 were earning more than D.M.P. acting sergeants were ten years later.(152) In 1872, carpenters and bricklayers were earning about sixpence a week more than D.M.P. acting inspectors, and about 13 shillings more than the highest paid constables. In the same year the president of Dublin's Chamber of Commerce pointed out that railway labourers received a weekly wage which was only around four shillings a week less than that of a third class constable, while Chief Commissioner Lake believed that quay porters were earning a shilling a week more than acting inspectors. Coal

earning a shilling a week more than acting inspectors. Coal porters were paid a pound a week, which was equal to the pay of a D.M.P. acting sergeant since 1867.(153) It is not surprising, then, that dissatisfaction over pay was high in the D.M.P. at this time. Their lot contrasted poorly with that of the recently established Dublin Ports and Docks Police, in which the sergeants were paid £1 and 15 shillings and the constables 18 shillings weekly. The latter force had no Sunday or night duty to perform, and they were "all unfit in age or physique for the Dublin Metropolitan Police."(154) Even more galling for the D.M.P. was the fact that most British police forces were better paid than they were, despite the D.M.P.'s opinion that they worked harder than the British police. Jealousy was especially focussed on the benefits enjoyed by the London Metropolitan Police. Chief Commissioner Lake pointed out in March 1872 that in both the London and Dublin forces it took a policeman about eight years, on average, to reach the highest rate of constables' pay. In London, however, the wage of the first rate constable was equal to the pay of an acting inspector in the D.M.P., a rank which was never attained without a competitive examination or before 15 years' service. D.M.P. constables could reach the rank of acting sergeant at around ten to 12 years' service; the pay for this rank was £1 per week, the equivalent of the lowest grade of constable in the London force.(155)

particularly felt by married policemen with families. Almost all of these resided in private lodgings, the only exceptions being married sergeants or acting sergeants whom superintendents might occasionally require to live in barracks.(156) There are many indications that married men were finding it hard to make ends meet in the 1860s and 1870s. This is evident from a modification to a minor regulation brought in by the commissioners in 1862. In May of that year they decreed that all second class constables should provide themselves with watches within a year of attaining that rank. This measure was introduced to cut down on the frequent excuses of constables that they were late for duty because they had no watch. Single men were to be docked a half a crown per week to pay for the watches, whereas in contrast it was decided to provide them free of charge to married men so as to avoid causing them "any unnecessary embarrassment."(157) The rules of the force stipulated that married men were not to live in "discreditable lodgings" or in "a low street or backward street or place," but it was not easy to obey this regulation.(158) Superintendent Richard Corr stated in 1872 that married D.M.P. men were living "in a state of misery," and gave an example of one married policeman who, with his wife and five children, had to live in just one room, for which he paid 3s4d or 4s rent.(159) Corr and Surgeon Thomas Nedley suggested that in order to get the married men out of "the lanes and alleys of the city,"

houses should be especially constructed for them and let at a moderate rent, as was the policy of the Glasgow police. Chief Commissioner Lake commented on the bad effects produced on the health of the married men "by the inferior character of the dwellings they are compelled to occupy."(160)

One gains another insight into the plight of married policemen by examining their diet in this period. Superintendents and inspectors were expected to see that their sergeants and constables, because of the arduous nature of police duty in a city like Dublin, supplied themselves with an "abundance of wholesome food," and anyone neglecting this duty was liable for dismissal. In fact, it was due to the concern that the men were not feeding themselves properly that a system of compulsory messing at the various barracks and station houses was introduced between 1864 and 1867, the expenses for which came from deductions from the men's pay.(161) The necessity of eating properly before going out on duty was stressed by Superintendent Daniel Ryan in 1868, when he wrote, "Had I not taken all the nourishment my salary enabled me to procure, there is no moral doubt if I was not broken up and unfit for further service, I should have at least succumbed to temporary illness."(162) Married men were exempted from the messing system, as it entailed eating meat every day and this was too expensive for them to afford. According to Chief Commissioner Lake, married policemen with children often went a week without eating any meat. This

breach of regulations was overlooked by the superior officers; indeed, Surgeon Nedley admitted that it was his practice to allow undernourished married policemen to go on the sick list for several days to recuperate their strength. (163)

The plight of married policemen was hardly reassuring to the junior ranks, and probably reinforced the sense of grievance over the poor pay. Such dissatisfaction is evident in the exodus from the force in the early 1870s. Most of those who resigned were enticed away by the higher wages enjoyed by most of the British police forces. According to Chief Commissioner Lake, many recruits served for only two or three years, "remaining just long enough to establish their characters," and then applied for entry into the British police. London, Birmingham and Liverpool were popular destinations, although recruiting notices were also sent to the D.M.P. stations from the police authorities of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Stafford, Chester and Ashton-under-Lyne. (164) The loss of experienced policemen was not compensated for by new recruits. In March 1872 the number in training at the depot was only one thirteenth of that desired. Part of the reason for the paucity of candidates was that serving members dissuaded their friends from joining, arguing that the poor wages did not adequately compensate for the dangers and unpopularity of police duty, or the restraints imposed on young men by the D.M.P.'s system

or the restraints imposed on young men by the D.M.P.'s system of discipline. (165) Chief Commissioner Lake, possibly in response to this obstruction to recruiting, proposed granting a bounty of £1 to D.M.P. men for every recruit they brought in, but this suggestion was quashed by the government. Instead Lake was obliged to accept men half an inch below the normal minimum height, "in the hope of their growing up another inch by the drill." (166)

According to Lake, the perceived poor prospects of serving in the D.M.P. meant that an inferior type of recruit came forward:

The style of the present recruit is widely different from what it was some years ago, and instead of the tall, stalwart, well-educated man who formerly joined the Metropolitan Police, a very inferior class now present themselves, both as regards physique and intelligence, and much time is lost by having to keep them for a long period at the depot. (167)

But not even enough men of this reduced standard applied to join the force. By November 1872 there were 114 vacancies out of a force whose authorized strength was 1096 men. The combined effects of the large number of vacancies, the number of men on the sick list and the high proportion of men normally employed on duties other than street duty - which amounted to around 35% in March 1872 - meant that there were not enough men available to properly patrol the streets. (168)

The committees of enquiry established by the treasury to examine the grievances of the R.I.C. and D.M.P. argued that the best way to attract a sufficient number of recruits

to these forces, and men of a better stamp than those who had been coming forward in recent years, was to substantially increase the pay of the lower ranks. The raises for R.I.C. men were very generous. Recruits for the first six months were to be paid 15 shillings a week. After this they were paid at the rate of £1 a week until they had served for four years. There were further substantial increases of pay for sub-constables after four, eight, fifteen and twenty years of service respectively. These rates which were "far beyond what an ordinary farmer's son could hope to earn," came into force in December 1872. (169)

The recommendations to the treasury regarding the D.M.P. pay were even more generous than those concerning the R.I.C. Supernumeraries were to receive 16 shillings a week. The rise for fourth class constables was over seven shillings weekly, at £1 and three shillings. First class constables received a ten shilling weekly raise, to £1 and nine shillings, and the wage increases for the ranks above that of constable were even greater. While the treasury readily agreed to the R.I.C. raises, it balked at the even heftier increments in D.M.P. wages. For over half a year the D.M.P., aware of the proposed increases, continued to do its duty in the expectation of a substantial improvement in its pay. The treasury, however, reluctant that British tax-payers should pay for what it regarded as "show" in the D.M.P., temporized with schemes for allowing even smaller men into

police vote for Ireland.(170) On July 9, 1873, Chief Commissioner Lake warned Under-secretary Thomas Burke that unless the proposed increases were implemented soon, "the result would undoubtedly be most injurious to the peace, good order, and the protection of the property of the city."(171) Although these fears proved groundless, a "feeling of discontent and insubordination" spread through the lower ranks of the D.M.P. and around 700 of its members, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the July drill practices, organized an "illegal" petition on the subject of the extra pay. Although Lake was shocked that even as mild a manifestation of organized insubordination as the petition had taken place, and he ordered a (fruitless) investigation into the incident by the G or detective division, the government quickly agreed to the proposed pay increases, except for a minor modification in the wages of the supernumeraries.(172)

The wage revisions of the early 1870s were important as they ensured that the police were, for the remainder of the nineteenth century, probably the best rewarded working men in Ireland. The increases also ended the problems experienced by the police authorities in both attracting men to and retaining them in their forces. The general decline in the cost of living from the early 1870s until the end of the century made the increased police pay even more valuable in real terms.(173) In 1875 the chief commissioner of the

in real terms.(173) In 1875 the chief commissioner of the D.M.P. stated that since the new wage rates were introduced, not only was the force kept up to its authorized strength "without any difficulty," but that there were actually "considerable numbers" of candidates waiting for vacancies to occur. Those who had joined the D.M.P. in the meantime were said to be "not alone men of far greater physical strength, but men of superior education, and belonging to a better class than those who have presented themselves for enlistment during several preceding years."(174) The wages of the lowest D.M.P. ranks were now much higher than those offered to labourers and carters and while they were still not quite as high as those earned by the various building trades, the Dublin policeman at least had the additional benefits of permanent employment and the prospect of a pension. The 1872 wage revisions meant that the D.M.P. was better paid than 229 British police forces, with only 33 receiving higher pay. While the London Metropolitan Police was still better paid than the Dublin police, the gap between the two forces was actually very slight. The D.M.P. received a welcome boost to its wages in 1873 in the form of a boot allowance of £1 12 shillings to all non-officer ranks (such an allowance was common in Britain but hitherto had not been given in Ireland). This addition, as well as the high cost of living in London as compared with Dublin, meant that the Dublin policeman was probably better off than his London

An indication of the changes in recruiting patterns wrought by the new wages comes from an examination of the number of candidates for admission who were accepted or rejected. A high acceptance rate, as we have already seen, meant that the police surgeons tended to accept most of the candidates they examined, regardless of their fitness for the force. It is interesting to note that in 1872, a year when few candidates of the desired stamp presented themselves, less than 13% were rejected. However, as table 3 shows, by the late 1870s most applicants for admission into the force were being turned down.

Table 3: Selection of Candidates for D.M.P. and Resignations from the Force, 1872-81

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. Admitted</u>	<u>No. Rejected</u>	<u>Resignations</u>
1872	140	19	75
1873	255	78	19
1874	136	103	21
1875	141	132	26
1876	144	130	31
1877	173	183	27
1878	123	213	29
1879	111	155	15
1880	101	126	23
1881	93	100	19

Source: 1882 D.M.P. commission, p. 220.

While the number of candidates which could be accepted was ultimately determined by the vacancies in the force, it is also clear that the police authorities found themselves in the relatively new position of being spoiled for choice when it came to selecting recruits, as the number of candidates presenting themselves exceeded the number of vacancies.

presenting themselves exceeded the number of vacancies. Significantly the number of resignations also declined in the same period, from a high of 75 in 1872 to a low of just 19 in 1881.

It is apparent from a glance at appendix xvi that conditions had also improved in the R.I.C. in this period. The number of men resigning or deserting, as a proportion of all removals from the force, fell to its lowest level since the 1840s. If one examines the figures from 1873 onwards, (the first full year after the new pay levels) one finds that resignations and desertions accounted for only 20.28% of all removals from 1873 to 1879. The fact that more men left the R.I.C. on pension in the 1870s than through resignation is a sign of the general contentment with conditions in the force following the pay revisions of the early part of the decade. The first year that more men retired on pension than left through resignation was 1841, and significantly the next year in which this occurred was 1873, the first year in which junior sub-constables were paid £1 per week. This pattern remained constant (with the exception of 1881 and 1882, for reasons that we shall see later) down to 1914.

Only married R.I.C. men living outside of barracks still complained of the inadequacy of their pay, even after the very substantial increases of 1872. One Co. Waterford sub-constable claimed in December 1881 that he saved no more than two pence out of his weekly salary of £1 3s 7½d, and

R.I.C. by establishment figures with their slowness to increase the married men's pay: "It is true, indeed, that we have the expression of the Lord Lieutenant's appreciation of our worth, but that is not a marketable commodity. No baker in Ireland would give a pound of bread for it."(176) The sub-inspector for Ballinrobe in 1882 stated that married policemen in his area could afford to eat meat, but that it was "coarse meat" and poor quality American bacon.(177) Conditions were reportedly worse for married men in other parts of the country. A Belfast head constable claimed that a married man's meat bill, despite the R.I.C. regulation requiring men to eat well before going on duty, was only eight shillings a month. A Moate constable admitted that he ate only bread and tea for breakfast and supper despite the heavy duty, while a Kings County sub-constable stated that only when he was "fatigued" did he go to the expense of eating eggs or fish to build up his strength. One policeman claimed that in Belfast "if you were at parade, you would select nearly every one of the married men . . . they are not so well fed as the single men."(178) In certain towns and cities married policemen were reported to be having problems in finding proper accommodation. In Derry it was claimed that they could not afford to rent a house, and had to be content with a single room, while in Waterford they were able to afford only one or two rooms, a cottage being "a luxury very few of them enjoy." A Nenagh sub-constable cited the

very few of them enjoy." A Nenagh sub-constable cited the example of a married constable of 30 years' service who was paying from ten to 12 shillings a month for a "shanty" for his family of ten children, "and they are all miserably poor." (179)

The treasury responded to these allegations of married men's difficulties by granting to married head and other constables not accommodated in barracks a lodging allowance of £2 12 shillings per year if they had served for ten years. The very high pay of the D.M.P and R.I.C. was also increased slightly in 1883 (see appendices xviii and xix) making the policeman's pay even more attractive. In addition, the rank and file of the R.I.C. received boot money of £1 and six shillings a year from May 1883. (180) The police pay, then, together with their pensions, placed them amongst the elite of the workforce. A member of parliament, commenting on the "extravagant pay" of the R.I.C. in December 1888, claimed that it was "a bribe to induce them to perform duties against their countrymen which they would not otherwise do." (181) Whether or not the wages of the police should be considered a "bribe" for them to perform unpopular duties, it is true that throughout the years of the Land War the vast majority of recruits continued to come from the agricultural working classes, and for these the odium attached to joining the police in the 1880s was outweighed by the attractions of membership. Resignations from the R.I.C. in the end of the

than a quarter of all removals in the 1880s and only around one eighth of the total in the 1890s. In contrast, removals through pension accounted for 30% of the total in the 1880s and over half of all removals in the 1890s. In August 1892 the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Zetland, stated that "There never was a period when there was greater pressure to gain admission to the force than at this moment."(182) There was such an abundance of aspiring recruits coming forward that the R.I.C. authorities could even afford the luxury of suspending recruiting from December 1896 to March 1898. The candidates accepted at the close of the century were stated to be "of an exceedingly good stamp, two thirds being registered in the first class." Competition for acceptance into the force was so keen, according to the depot commandant in 1901, that dozens of candidates every month furnished letters from "dukes and curates" asking him to call them from the waiting list out of their turn. He further stated that applicants who were originally rejected by the R.I.C. surgeon "go to a local hospital and get [varicose] veins cut out of their legs, and to a local dentist to get teeth put in: and then they come with certificates to me, saying they are now sound and will I take them in, and I give them a second chance then."(183)

The 1901 committee of enquiry into the working conditions of the R.I.C. found that their wages contrasted favourably with those of artisans, the slightly lower pay of

the police being more than compensated for by their guarantee of steady work. It also highlighted the difference between the R.I.C. resignation rate and those of the British forces. Less than 1% of the Irish police resigned, which contrasted noticeably with the rate of almost 3.5% of the English and over 9% of the Scottish police.(184) There is plenty of evidence from this period to suggest that the men of the R.I.C. thought very highly of themselves indeed. A succession of men appeared before the committee of enquiry and asked for large pay increases not on the grounds of poverty, as had been the case with earlier committees, but on the grounds that the work of the R.I.C. was so important that they deserved to be the best paid police force in the U.K. The representatives of the men were quite ingenious in arguing their case, many of them citing the ritual praise of prominent establishment figures as sufficient justification for their claims. For example there is the statement of Sergeant Marnane of Cork city:

I have not seen the English police forces praised as highly as have been the R.I.C. We have received praise from members of the government both in and out of parliament, and I paraded two or three times in Cork for Lord Wolseley, who said he could not find anything good enough to say of us - that we were the finest fellows in the world.(185)

Sergeant Marnane's evidence is typical of numerous other witnesses at the commission; indeed the argument was made so often that the exasperated chairman of the commission expressed the opinion that lords lieutenant and chief

secretaries "will have to be more careful in making their speeches in future."(186)

Other policemen pointed to the role of the R.I.C. as a repressive arm of the government as meriting special consideration in terms of pay. A Kanturk constable reminded the committee that "we are the Intelligence Department of the Government of this country, and we are literally holding the country for the Government." A Naas sergeant claimed "we are an army of occupation in this country," while a New Ross head constable argued that the R.I.C. was worth a garrison of 50,000 troops to the government.(187) Combining their perceptions of themselves as the best police force in the U.K., if not the world, as well as their belief that they were performing unique and invaluable services for the British government in Ireland, the representatives of the rank and file were "almost unanimous" in claiming that they should receive at least the same rate of pay as the highest paid British force - the City of London Police. Such a proposal was seen by the officers of the R.I.C., as well as the members of the committee, as absurd. If granted, it would have meant that an R.I.C. sergeant would have earned more than a third class district inspector, and 44 more than a Glasgow sergeant, 31 more than one in Birmingham or Manchester, and 26 more than a sergeant in Newcastle-on-Tyne. R.I.C. constables would have been 24 a year better off than their Glasgow counterparts, and earned 18 more than

Liverpool and Newcastle-on-Tyne constables, 20 more than those in Birmingham and 23 more than those in Manchester. The absurdity of a largely rural police force claiming better pay than these large British urban forces, and equality with the City of London Police, which was responsible for policing one square mile with 350,000 workers, up to one million pedestrians and 100,000 vehicles daily, was apparent to everybody except the representatives of the R.I.C. rank and file.(188) Not surprisingly the committee turned down the men's demands. The unmarried policemen were considered to be quite well off, and the committee only recommended that the more senior members, most of whom were married, receive increments of pay at slightly earlier periods than they would have been entitled to under the existing system. (This recommendation was ignored until 1908).(189) The most important alteration to the pay of the R.I.C. following the 1901 enquiry was that the lodging allowances for the married men not accommodated in barracks were doubled to 5 and four shillings a year.(190)

The last two decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth were the most satisfactory years since the Famine for the recruit-seeking police authorities, and for the police themselves. The Dublin police succeeded in attracting candidates of a high quality, and at the same time the Leinster strangle-hold on the force weakened, as increasing numbers from other parts of the country now

considered it worth their while to become policemen in the capital. Munster's proportion of recruits rose to over a quarter in the 1890s and to a third in the early twentieth century; Connacht's share in the last three decades of our period was double that of the 1840s and 1850s, while Ulster sent almost one fifth of the recruits in the 1880s and almost a quarter of the 1890s recruits. So marked was the change in geographic origins of D.M.P. men that contemporaries believed, erroneously, that most recruits came from Munster.(191) Also at this time there was a remarkable change in the stature of the Dublin police: in the late nineteenth century the D.M.P. changed from a force of men of average or above-average height to the force of "giants" of popular myth. If we take a typical "giant" to be a policeman of six feet tall or more, such men were in the minority in the early years of the force. From 1839 to 1849 only 11.8% of the recruits were six-footers, whereas in the 1850s this proportion fell to only 9.4% "Giants," then, were sufficiently rare to cause newspaper comment. The Freeman's Journal in June 1862 described a "Patagonian" constable, Sinclair 115B. According to the newspaper, the 6'8" tall policeman "has given himself the habit of looking at the burners of the street lamps as he lights his pipe by one of them, without moving from the ground, and looking down cottage chimneys to know what was to be for dinner."(192)

In the 1860s the proportion of six-footers increased

to 14.7% and in the 1870s to 17.9% of all recruits. Among the Dublin policemen of this time was one spotted lounging at the door of the Shelbourne Hotel by Ulysses S. Grant in 1879. This rather inactive constable, who, according to Grant, "eats two men's rations - does the duty of a half-a-one," was "a huge policeman, tall as a pillar-tower, with the girth of a rhinoceros." (193) This policeman was not typical of his comrades: a survey of the D.M.P. in 1880 found that the average height of the men was 5'10", and the average weight of the men 12 stone 11 pounds (179 lbs). (194) In the 1880s there was an increase in the number of "giants" in the force, with 26.5% of all recruits standing at least six feet tall. The increase in taller recruits was even more remarkable from the 1890s onwards. The biggest (but not the tallest) of the recruits of this period was Maurice J. Wolfe, from the parish of Newcastlewest, who joined the D.M.P. on May 27, 1892. He stood 6'6" tall and weighed a massive 21 stone (294 lbs.). The largest bicycle made in Ireland was designed to accommodate him. (195) A remarkable statistic is that after 1895 most recruits to the D.M.P. stood over six feet tall. In every year down to 1914, with the exception of 1896, 1903, 1909, 1910 and 1914, men of at least six feet in height formed the majority of recruits, while in the years indicated they "only" comprised 49%, 50%, 45.8%, 44.2% and 50% of the intake respectively. Altogether, men of at least six feet in height constituted 65.91% of the intake from 1895

to 1914.(196)

The reason for the unusually large proportion of tall men probably lies in the sheer volume of applicants pressing for entry into the ranks. The numbers taken into the force represented only about one fifth of those desiring entry.(197) Clearly what was happening was that there were so many applicants, and relatively few vacancies, that the police surgeons were able to select enough recruits from the tallest men to fill the gaps in the ranks. The 1901 committee of enquiry into the D.M.P. reported that "the number of candidates registered in the first class is so much in excess of the number of vacancies as to make it unnecessary to have recourse to those who are registered in the second class."(198) Those who joined the force were reluctant to leave it. As appendices xx and xxi show, resignation rates from the 1880s down to 1914 were quite insignificant when compared with the 7% rate of 1872. In fact the number of men resigning was often smaller than the number of those who died in the force. 1900 saw the third largest proportion of resignations since 1872, but most of those who resigned did so not out of dissatisfaction with the force, but to volunteer to fight in the Boer War or to serve in the Shanghai Police.(199) The low rate of resignations in the D.M.P. was repeated in the R.I.C., as appendix xvii shows.

It was not until the close of our period that both

police forces once again experienced difficulty in attracting recruits. Part of the reason for this was that from the turn of the century until World War I there was a general increase in the cost of living, as well as a substantial increase in the wages of other occupational groups, while the pay of the police remained static. Statistics from the Department of Agriculture show that the price of beef rose by 13% and pork by 30% from 1901 to 1913, while prices of eggs rose by 41.6% and potatoes by 23.6% in the same years. Bread prices rose by 23.8% between 1901 and 1912.(200) A survey of the cost of food in the 35 R.I.C. district headquarters in Connacht showed that prices had risen an average of 32% between 1901 and 1914.(201) Throughout the country, the police claimed, wages of various groups were increasing in pace with the price rises. Evidence from Sligo, Waterford, Portadown, Salthill, Newry, Lurgan and Westport suggests that the gap between police wages and those of many other groups was lessening; artisans still received higher wages than police, while the position of factory workers and agricultural labourers had been steadily improving since the 1880s.(202) A Cavan justice of the peace pointed out to the 1914 committee of enquiry into the Irish police the improvements which had taken place in recent decades:

[T]he standard of living has increased very much. I remember the farmers' daughters coming into Cavan with shawls on their heads; they come in now dressed in the latest fashions. There is a great increase in the consumption of tea, and sugar, and flour, and that sort of thing . . . We had only two butchers when I came to

Cavan first [25 years' previously], and now we have four. At that time it was very rarely you would see farmers buying beef or mutton except at Christmas time and now they buy it twice a week. The labourers too live much more expensively than they did ten or twenty years ago, and the standard of living all round has increased very much. (203)

Although Ireland in the early twentieth century was certainly better off than it had been in the 1870s, one should not assume that the entire country was basking in prosperity. The state of improvement varied according to the various regions, and poverty was still the lot of a large segment of the population. (204)

Nevertheless, such improvements in living standards as had occurred in the countryside were enough to make prospective recruits think twice about joining the police. According to Albert Roberts, R.I.C. county inspector for Donegal in 1914:

When I joined the force, in 1887, the R.I.C. was looked upon as a very good source of employment for young men, farmers' sons, but they do not look at it in the same way now . . . I may say, they do not mind going abroad now half as much as they did when I was a young man. In fact the facilities for employment are opening up all over the world. Since then the young fellows are told that the [R.I.C.] pay has remained practically unaltered, while there is an increased cost of living, and wages in other employments have got very good. A change has been gradually taking place in the social condition of the class from which recruits have been hitherto drawn, and that is one of the things that interferes with recruiting. The young men change with the times, and they have been affected by the advance in education and mode of living, and as a matter of fact they have bigger notions now and are not so easily pleased. That is my experience. Then, education is cheaper than it was when I was young, and the improved conditions of the farmers owing to the passing of the Land Acts have put farmers in better positions as far as money is concerned, and now they think of sending their sons into the ministry and

of making them doctors and sending them to other occupations, where education enables them to get employment, and these things also militate against us. (205)

District Inspector Thomas Neylon of Westport backed up the assertion of County Inspector Roberts as to the link between improved conditions in rural areas and a reluctance to join the R.I.C. in the years before World War I:

I believe that the falling off in the number and the inferiority of the present class of candidates are due to the inadequate pay of the R.I.C. as well as the steady improvement in the conditions of the classes that supply recruits. Owing to the operations of the Land Purchase Acts, the condition of the small farmers has very much improved. Quite a large number got enlarged holdings and new houses, and many of them have told me that their sons could be more profitably employed on their farms than in the R.I.C. . . . The condition of the labouring class has likewise been very much improved in recent years. Some counties are studded over with labourers' cottages. The cottages are clean, sanitary, and well ventilated, and let at a small rent. The labourers and their grown-up sons and daughters can get constant and remunerative employment in the locality where they live. What with the wages now paid to labourers and the piece of land attached to the cottage, the home of the industrious labourer is a bright and cheerful one. Since 1901 the wages of the labourer has (sic) increased by 50 per cent in many places . . . and the wages of tradesmen by about 20 per cent. (206)

This reluctance to join the R.I.C. spread even to one of the lowest groups on the social scale, the migratory harvestman of Connacht, "very few" of whom applied to join the force in the slack winter of 1913; most preferred to try their luck in England. (207) A Waterford constable claimed that the type of person who usually applied to join the police "generally try for the Post Office or some position like that if they can; otherwise they clear off to the colonies." (208)

There are some superficial similarities in the problems faced by the R.I.C. authorities in the early 1870s and in the years before World War I, in attracting recruits. In both periods they had recourse to the expedient of accepting what were seen as less desirable applicants into the ranks. The biggest exception to this were the sons of policemen, who constituted 1565 (17.2%) of the 9104 candidates enrolled in the R.I.C. from 1901 to 1913. It was not until 1908 that the constabulary encountered serious recruiting problems. Over a quarter of the 4284 recruits between 1908 and 1913 were second class men, "inferior as regards physique and education." The county inspector for Clare admitted in 1914 that he would not have passed any of the men coming forward if he went by the standards in force 20 years previously, as they were "not up to the mark physically or educationally," while a constable serving at the depot stated "one would be ashamed to admit that they belonged to the same force," and that most recruits intended emigrating after six months in the constabulary. A Constable Cullen serving in Maguiresbridge claimed that there was a newly-recruited constable at his station "and if you heard him reading a newspaper you would be ashamed of him." (209) District Inspector Cecil Moriarty, serving at R.I.C. headquarters in 1914 repeated the assertions of the poor standard of education of many of the recruits. His examination of the data on this point found that the average standard of 1906

was described as "good," from 1907 to 1911 it was "fair," while from 1911 to 1912 it was only "middling."(210) According to Assistant Inspector-general Pearson, the most immediate problem caused by such "backward men" was their slowness to understand their instructions in both drill and at the depot school.(211)

Another similarity between the two periods was that there was a degree of dissatisfaction among policemen over the perceived poor rates of pay. One head constable commented darkly in April 1914 that a country which allowed its policemen to be "discontented and poor" deserved to be "plunged back behind the Middle Ages."(212) A married Roscrea constable claimed that no matter how hard he tried to save, going to extremes such as cutting down on his food, he was always around 5 in debt every year. A Kilkenny constable stated that he knew of a married man with three children who was over 29 in debt every year, while he himself could keep out of debt only because his brother sent him remittances from New York. A Belfast district inspector claimed that a shopkeeper in that city had 49 policemen in debt to him for amounts ranging from 4s6d to 10, while a constable serving at the Dublin depot stated that a Dublin clothing merchant had a thousand police in debt to him, "about half" of which debts were irrecoverable.(213)

Despite these similarities between the early 1870s and the years before World War I, the latter period was not

considered a time of crisis by the R.I.C. authorities. The overall strength of the force had been undergoing a steady process of reduction for many years: the peak had been reached in 1882, when it stood at 14559 head and other constables; by 1899 this figure stood at 10923 men, in 1906 it fell to 9684 men, and in 1913 there was a slight increase to 10259 men, which was still considerably below the level of the early 1880s. The reduction in the numbers of the force made the closure of many police stations possible. (214) The smaller size of the R.I.C. in the early twentieth century meant that the constabulary recruiters had an easier task than their 1870s' counterparts, and they were also helped by the fact that there was always a trickle of recruits coming forward, even if these were only from "Donegal or some out of the way place," as one Strabane sergeant put it in 1914. (215) Even more important for keeping up police strength was the fact that relatively few policemen took their dissatisfaction to the extent of resigning.

The resignation rate from 1910 to 1914 was at its highest since the early 1880s: in 1913, 125 men left "to better their position," 43 left because of inadequate pay, 32 left to join other police forces, 12 resigned on being reported for breaches of discipline, 42 resigned during the course of their training and many of the other 45 left because of homesickness. (216) Whatever their motives for leaving, the number of men resigning from the force did not

reach even half the level of resignations in 1871 and 1872.(217) The R.I.C. in the years before World War I was, then, permeated with a feeling of dissatisfaction over pay, and also morale was low due to the political climate, in which the approach of Home Rule for Ireland meant the possibility of an eventual disbandment of the force, but still the vast majority of the men stayed in the police and vacancies never reached the dangerous level of the early 1870s.(218) It is also likely that after 1914 the slaughter in Flanders convinced most R.I.C. men of the desirability of retaining their jobs, despite the insufficiency of pay.(219)

The D.M.P. authorities would probably, like their R.I.C. counterparts, have seen the pre-war recruiting situation as worrying rather than catastrophic. The attractions of the pre-war D.M.P. had waned somewhat for potential recruits. Weekly wages for many skilled occupational groups such as bricklayers, stonecutters, carpenters, plumbers, plasterers and painters were several shillings higher than the pay of D.M.P. constables and even sergeants in 1914, although the police were paid considerably higher wages than Dublin labourers.(220) In 1904 a medical officer of the Local Government Board estimated that 1 a week was the minimum necessary income for a small family living in Dublin.(221) Even junior, unmarried constables were paid several shillings above this rate, and married constables were likely to receive from seven to ten shillings

more. Unmarried constables, then, should have been quite well off, although married D.M.P. men, especially if they had large families, were probably not faring particularly well. Recruits for the D.M.P. in the years before the war were scarcer than usual, but appear to have been more plentiful than applicants for the sister force. Chief Commissioner John Ross of Bladensburg admitted in 1914 that first class candidates were not as plentiful as in previous years, and that "frequently" the slack was taken up by recruits from the second class. According to Superintendent James Dunne, "Formerly we had some of pretty good education coming in, say, men who had failed for the Civil Service, the Excise, and things like that, and latterly we have not had that class coming to us." Recent recruits were "not nearly so robust or so powerful policemen as we used to have," but overall Superintendent Dunne expressed himself as "satisfied" with those who were coming forward. (222) Inspector Daniel Barrett gave the following interpretation for the recruiting problems experienced by the D.M.P.:

The work of the Congested Districts Board and the partitioning of ranches by the Estates Commissioners has enabled a number of young men to find work in the country; this is one cause for the scarcity of recruits, and another is that newspapers in which speeches of demagogues abusive of the police are reported now circulate largely in the country, and young men are not willing to join the police and so incur public odium or submit to be called "hired assassins" for a wage which is not as good as that of a labourer in whose interests the demagogue purports to speak. (223)

With the exception of the veiled reference to the recent

Dublin Lock-out the reasons given by Inspector Barrett are similar to the ones we have seen earlier relating to the R.I.C.

Up to this point most of the discussion on the attractions of the police forces for recruits has focussed on the question of pay. The importance of this topic cannot be denied when examining the rewards for police service; however one also needs to look at the pensions to which the police were entitled on retirement. These aspects of police rewards are unlikely to have been uppermost in the minds of recruits before joining the force. Often they were ignorant of the precise benefits available to them on joining up, and indeed were left in the dark about important details of police life by policemen eager to recruit the force up to its full strength. Few recruits looked beyond the pay immediately available to them in their first few years when assessing the financial benefits of police membership. (224) Issues such as promotion and pensions were of more immediate interest to the more experienced and the married policemen and, as stated earlier, they should be discussed when examining the rewards to which policemen were entitled.

When the D.M.P. was first established recruits were told that promotion would depend upon how they performed their duty: "In divisions where security and good order have been effected, the officers and men belonging to it may feel that their conduct will be noticed by rewards and promotion,

as opportunities offer."(225) The key phrase here is "as opportunities offer." As we have already seen, most of the sergeants and officers of the D.M.P. were at first brought from other police forces, but Chief Commissioner Browne stated in 1839 that this was an exceptional circumstance, and that in future all promotions would take place from the ranks.(226) The only exception to this rule was that the chief commissioners appointed in the nineteenth century were taken from high-ranking army officers. Chief Secretary Sir Robert Peel stated in March 1862 that it was "always desirable" that a large force of police such as the D.M.P. should be "under the management and control of a person experienced in military matters."(227) This policy of placing the D.M.P. under the command of ex-army men was in keeping with the practice in England, where most chief constables were ex-officers of the army or navy.(228) The fact that the top post in the D.M.P. went to an outsider did not affect the promotion prospects of the rank and file - their interest remained in advancement beyond the rank of constable. Promotion prospects in the first few years of the force's existence must have been rather good for those who remained in it for several years, due to the fact that there was a high turnover rate in the men appointed as sergeants in 1837 and 1838. Of the 73 sergeants identifiable from the D.M.P. general register, only 17 remained in the force long enough to qualify for a pension, after an average of between

20 and 21 years' service. Three retired on gratuity, in 1838, 1839 and 1845 respectively. Another five died while in the service, in 1839, 1841, 1846, 1849 and 1851. The average length of service of the remaining 48, who were either dismissed or compelled to resign, discharged without pension or gratuity, or who resigned voluntarily, was only between four and five years' service.(229)

The number of constables vying for sergeants' positions varied from 1838 to 1855, although the ratio of sergeants to constables remained roughly the same, at around one sergeant to every ten constables. In 1838 and 1839 there were 877 and 865 constables respectively serving in the D.M.P., while there were 88 sergeants in 1838 and 87 in 1839. In 1840, due to the extension of the D.M.P. district, the number of constables was increased to 975 and of sergeants to 100. After that year the number of constables fluctuated somewhat, reaching a high of 1005 in 1847 and a low of 919 in 1851; in December 1854 there were 987 men of that rank. The number of sergeants remained fairly steady, with a low of 98 in 1841 and a high of 102 or 103 between 1846 and 1854. There were 18 inspectors in 1838 and 16 in 1839; from 1840 to 1854 the number varied from 23 to 25, with 24 being the usual strength. The number of superintendents was four in 1838 and 1839, six from 1840 to 1842, and seven from every year from 1843 to 1882, with the exception of 1858, when there were only six.(230)

Promotion from a lower to a higher rate of constable was regulated by the length of time served. At first a constable reached the second class after serving for six months, whereas advancement to the first rate depended on the number of vacancies in that rate, as well as the man's good behaviour and length of service as a second class constable.(231) Promotion to sergeant and officer rank, however, depended on one's ability as a policeman rather than the length of one's service or one's general behaviour. An unusual example of a policeman receiving promotion for efficient duty was that of Inspector James Mullins, who had been appointed from the London Metropolitan Police. In 1840 he was selected by the chief commissioners to infiltrate a meeting of Ribbon delegates from England and Ireland in Ballinamore. For successfully accomplishing this task and prosecuting the parties involved, Mullins was promoted and received a reward of 50 (232) However, practically all promotions were for police work done within the D.M.P. district, and indeed the early emphasis on detective rather than preventive duty for promotion led to some controversy in the 1840s that the D.M.P. made an inordinate number of apprehensions for minor offences in order to boost their arrest record.(233)

The basis for such allegations was removed in 1852, when a rule was introduced to restrict promotions to the rank of inspector, sergeant (and in 1855, acting sergeant) to

those candidates who had performed successfully at a competitive examination. When vacancies occurred in these ranks, a certain number of men from the rank below were selected according to their seniority to compete for promotion. The examination covered writing, spelling, arithmetic and knowledge of police duty. Unsuccessful candidates were allowed to retain their papers for a week, so that they could become clear why they had failed their examination.(234) Exceptions to this new rule were made in recognition of extraordinary police duty. One example was that of Constable Butler, who on June 30, 1857, found a portfolio on the Rathmines Road containing 1259. On Butler's handing the money in to the detective office, the gentleman who had lost it rewarded him with a miserly 5; however, the commissioners marked their approval of Butler's conduct by promoting him to the rank of acting sergeant.(235)

The prospects of advancement in the rank and file were improved in 1855 by a number of reforms. The authorized number of constables was reduced from 1062 to 858, and the actual number from 987 to 868, which totals fell even further in the 1860s and 1870s. In addition, the new rank of acting sergeant was introduced: there were from 88 to 94 of these positions between 1855 and 1882. The number of sergeants was reduced to 71, but a new and superior rank of acting inspector was created. There were 33 of these ranks in 1855, but they rose gradually to 49 in 1859 and 51 throughout the

1870s. The effect of these changes in the rank system meant that there were over 100 new openings for promotion in the non-officer ranks after 1855.(236) It is no coincidence that Inspector-general McGregor of the Irish Constabulary felt in 1858 that the chances of advancement were greater in the D.M.P. rank and file than in his own force. This was partly because of the proportion of non-commissioned officers in both forces - in the constabulary there were 9364 sub-constables and only 358 acting constables, whereas in the D.M.P. there were 95 acting sergeants to 885 constables - but also because the mortality rate of the Dublin police was greater than that of its mainly rural counterpart.(237)

In April 1857 the system of promotion was modified by the introduction of the "weekly certificate." This was an attempt to keep track of a policeman's efficiency on a weekly basis, but in a way which would scotch the claims of over-zealousness which had been levelled against members of the D.M.P. in the 1840s. At the end of each week the sergeant of each section certified that each of his men had kept his beat "orderly and regular and free from nuisances or other offences." Constables were informed that their conduct would be judged by the number of weekly certificates accumulated, "and not by the number of prisoners, or summonses or other cases that he may have." Those who were deprived of their certificate were warned that it would act "most injuriously against their interests, retarding or preventing their

promotion while in the service, and curtailing their pensions or gratuities when leaving it." The loss of ten weekly certificates in one year meant that the constable lost that year when calculating his pension or seniority. The same penalties were laid down for sergeants, who could be deprived of their certificates by their inspectors; this could retard their promotion prospects as only the most senior sergeants were called forward to compete for vacancies. A single report in a week for neglect of duty "of any description" was enough to deprive a constable or a sergeant of his certificate for that week.(238) Generally speaking, then, constables from the late 1850s to the mid-1870s were promoted from one rate to another by seniority, although such progression was not automatic. One's seniority rating could be affected by loss of weekly certificates, and also if a constable had a report for drunkenness against him he was passed over for promotion by a more sober junior constable.(239). This general principle of promoting constables by seniority was not adhered to to the extent that junior constables of obvious promise were denied promotion by more senior, if less capable, colleagues. Surgeon Nedley told the 1872 D.M.P. commission that Chief Commissioner Lake "frequently advances a constable over the heads of other persons, in consequence of his superior merit, [and] independent of the length of time he has served."(240)

It was estimated in the early 1870s that it took a

D.M.P. constable an average of eight years to reach the first rate of pay, and after from ten to 12 years' service he was deemed eligible to compete for the infrequent examinations to the rank of acting sergeant. (241) The revised 1865 D.M.P. book of instructions contains the warning to first class constables that the examination for promotion was "very strict," as successful candidates were expected to fill the rank of sergeant if necessary; successful contestants were given a temporary promotion to acting sergeant, and if found unsatisfactory in this rank were reduced to their former position of constable. If deemed satisfactory, acting sergeants were promoted to sergeant by seniority. (242) Sergeants were promoted to the rank of acting inspector by competitive examination, which consisted of writing from dictation, arithmetic, the geography of Ireland, and writing imaginary police reports. Acting inspectors were promoted to inspector by seniority, and inspectors were promoted to the rank of superintendent at the discretion of the chief commissioner. (243)

Chief Commissioner George Talbot transformed the D.M.P.'s system of promotion in the mid-1870s. Talbot rationalized the system by insisting that advancement to all ranks, even the various rates of constables, should be by examination. Those for constable rates were qualifying rather than competitive examinations, and according to Talbot only an "extremely illiterate" constable could fail them,

and most usually passed. Men "without intelligence" were told to resign themselves to advancing no further than constable rank in their police careers. Constables desiring promotion to a higher standing were expected to write legibly and spell "with tolerable correctness" some dictated matter, to be able to read "with ease" both print and handwriting, and were questioned on police duties and related matters, such as cab fares in the city.(244)

Talbot made the process of promotion to acting sergeant considerably more complicated than it had been hitherto. Under Talbot all first class constables, and not just the more senior, were entitled to compete for promotion to the higher rank, but first they had to gain entry to a special "advanced class" of forty first class constables which he established at the depot school. Candidates for the advanced class took examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic and once accepted they had to attend at least ten lectures a month at the school to maintain their place there. Lectures in this special class consisted of instruction by an officer in "all matters connected with duty," and instruction by a civilian teacher in all subjects taught at the Model School of the Board of Education. The top men in the advanced class were called forward to compete for promotion to acting sergeant, the examination for which included tests in handwriting, spelling from dictation, arithmetic, writing police reports, Irish geography, a

general knowledge of police duty and a detailed knowledge of public house and carriage duty, as well as drill. The examination for advancement from acting sergeant to sergeant followed similar lines.(245) The increased emphasis on promotion by examination, as well as the new idea of the "advanced class," sparked off a noticeable rise in attendance at the depot school. In 1875 the weekly attendance was only 52; in 1877 it rose to 125, in 1879 it rose to 373 and in 1880 it rose to 506, almost half of the force. In 1881 there was a drop to a weekly rate of 357 due to "the arduous duties the force had to perform during the year," and in 1882 the chief commissioner reported that "some insubordination got in amongst the men, and it has shown itself in an organized reluctance to go to the school, and a complaint against examinations of all kinds."(246)

The examination of sergeants for promotion to acting inspector consisted of the same type of literary tests given to the lower ranks. In addition, sergeants were tested as to their knowledge of the voluminous crime statistics published annually by the D.M.P., and of their familiarity with the government of the city by the mayor and corporation. They were also expected to know the names and addresses of the principal government officials in Dublin, as well as the locations of the law courts, hospitals and prisons, convents, cathedrals and churches, of all kinds of royal and public educational, agricultural, artistic and musical societies,

in addition to all colleges, theatres, leading hotels and clubs, breweries and distilleries and "leading mercantile establishments" in the D.M.P. area.(247) To achieve promotion to superintendent, inspectors were required to take a three part examination, consisting of knowledge of drill, an oral examination on station duty and on the carriage laws, licensing Acts, public house duty and the sanitary laws in the D.M.P. area, and finally a written examination designed to test not just writing skills but also ability to write official reports and fill in charge sheets at the police stations.(248)

The net result of Chief Commissioner Talbot's changes was that promotion in the D.M.P became more difficult than in the major British city police forces. It was pointed out in 1882 that in Liverpool and Glasgow there were no examinations for promotion, with constables being assured of advancement after fixed periods of service subject to good behavior, while in the London Metropolitan Police the only examinations were for promotion of constables to sergeant and of sergeants to third class inspector, and these were qualifying rather than competitive.(249) However, the new system did not materially delay the progression of D.M.P. constables from the fourth to the first rate. It was estimated in 1882 that on average it took a fourth class constable one year to progress to the third rate, a further five years to advance to the second, and two more years to

progress to the first rate, making just over eight years altogether, which was similar to the length of time it took in the early 1870s. First class constable was the highest rank achieved by most of the rank and file - in 1882 it was estimated that only around 15% of constables and 50% of acting sergeants reached the rank of sergeant; only 50% of sergeants could expect to reach the rank of acting inspector, and only 50% of acting inspectors could hope to advance to even the rank of third class inspector. (250) For most constables, then, reaching the quite substantial pay of the non-commissioned officer remained an unfulfilled ambition.

Although the length of service at which constables reached their highest rate of pay was not affected by the new system, Chief Commissioner Talbot was obliged in 1882 to end the examinations for constables as attendance at the depot school was causing widespread dissatisfaction. From 1883 the ratings system for constables was abolished, and they were promoted at fixed periods of one, three, eight and 15 years' service. The relatively new ranks of acting sergeant and acting inspector were also abolished, but over 60 new sergeant positions were made available and a new rank of station sergeant was created so that opportunities for promotion were not decreased. Although the ratio of non-commissioned ranks to constables improved in the late nineteenth century - in 1894 there were 136 sergeants to 945 constables - the great decline in the number of resignations

from the force meant that promotion beyond constable rank still occurred at a comparatively late period of service. (251) A survey of the lengths of service of the 147 constables promoted to sergeant between 1904 and 1913 shows that it took on average over 14" years to reach the higher rank. In 1914 there were no sergeants with less than 14 years' service, whereas in contrast Leeds had 21, Manchester 37, Birmingham around 30, and the London Metropolitan Police had a massive 1426 sergeants with less than 14 years served. A slow rate of promotion was a feature of all the D.M.P. non-commissioned and officer ranks. Between 1904 and 1913 it took the 62 men appointed to station sergeant an average of almost 21 years to reach that rank, the 32 men appointed inspectors averaged 24 years' service, and the nine men appointed superintendents took an average of 31" years to reach that level. The slowness of advancement to the top positions inevitably slowed down promotion in the lower ranks. (252)

Early recruits to the Irish Constabulary were given a somewhat contradictory outline as to the rules regarding promotion. They were told that every policeman could look forward to advancement, but that this could "only be obtained by preeminent merit, and a zealous and active discharge of the various duties of the service." It was up to the sub-inspectors (in 1839 the rank designated "sub-inspector" was changed to "county inspector") to recommend to the inspector-

general a list of the men in each rank in the county most deserving of promotion, in their order of merit. This was contradicted by the promise that second class sub-constables who served one year without breach of the rules and regulations were entitled to promotion to the first class.(253) Early recruits were also informed that "no man can be promoted to the rank of constable who cannot write a good official report, or letter, no matter how exemplary his conduct," and that it was in each sub-constable's interest to devote "every hour" in which he was off duty to "reading, writing, and the general improvement of his mind."(254) A report of January 1848 that the constabulary of Ballinasloe had hired a local teacher to give them lessons on how to improve their writing is evidence that some policemen at least took this admonition of the inspector-general to heart.(255) It appears that for the first 20 years of the force's existence - those in which Sir Duncan McGregor was in charge - the most common principle in determining promotion was seniority, which method was described by one policeman as promoting "the longest standing of silly old men."(256) As McGregor explained to the House of Commons in 1859, this reliance on seniority meant that the constabulary from the mid-1830s onwards had a disproportionate number of Protestants in positions of responsibility as they had formed the bulk of the senior members of the original force. He stated that with the passage of time Catholics would

inevitably come to fill a proportion of the senior ranks in keeping with their number in the rank and file - a topic to which we shall return later. (257)

Inspector-general Brownrigg reformed the constabulary's system of promotion in December 1858. He established the practice of drawing up two lists for each rank in the service, a "seniority list" and a "special list," from which promotions were made. One's standing on the seniority list was determined not by one's length of service but rather by the opinion of the sub-inspectors and especially the county inspectors as to how much one merited promotion. When advancement from this list occurred, the inspector-general usually bowed to the suggestions of the sub and county inspectors, and exercised "only such control as his position and means enable him to wield with advantage - guarding against favouritism, injustice, or the advancement of men who can barely write or spell well enough to make themselves intelligible upon paper." A benefit of the officers' role in determining promotion from this list, according to Brownrigg, was that it taught the member of the rank and file "to merit the good opinion of his officers," a possible allusion that this was not always the case under the old system. (258) The object of the introduction of the "special list" was to give to those members whose names were on it an earlier prospect of promotion than they would have had in the ordinary course of events. One was placed on this list

through "observation at headquarters, or on the recommendation of the officers, or on that of the magistrates in Quarter or Petty Sessions, or of grand juries, for special police service performed." Special police service was defined as the valuable capture or successful prosecution of criminals, the prosecution of minor offences or success in the suppression of illicit distillation. For each vacancy which occurred, four head or other constables were called to undergo a competitive examination, with two men coming from each list. The odds were tilted in favour of those from the special list as they were awarded extra examination points for each instance of special police service.(259)

This experiment of introducing competitive examinations for the upper non-commissioned ranks led to what one newspaper described as the "great and deeply felt injustice of not unfrequently placing the smart, flippant answerer . . . over the heads of those . . . with infinitely more experience."(260) Inspector-general Brownrigg admitted in 1864 that:

The first and most serious evil is the mischievous impression created in the force that clerical superiority and not police efficiency is the high-road to promotion. . . . Much discontent and great positive evil is the consequence. The senior members of the force do not conceal their dissatisfaction at the introduction of this novelty, of which they had no notice when they entered the force, and for which they are now unprepared. Many good members, who can adduce the best proof of their merits, but who are conscious of educational deficiencies, which they cannot at their time of life ever expect to make good, now find their hopes of promotion extinguished. Many of our best disposable [i.e. plain-clothes] men, from being constantly employed

on their peculiar service, have not the same opportunities of attaining a practice and efficiency in other branches, which are enjoyed by other men it may be of inferior merit. Many others, I am informed, have been found at their books and slates when they should have been discharging their actual duties. Thus the chief stimulus is applied in the wrong direction; for, however necessary and desirable a certain amount of education amongst the non-commissioned officers of our force may be, it ought to be regarded as secondary to the great end for which such a force exists, and to be carefully kept in its proper place.(261)

To remove the sense of dissatisfaction, Brownrigg abolished the competitive examinations and replaced them with a testing or qualifying examination for all head and other constables desiring promotion.(262)

The seniority and special lists remained in use in the constabulary until the early 1880s. County and sub-inspectors retained a central role in determining one's position on the seniority list, and because all promotions up to and including that of constable in a particular county were restricted to the rank and file of that county, the subjective opinions of these officers as to the desired qualities in a promoted policeman could give rise to disparities in the promotion process, despite the constabulary's being a supposedly uniform force. For example, in 1882 the commissioners appointed to enquire into the R.I.C. observed that county inspectors, when drawing up seniority lists, were expected to take into account the men's "length of service, steadiness, zeal in the discharge of duty, education, and knowledge of police duties," but that it was entirely up to their discretion as to which qualities

they should emphasize most. The claim was made that in counties Louth, Wicklow, Down and Kerry the average length of service for promotion was from four to five years, whereas in Mayo the average was 15 years, due to the preferences of the various inspectors.(263)

At the end of the century the county inspector for Clare placed especial importance on the number of prosecutions against publicans which each man had when he drew up his county's seniority list.(264) Although there is some merit in his preference for publican prosecutions, in that it at least represented a part of a policeman's duty, complaints were made earlier in the century that officers were unduly influenced by superficial appearances of efficiency when deciding which men were preferred for promotion. The sub-inspector for Tramore in 1872 was aware of the difficulty in choosing the best men for advancement:

There is a great complaint amongst the men, as far as promotion is concerned; they say that the thief-catcher, and the good policeman, who remains constantly out, and does the duty and pays attention to the business, and who from his practice is capable of conducting a prosecution at the Sessions or Assizes - that he is the last for promotion, because the men belonging to the junior rank[s] will remain inside, and they will read those books that are required, or the regulations and Acts of parliaments. They will have those by them, and they will give intelligent answers to their superior officers, and they will be promoted, over senior men.(266)

There were also recurrent suspicions in the force that undue private influence was brought to bear on officers when they decided upon promotions. Perhaps this was in part a symptom of frustration at the slowness of advancement - in

1866 it was estimated that it took on average more than twenty years to reach the rank of constable, which rank was the equivalent of a sergeant in the D.M.P. (267) Inspector-general Brownrigg stated in 1864 that the men were prohibited from soliciting magistrates to apply for their promotion, "which, nevertheless, there is too much reason to believe they frequently do." He pointed out that in the 700 Petty Sessions' districts of Ireland "there is at least one deserving man who has recommended himself to the Bench," while "others are recommended by Members of Parliament, Grand Jurors, the clergy, gentry, and other inhabitants." (268) In 1868 Inspector-general Wood complained that he was frequently written to by "influential persons" to promote a man or restore a reduced policeman to his former rank. Such letters were usually accompanied by others from the wives, fathers, friends or relatives of the man concerned, claiming that the request for a favour was made without his knowledge. Wood expressed his determination to punish every such policeman as if he had known about the letters, and this warning was repeated in the R.I.C. code of 1872. (269) A similar complaint about such letters was made in 1900. (270)

Not all of the men were satisfied that officers ignored outside pressures when deciding promotions. Sub-constable John Doosey of Cork city, who by 1872 had served 14 years in the R.I.C. without breaking the regulations and still had not been promoted beyond sub-constable's rank, alleged as the

reason for his disappointment in the service "that I have never been fortunate enough to secure the influence of an officer or any private individual outside the force who had influence to obtain promotion for me. If I had had, I suppose I would have been as fortunate as others."(271) An allegation was made to the Freeman's Journal newspaper in February 1880 that "Promotion in many places is only to be obtained by the influence of some local J.P., a medical doctor, or a clergyman with whom the county inspector dines occasionally."(272) This claim was repeated in December 1881 by the constabulary of Castletown, Co. Cork, who told a visiting reporter that there was "general dissatisfaction" that "favourites of the local gentry obtaining the good graces of the officers" were preferred for promotion to the ranks of acting constable and constable.(273) A quarter of a century later a constable serving in Belfast, a city where promotion was particularly slow and the process determining it gave rise to suspicions of favouritism among the men, told the enquiry investigating the grievances of the force there of the belief of the men that private influence played an important part in shaping one's career in the police:

Then there comes in the gentleman who has been fortunate enough to have been reared under the shadow of a marquissate, or perhaps within the shadow of the portals of the residence of a dukedom. All these things tend to a man's advancement in the police. Local influences of a general nature, such as the influence, perhaps, of the chief magistrate of a city like this, and perhaps lesser dignitaries in the way of ordinary influence, I am sure, go to advance or retard the prospects of the various men whose claims are before our authorities. When I refer

to these influences I don't do it in a light fashion, because although it is impossible for us to gain a knowledge from documentary evidence of these things, we are satisfied that this thing is going on. (274)

As stated earlier, promotion from the early 1860s to the early 1880s was made from both seniority and special lists. In the early 1870s the method by which a candidate was placed on the special list was through the number of "favourable records" which he had accumulated for special police service. Since the early days of the force favourable records were rewards, with an eventual monetary value to the recipient, for extraordinary duty performed. The decision to reward a man or officer with a favourable record was taken by a board of the superior officers of the force. In the early 1870s the number of favourable records which placed one on the special list for promotion was two for a sub-constable of seven years' service, one for an acting constable with one year's service in that rank, three for a constable with six years' service in that rank, and three for a second class head constable with four years' service in that rank. Promotions to each rank were made alternately from the seniority and special lists. Such a system favoured, as it was designed to, men of junior standing but ability as policemen, as it enabled them to progress at a quicker rate than if they had spent all of their career on the seniority lists alone. For all non-officer ranks there was also a qualifying examination. Acting and sub-constables were examined by county inspectors in orthography, handwriting and

arithmetic, while constables were given written examinations in English composition, mathematics and the geography of their own and adjacent counties.(275)

The more senior R.I.C men not unnaturally disliked the special list, as it gave their junior colleagues what they saw as an unfair and easy opportunity to achieve equal standing with, or even superiority to, themselves. Also men serving in quiet rural districts believed that they had less chance of getting on the special list than policemen serving in more crime-affected areas.(276) Other policemen voiced their suspicion that well-educated juniors, because of their ability to write impressive reports of their role in crime detection, were able to gain favourable records for trivial reasons. Head Constable James O'Connell of Derry stated in 1872 that there instances where "a man got a record for detecting a petty larceny, the stealing of a turkey. It is rumoured, and I believe it, that some of those men who can get records for anything succeed in getting a record for the arrest of a deserter."(277) Another claimed that records were sometimes got "through the influence of the officer, if you are a friend of his, for the most trivial cause," but "for the man who has not a friend to support him . . . although he had better prosecutions and cases than others, he will have no good records."(278) Another feature of the promotion system which was hated by the senior rank and file policemen was the fact that county inspectors' clerks held

a rather privileged position when it came to promotion to head constable. Normally constables were not eligible for examination for promotion to this rank until they had served at least 15 years as constable. County inspectors' clerks were eligible four years earlier than this, and despite their small numbers they were called up for every sixth vacancy. The more active policemen felt that the clerks' training and workload gave them an advantage in preparing for the qualifying examinations which virtually guaranteed them promotion. One officer defended the privileged position of the clerks on the grounds that they were "a superior class, generally speaking - intelligent men."(279)

Many of the causes of the complaints about the system of promotion were removed, at least for a period, as a result of the 1882 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. In May 1883 the special list for promotion was abolished for all ranks, and the original system of advancement by seniority was returned to, although candidates still had to pass a qualifying examination. In addition to this reform, a minimum number of years' service for promotion was laid down: sub-constables were not to be eligible for advancement to acting constable until they had served at least eight years, while constables were not to be promoted to head constable until they had completed at least 14 years in the force.(280) Another novelty was that head constables, sergeants and acting sergeants (in 1883 the rank sub-constable was

designated "constable," acting constable became "acting sergeant" and constable became "sergeant") were told that their promotion would depend not just on their own efforts and abilities, but also on the "intelligence and efficiency" of the men under their command.(281)

The appointment of Sir Andrew Reed in 1885 was to lead to another, and final, major reform of the system of promotion. In October 1889 Reed stressed that it was important that junior members should be afforded, "at an early period of their service, opportunities of making known to their superiors that they possess qualities which will fit them eventually for occupying the higher positions in the constabulary." In order to facilitate this, he proposed that one third of all promotions from constable to acting sergeant should be reserved for men who had succeeded in a special annual competitive examination. To be eligible constables had to have at least five years' service, the last four of which were to be without punishments for breaches of discipline. While clerks were eligible to compete, preference was given to men "who have been during their entire service engaged in practical police work." No clerk who had been more than one year away from ordinary police duty could compete without the special sanction of the inspector-general, a provision obviously designed to prevent a repetition of earlier complaints by active policemen that the clerks had unfair advantages and opportunities in the

promotion race. The examination which the aspiring constables had to take consisted of arithmetic, spelling, the geography of the United Kingdom, handwriting and English composition, all of which were conducted by the Civil Service commissioners, and a written examination in police duties, an oral examination in the same topic designed to show "general fitness of command," and an examination in drill - the last three were conducted by a board of officers appointed by the inspector-general. Extra marks were awarded to holders of favourable records. Three years later provision was made for granting a certain number of extra marks in the examination for each year of service completed beyond six years. (282)

The unexpected short-cut to promotion prompted many constables to turn to correspondence courses set up by enterprising academies which specialized in preparing students for civil service examinations. The director of one such academy in Dublin claimed that two thirds of all promotions in the R.I.C. won by competitive examination, including 14 of the 16 first places, down to 1897, had been won by his "pupils." (283) In 1897 Inspector-general Reed decided that, due to the large reductions which were being effected in the police establishment of many counties and the perceived excessive number of sergeants and acting sergeants in others, the number of vacancies open to constables through competitive examination was to be halved, an announcement

which probably increased the number of ambitious men resorting to civil service academies for tutoring.(284) Although most policemen continued to be promoted by seniority, the old animosity of senior men towards colleagues who had been promoted by quicker and, in their eyes, softer ways re-surfaced. One can only imagine the bitterness felt by the constable, unpromoted after 15 years' service, who told a Limerick county court judge in the early twentieth century that the only reason for his failure to reach a higher rank was that he did not know the location of Cape Matapan - a sarcastic comment on the usefulness of the written examination in judging constables' fitness for advancement.(285) Paddy "The Cope" Gallagher, in his recollections of life in Donegal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, recalls how the head constable of Dungloe "hated the sight" of his sergeant, who had received his stripes the "easy" way, through a close reading of the laws rather than a combination of seniority and experience.(286)

As well as the aversion of senior policemen towards the competitive examination as a short-cut towards promotion, the old suspicions lingered on that some officers showed undue favouritism towards certain men when it came to promotions. Martin Nolan records that in the 1880s in Fermanagh the men suspected that County Inspector Cary had a policy of promoting all the men under his command whom he had known,

or who had served under him, when he had been a sub-inspector in Dundalk.(287) Part of the reason for the investigation in 1906 into the workings of the R.I.C. in Belfast was that the men of the force suspected that two junior men of short service in the city were promoted "over the heads of men much their seniors, with several favourable records, and much longer service in that city," simply on the basis that Commissioner Leatham had known them when he had been county inspector of Derry. This claim was virtually confirmed by the investigators' report in the case of one of the men.(288)

While allegations of favouritism such as the above cannot be substantiated by the evidence of official documents, the fact that they were made is, as stated earlier, probably a sign of frustration at the slow pace of promotion in the force. Some statistics on R.I.C. promotions help to put the allegations into context. The 1901 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. pointed out that opportunities for eventual advancement were more favourable to R.I.C. constables than those in England, because the ratio of sergeants and acting sergeants to constables in Ireland was much higher than the ratio of sergeants to constables in England. (The R.I.C. was the only U.K. police force with an acting sergeant rank.) In Wales and England, excluding the London Metropolitan Police, there were, in 1900, 3321 sergeants and 23020 constables, a ratio of around one to seven, while in Scotland there were 441 sergeants and 3921

constables, a ratio of about one to nine. In contrast, in the R.I.C. there were 2310 sergeants and acting sergeants to 8380 constables, a proportion of less than one to four. The committee also pointed out that since the 1870s, of a cohort or intake of recruits for any one year, around two thirds could expect to be promoted to a rank higher than constable by the time 25 years' service was completed, which was considerably higher than the figures for the D.M.P. in the early 1880s.(289)

However, the length of service needed to obtain promotion beyond constable rank was very long. In 1901 the average for the force was from 18 to 20 years. The district inspector for Dundrum claimed that because it took around 19" years in his county to be promoted, advancement was "practically non-existent."(290) Similar complaints were made to the 1914 R.I.C. committee of enquiry. In Clare promotion came after around 15" years' service, in Waterford the average service required was over 20 years, while in Belfast it was 22 years.(291) These averages refer to advancement to the lowest of the non-commissioned ranks, that of acting sergeant. This was the least desirable N.C.O. rank, involving as it did the duties of a sergeant but at a lesser rate of pay. The editor of the Constabulary Gazette described it as "the most unfair rank in the service," as the acting sergeant was "a cheap sergeant - nothing more."(292) (Acting sergeants' pay was not considerably higher than that

of constables). In the meantime the men had to content themselves with the constable's rate of pay, and this compared most unfavourably with the pay of constables in most British police forces and the D.M.P. Not only that, but it took the R.I.C. constable longer to reach his maximum rate of pay - Scottish constables reached their maximum rate after just eight years, in the D.M.P. and in England it took 15 years, while in the R.I.C. it took from 20 years from 1872 to 1908, and 25 years after that year.(293) Constables who were promoted to acting sergeant were put on probation for a year and, if found unfit for the rank, were reduced to constable; if found suitable they were, after August 1893, given just five years' to attain promotion to sergeant's rank. Failure to achieve this goal meant that they were considered ineligible for further promotion.(294) Those who were promoted to sergeant in the early twentieth century usually served for two years as acting sergeants. Progress beyond the level of sergeant was very rare. In the ten years down to 1914 only 274 sergeants were promoted to the rank of head constable, and only 153 of these (55.84%) came from the seniority list, having served an average of more than 16 years as sergeants.(295)

In summing up the topic of promotion in the D.M.P. and R.I.C., one can see that the problem faced by the police authorities was how to strike a balance between the claims of men with comparatively long service, and those with less

service but perhaps more promise than their senior colleagues. In the lowest ranks - sub-constable and (after 1883) constable in the R.I.C., and constable in the D.M.P. - the men could be sure that their income would be increased over time. Securing advancement to the non-commissioned ranks was, however, more problematical. Most D.M.P. constables did not make it that far, while in the R.I.C. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, about two thirds of the men who made the police a permanent career choice reached at least the lowest of the non-commissioned ranks. While promotion in the police could be slow and uneven there was at least some sort of in-built process by which a man had the chance to increase his income, a prospect denied to many other workers in Ireland unless they resorted to industrial action.

Another prospect to which most Irish workers could not look forward, but the police could, was that of enjoying a pension on their retirement. Service in the police forces could often have a detrimental effect on the health of policemen, and pensions at first were given mainly to those whose health had irretrievably broken down. There were many aspects of the constable's duties - the constant exposure to the weather, the often arduous nature of service in the large towns and cities or the danger of being assaulted - which were potentially harmful to his health. The effect of exposure to the weather on the health of policemen should

not be underestimated; indeed in 1856 the D.M.P. authorities attributed the very high turnover in the force in 1838 to the "since-unequaled severity of the winter of that year." The winter of 1838 was indeed especially harsh, with falls of snow of up to three feet in Dublin in January and February, and walking the beat in such conditions probably lead to a quick disillusionment with police life for many recruits.(296) It is not without coincidence that the first large-scale organized effort of the men of the D.M.P. to present demands involved a health issue - the growing of beards! In February 1854 almost 400 members of the D.M.P. signed a petition to their chief commissioners, in which they stated that

almost all, if not all, diseases of the respiratory organs are in great part, if not altogether, caused by the practice which obtains (sic) of shaving off the beard; that the discontinuance of the practice would greatly conduce to their comfort, exposed as they are to the inclemency of the weather, as well as save a great deal of trouble and sometimes considerable difficulty: that Nature, having supplied man with such an adornment, manifestly never intended that he should disfigure himself by the use of a razor, [therefore the petitioners] respectfully and earnestly request the Commissioners of Police to permit them entirely to discard it and henceforth to wear their beards.(297)

The commissioners granted this unusual request as a health measure, with the proviso that beards and moustaches should be trimmed and should not obscure the numbers on the men's collars.(298) This measure was a mixed blessing, as it often gave people an extra and painful appendage to swing from when assaulting policemen, but it brought the D.M.P. into line

with the constabulary, where the practice of growing beards and moustaches was considered de rigueur for men of a few years' service. Recruits to that force were often struck by the hirsute appearance of their more senior colleagues, and the practice was so general that when several non-commissioned officers of Leopold Street station, Belfast, took to shaving in May 1913, their "clerical appearance" merited a mention in the Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine.(299)

Contemporaries often commented on the weather as the policeman's adversary. An Englishman who joined the R.I.C. as an officer in 1879, recalls that during the severe winter and spring of 1882 "many of them went to hospital with lung disease and other illnesses brought on by exposure and hardships of all kinds."(300) A sub-constable in the same year elaborated on the hardships to which the police were often subjected, when he described the ambush patrol as "three hours along an old ditch or in the middle of an open field, where the brute beast would not be left on a cold or wet night."(301) A Moate constable claimed that "there are several young men that I know myself in Westmeath, and I would not like to be sleeping in the room with them with the coughing they have; they are certainly in the first stage of consumption, from lying out at night."(302) A few years later a depressing picture was painted of "two solitary policemen on one of the bleak roads here in the west as they

wend their way on a dreary night patrol, with sleet and rain and the gushing wind from out the valleys pouring mercilessly upon them, with nothing to protect them from it but the remnant of a worn coat."(303) The difficulties of performing duty in the often exposed areas of Connacht were also commented upon shortly before World War I. In April 1914 a sergeant serving in Casteblakeney described the after-effects of all-night vigil over graziers' cattle: "In the morning sometimes, especially in winter, I have pulled off icicles from my moustache."(304) The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine described some of the unpleasant aspects of performing protective duty in the Belmullet area: "Long ambush patrols on the grazing ranches without a hedge, or even a ditch, to protect one from the full force of the Atlantic breeze would test the constitution of even a Jack Johnson." It asserted that only the "hardened chaws" were able to stand up to the rigours of performing duty in such conditions.(305)

As the police often had to contend with unfavourable conditions such as those described above, especially in times of agrarian tension when night duty was more common than normally, it is not surprising to find that diseases either brought about or worsened by exposure to the weather featured predominantly in the medical statistics of the police. An examination of the service records of the recruits who joined the constabulary from 1850 until 1890 shows that, of those

who died while in the service, the cause of death is assigned in 2040 cases. Some 825 (40.44%) deaths were due to diseases which could have been either caused or worsened by exposure to the elements. These diseases included bronchitis, pleurisy, tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza and colds, congestion or inflammation of the lungs, and bronchial asthma. The true total of weather-induced or weather-aggravated deaths was probably higher, as a further 120 deaths (5.88%) were due to "lung disease," 28 (1.37%) were attributed to "chest disease" or "chest affection," and 109 (5.34%) were simply attributed to "fever." (306) The proneness of the police to catching such diseases was recognized in the R.I.C. by the establishment in 1907 of a special fund to send policemen suffering from tuberculosis to the Royal National Hospital for Consumption in Newcastle, Co. Wicklow. (307) The D.M.P. also encountered health problems due to exposure to the weather. Sometimes these problems were increased as the result of carelessness by the men themselves. The 1865 instruction book includes the complaint of the commissioners that in "severe weather" the men often did duty on the streets without bothering to wear their top coats or leggings. Assistant Commissioner Connolly complained in 1882 that "they seem to take pride in going out in all weathers without sufficient regard to the warmth of their clothing." David Neligan claims that rain coats and capes provided to the D.M.P. "often found their way to

country relations."(308) The combination of exposure to the weather and the almost masochistic carelessness of the men is reflected in the medical statistics of the D.M.P. Sickness caused by exposure to the weather was the main health problem facing the Dublin police at the turn of the century. Pneumonia, phthisis, pleuritis, bronchitis and rheumatism accounted for 45 (31.91%) of the 141 D.M.P. deaths between 1895 and 1914, a proportion which would have been higher but for the unusually high proportion of deaths due to typhoid fever in the period, at 28 (19.86%) of the total.(309)

Another danger to the health of policemen was the performance of night duty. This was considered to be especially severe in the cities, where much more night duty was performed than in rural areas. A visitor to the D.M.P.'s Kevin Street barracks in 1852 reported how a hundred men who had finished night duty were "all apparently more or less exhausted by fatigue."(310) In fact the D.M.P.'s instruction book for 1865 warned that night duty would be "detrimental to the constitution of the constables."(311) In 1872 Deputy Inspector-general Colonel George Hillier stated that a recruit to the R.I.C., who joined at 18 years' of age and retired 30 years later, may be 48 years old but "he will be much older in constitution, on account of night duty." He claimed that one could notice the effects of this duty on a policeman, as on a soldier, "after a comparatively short

period."(312) In 1882 a Belfast sub-inspector explained that night duty made extra demands on the stamina, and on the pockets, of the constabulary stationed there: "If the night men in Belfast did not eat extra paying 11d and 1s per lb for beefsteak, they could not do the work. Night work in a big town is something terrible."(313)

In fact police service in general in the cities could be "something terrible" for the health of the men. Crime rates were obviously heavier than in rural areas and placed more responsibility and work on the city policeman, as we shall see later, and the police also tended to be more unpopular in the cities and large towns and this increased their chances of being assaulted on duty. These factors took their toll on the urban policeman's health. In 1858 Dr. Ireland, chief surgeon of the D.M.P., stated that "Seven years and eight months make a period of police service, after which the constitutions of the stoutest members of the force will begin to exhibit symptoms of decay." He estimated that some 200 members of the D.M.P., around one fifth of the force, were "men unfit to serve, who ought to be discharged."(314) Fourteen years later Surgeon Nedley stated:

I think all the police in all the cities . . . have too much to do; a policeman, generally, who has been twenty years in the police, looks from ten to twenty years older than he really is; police duty, in fact, in my opinion, ages men more than any other duty performed by any other classes I am acquainted with.(315)

The 1882 D.M.P. committee of enquiry reported that "in a great city there are few policemen who have not met with

severe handling in the course of their service."(316) In 1901 T.F. Singleton, commandant of the R.I.C. depot and assistant inspector-general, painted a rather stark picture of the difference between service in the city and the countryside:

I noticed my own men on duty in Belfast, wearing out at the rate of three years for every two on other duty. I have seen hearty fresh fellows from the country wasted and stooped, and their knees bent and worn with tramping on the stones, breathing bad air, living in bad localities, and never seeing the sun except through the smoke.(317)

Part of the reason for police service often being an unhealthy proposition was the risk of assault on duty, a topic to which we shall return at more length later. In September 1858, Chief Commissioner Browne of the D.M.P. stated that from 1838 to 1858 there had been 3000 cases of policemen receiving "severe injuries" in the discharge of their duties in Dublin, which was an extremely high figure, as only around 6000 men passed through the ranks in the same period. Browne emphasized that the cases of injury did not include the rather commonplace "black eyes" and "bloody noses," but referred to incidents in which constables were "stabbed, violently beaten, their heads fractured and limbs broken."(318) A frequent contributor to police casualty lists was the drunken prisoner resisting arrest. The following newspaper extract from 1862 gives a good idea of how such conflicts between the D.M.P. and Dublin drunks occurred:

Several individuals . . . were brought up in custody of the police, charged with having, on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, in various . . . parts of the city and at different hours, between noon and midnight, beaten and bruised several constables who were engaged in the execution of their duty. There was a marked similarity in many of the cases, so far as the manner of beating the police was concerned. The offender, who in general is to be taken as 'under the influence,' while staggering along the street is heard to utter, in a loud voice, his fervent desire to 'be into' the constable on duty, whoever that constable may be, irrespective of his weight or size, and having, on rounding some corner, suddenly knocked up against a member of the force, he incontinently thrusts his face up against the face of the constable, and states emphatically that he would just like to see that constable try to 'bring him in,' which exploit the constable begins by seizing the party by the collar, but immediately afterwards receives a smasher on the nose, and finds his hat rolling in the gutter. (319)

The problem of troublesome prisoners was, of course, not unknown to the constabulary. In 1901 a Banbridge constable of 25 years' service stated that "If you arrest a man in a country town, and he thinks he is able to best you, he will do all he can to knock you down, unless you are too many for him." In the same year a rather unfortunate New Ross head constable of 24 years experience claimed that he had been assaulted or had had his uniform torn off him fifty times during his career. (320) An examination of the 180 claims for compensation for serious injury received on duty by R.I.C. men from 1881 to 1901 shows that injuries arising from the arrest of a drunken prisoner accounted for the single largest source of complaint. Three claims (1.66%) were for injury at race duty, another four claims each (2.22% apiece) were for injuries received on duty at fairs or while quelling rows in public houses, 17 of the injuries (9.44%) were received

on election duty, and 28 (15.55%) at riots in the north. The highest total - 65, or 36.11% - arose from arresting prisoners. Of these, 36, 20% of the overall total, were for arresting drunken prisoners. (321)

The prospect of receiving a pension must have been an important consideration to many men facing what was often dangerous or exhausting duty, or to married policemen. In the constabulary, from 1836, the officers and head and other constables were entitled to various rates of pension, depending on their age and the cause of their retirement from the force. Policemen who wanted to retire voluntarily had to be at least 60 years of age. Those who reached this age were entitled to a pension of two thirds of their pay if they served at least 15 years. Men who were 65 and served for 40 years were entitled to a pension of three quarters of their pay, and the rare individuals who managed to serve for 50 years or more would receive all of their pay as pension. No policeman who was under 60 years of age was entitled to a pension without at first getting a certificate from a medical board at the depot stating that he was "incapable, from infirmity of mind or body, to discharge the duties of his office." If the medical board granted him a certificate, and his officers certified that he had served with "diligence and fidelity," he was entitled to a pension of half his salary for a service of fifteen years; if he served between 15 and 20 years he received two thirds of his pay, and for more than

20 years' service he received all of his pay as pension. However, any policeman who was rendered incapable for further service due to injuries received in the performance of his duty was entitled to his full salary as pension. The latter provision remained a constant throughout the history of the force.

Two percent was deducted from the pay of all officers and men to fund superannuations. Policemen who retired but who were not entitled to a pension - which usually referred to men of less than 15 years' service whose health had broken down for reasons other than injuries received on duty - were entitled to gratuities of unspecified amounts. After August 1839, pensions and gratuities were granted subject to the understanding that the recipient could lose his award if he refused to "assist in the suppression of any riot or breach of the peace or in the apprehension of any offender, or shall be convicted of any felony or misdemeanour or other disgraceful conduct." (322) The first provisions for superannuating members of the D.M.P. were less complex, but also less favourable, than those for the Irish Constabulary. The maximum pension allowed to D.M.P. men was two thirds of their pay, and to qualify for this one had to be at least 60 years of age and have served at least 25 years, or have been disabled by an injury or disease acquired in the performance of duty. (323) The D.M.P. authorities proved reluctant to grant the latter types of pension. In 1842 they wrote:

The commissioners conceive it to be essential that great strictness should be used in granting pensions for injuries received in the police service, and that one absolute requisite should be the report of the medical officers that the injury was entirely caused by the service. Should any looseness in granting these pensions be ever allowed to creep in, the police funds will be crippled and the efficiency of the force proportionably injured.

In the case of Sergeant Richard Wilkinson, a member of the mounted section of the D.M.P. and whose duties included breaking-in horses, they refused his request for a pension on the grounds that the medical officers felt that the injuries which rendered him incapable for duty were only partly caused by the service, and that he was "only partly incapacitated from earning his livelihood." Wilkinson received only a gratuity of 23 on his retirement, after over 4" years' service in the D.M.P. and two years in the old Dublin police.(324)

It is at first sight somewhat surprising to find that the early years of the Irish Constabulary sometimes saw quite a comparatively high rate of men retiring from the force on pension. Indeed the rate for 1841 (2.54% pensioned) was not surpassed until 1873, while that of 1847 (1.98% pensioned) was the highest between 1842 and 1872.(325) The explanation is of course that when the Irish Constabulary was established in 1836 it contained a large proportion of men who had served in the County Constabulary, many of whom had been recruited at relatively late ages, and who by 1841 were "veterans" who had served through some of the most turbulent years of the

nineteenth century.(326) In May 1841 Inspector-general McGregor complained that there were "numerous" cases of both officers and men, "evidently unfit by age or infirmities, for the due performance of their duties," but who were allowed to remain in the force "either by the carelessness or connivance" of their superiors until they had established claims for pensions. He also complained of men being recommended for discharge on large gratuities "while on their death beds." To weed out all those men who were "so broken in constitution as to be disqualified for further service," special reports were to be sent to headquarters of all men who spent three months unfit for duty, to decide whether to discharge them on pension or gratuity or allow them "a reasonable period of indulgence" for recovering their health.(327) The high proportion of men discharged on pension in 1841 probably reflects this weeding out process. In December 1847 McGregor explained that:

The Irish police were at one time a confessedly undisciplined & partisan force - that the only qualifications generally deemed indispensable, to the admission of its members, was their holding certain religious or political opinions - and that, consequently, they were frequently received into the service at an age when men of their class ought to be quitting it. Hence the fact, that ever since my arrival in Ireland, men of the above description, who were not enrolled until the age of 40 & 50 years, have been periodically cast prematurely as pensioners & burdens on the public.(328)

Undoubtedly such men figured prominently in the pension lists of the 1840s.

In 1847 the pension provisions of both the Irish

Constabulary and D.M.P. were substantially altered, in a way that was more favourable to the older members of both forces. The 1847 Act, which replaced the former legislation on pensions for both forces, stipulated that the non-officer ranks of the D.M.P should be entitled to the same pension rates as the constabulary rank and file. This in effect gave the Dublin non-officer ranks a larger pension than their constabulary counterparts, as their salaries were larger. The new Act retained the 60 year age limit for retirement, and all men younger than this who wished to retire still had to produce a medical certificate of their inability to continue performing police duty. All men who were appointed before the passing of the 1847 Act, and who wished to retire on medical grounds, were entitled to a pension of not more than two thirds of their salary if their service was between 15 and 20 years; if their service was over 20 years, they could receive their full pay as pension. Rather different provisions were introduced for those joining the police after the date of the passing of the Act (July 22, 1847). A man retiring on medical grounds, for a service of between 15 and 20 years, was entitled to no more than half his pay as pension, for service of between 20 and 25 years he could receive up to two thirds of his salary, and if he served between 25 and 30 years he could receive up to three quarters of his pay as pension. His full pay as pension was granted only after a service of 30 years. The 1847 Act also

rationalized the gratuity system for those constables obliged to retire with less than 15 years' service. Men of both forces were to receive a gratuity of one month's pay for every year served up to ten years, and a further gratuity of two months' pay for every year served between ten and 15 years. (329)

While the benefits outlined above were the statutory entitlements of the police, in practice there were a number of circumstances in which the authorities were reluctant to award a full pension or gratuity to retired policemen. For example, the D.M.P. instruction book for 1865 contains the message from the commissioners that unless a constable had been disabled by injuries received on duty, no man with less than two years' service would receive a gratuity, the only exceptions being those men recommended by superintendents to receive a small sum to help take them home. The commissioners also complained of "the great number of men" reported by the medical officers as unfit for duty after short periods in the force but who were not "incapacitated from earning their livelihoods in other occupations." Such men were not considered to be entitled to the gratuities laid down by parliament, as they were usually fit for civilian employment "after a few months' relaxation." (330) They also pointed out that the medical officers had complained of many cases in recent years of constables being discharged from the force due to "increased action of the heart." One constable

found unfit from this cause was deemed to have brought it upon himself by smoking, and as a consequence was refused a gratuity by the commissioners, which decision was to be repeated in all such cases in the future.(331)

This attitude was very different from that of the constabulary authorities; indeed, they positively encouraged smoking as an aid to police work. A sub-constable serving in Kings County in 1882 explained that

Our authorities have described different ways of detecting crime, and amongst them they include a pipe and tobacco, telling us that no man should be without a pipe and tobacco along the road, so that he might go into a house for a smoke if he had no other excuse."

Such advice seems to have been taken to heart, as there is plenty of evidence to suggest that most R.I.C. men smoked.(332) The 1879 instruction book for the D.M.P. contains a warning to the force that in all cases where a man's conduct had not been "uniformly good," or if his inability to perform duty was caused by "irregular or vicious habits or intemperance," lower scales of pension or gratuity would be granted to him. Men rendered incapable for duty through "fair wear and tear of constitution" usually received the full retirement benefits to which they were entitled, while in contrast, a sergeant who was pensioned in 1876 after 19" years' service had his pension reduced from 40 to just 20 as his ill health "had been considerably aggravated by too frequent indulgence in intoxicating liquors." The government had felt "very much inclined to refuse any pension

whatever," but had consented to grant him a reduced pension after a lengthy correspondence with the D.M.P. authorities.(333) The policy of punishing excessive drinkers by reducing their pensions was also adopted by the R.I.C. In June 1867 the rule was introduced that policemen removed from the force suffering from delirium tremens were not to receive any retiring allowance, while those who in the course of their career had received several unfavourable records for drinking were to have their pensions reduced.(334)

The pension regulations introduced during the Famine remained valid until 1866 in the Irish Constabulary and until 1867 in the D.M.P. As we have already seen, the committee of enquiry into the constabulary in 1866 had raised the pay of that force. It thus felt justified in reducing the rate of pension to which the men were entitled. The dividing date of August 10, 1866 was decided upon for pension purposes. All who joined before that date were entitled to the pensions laid down by the 1847 Act, while all those who joined after that date were to receive different pension rates. Under the new system, all 60 years old men were still allowed to retire without a medical inspection. For those obliged to retire because of ill health, a service of 15 years entitled one to fifteen fiftieths of one's salary as pension, with the addition of one fiftieth for each extra year served down to 30 years. The maximum pension to which such men were entitled was three fifths of their pay. Similar rates were

introduced for all men and officers of the D.M.P who joined that force after August 12, 1867.(335)

The new system contrasted unfavourably with the old scale, by which it was possible to gain a pension of all one's pay after a service of thirty years. The changes meant that a man who joined the constabulary on August 9, 1866, and who served for over 30 years and retired in the rank of sub-constable, would be entitled to all of his pay as pension, which, if calculated on the pay before August 10, 1866 (which was the intention of parliament), would amount to £27 14 shillings. On the other hand, a man who joined the force on August 11, 1866, and who retired with the same length of service and with the same rank, would receive only £25 14 shillings and ninepence. This not unnaturally caused resentment among men who joined after the passing of the 1866 Act, which rancour was heightened by the practice which prevailed in the constabulary of granting pensions to men who joined before the 1866 Act that were calculated on the new rates of pay. Thus around 250 head and other constables were discharged on considerably higher pensions than those to which they were entitled between 1866 and 1874. This policy meant that in effect a man who joined the force on August 9, 1866, and retired over 30 years later with the rank of sub-constable could look forward to a pension of £42 18 shillings, which was hugely in excess of the entitlements of colleagues who joined the force just a few days later.(336)

The sense of grievance was only partly mollified by the Act of July 1874 which allowed all men who joined on or after August 10, 1866, to voluntarily retire after 30 years' service, without first proving that they were physically unfit for further duties.(337) The different pension scales caused a rift in the rank and file, as a Constable Gillan of Roscommon explained in 1882: "One fellow laughs at the other and says, 'Oh, you will get nothing at all.' The force is thus divided into two parts, you have the old fellows and the young fellows."(338)

While the receipt of a pension was undoubtedly a great boon to a working man in nineteenth-century Ireland, and the amounts awarded to police were much more generous than those awarded to many other groups, the terms on which police pensions were granted were not congenial to the men.(339) The options facing a man who joined before the mid-1860s and who wished to retire on maximum pension were rather stark: he could be disabled by injuries received on duty; he could serve until he was 60 years' old, which could often entail remaining in the force for more than 40 years; or he could serve for 30 years with his health broken down enough to satisfy the police surgeons that he could no longer satisfactorily perform his duties. The first "choice" was unsatisfactory for obvious reasons. The second choice, that of serving until reaching the age of 60, was extremely difficult to achieve because of the effects of police duty

on the men's health. Sub-inspector George Garret Black of Newry district stated in 1872 that "We find that men are completely worn out at thirty years' service; after twenty-five years' service they are not so useful or efficient, and after that they get worse and worse." This opinion was repeated ten years later by a constable who claimed that a policeman "will be physically unfit for anything after the expiration of thirty years; in fact he is only a shadow." Another sub-constable complained that men of 30 years' service were unfit for police duties but "they retain their position by scheming and dodging for the sake of some pecuniary advantage." (340)

Other policemen however devoted their "scheming and dodging" towards getting out of the force on a favourable pension scale. Inspector-general Wood pointed out in 1876 "There is always a strong disposition on the part of the men to retire as early as possible upon pension, except in cases where a continuation in the service would ultimately be more advantageous to them." It was common for men "approaching twenty, twenty five, and thirty years' service (and even in some cases fifteen)" to

endeavour to retire on pension either by alleging they have suddenly broken down in health, or by systematically representing that they are suffering from such a permanent disease as will ensure their obtaining the necessary medical certificate of unfitness for further service. (341)

Martin Nolan, who joined the R.I.C. in 1879, records that:

Men of 28 or 29 years' service began to pave the way for

being returned unfit when they had 30 years' service completed. In fact a man had to make up his mind what disease or infirmity he was going to offer, and to have an occasional turn of sickness which became rather worse and more frequent when approaching the 30 years, but he must be careful not to do it too well lest he might be ordered to the depot for medical inspection and pronounced unfit before he completed the 30 years, as in that case he only got the pension allowed at 25 years' service, as there was no intermediate scale.(342)

This method of securing pensions was not unique to the constabulary. In 1872 Dr. Nedley of the D.M.P. explained that the Dublin medical officers had to be particularly careful in issuing medical certificates for retirement to policemen who had been assaulted on duty, and especially to those who had received head injuries: "We have to see whether they are fit for duty - whether they are malingering or not. There is a great desire to get out while they are young on full pay, which they get if the injuries are received in the discharge of duty."(343) Problems were also experienced in England with policemen who "suddenly became incapable of work exactly when they were entitled to ask for pensions on medical grounds." In the London Metropolitan Police, where all except 37 of the 1,957 men pensioned by 1862 were retired for medical reasons, the art of obtaining a premature pension was known as "scheming."(344)

Members of the constabulary who wished to retire on medical grounds had first to be sent to the Dublin depot on the recommendation of a local doctor, but according to the county inspector for Galway, West Riding, this did not present a difficulty: "A country doctor is very easily got

to say that they are very ill, and then the men will not work."(345) The depot medical officers were however not always so amenable to the men's wishes - if they agreed that they were unfit for further duty they were retired on pension, if not they were sent back to their station. Inspector-general Wood instanced the case of one man who had twice been sent to the depot and was each time found fit for further duty. After his second disappointment the man "tumbled down on parade and would not move," this being another attempt to convince the authorities that he should be retired. On his again being found fit to resume his duties, he was dismissed from the R.I.C. for malingering.(346) Such treatment of the elder members of the force was resented by the men. According to Martin Nolan,

It really amounted to cruelty the way they treated those old men when they went to the depot for medical treatment and inspection, and after an indefinite stay there, if not really worn out and likely to live only a short time they were sent back to their duty."(347)

Head Constable John Chalke of Belfast claimed in 1882:

In large towns like Belfast a great many men are worn out after twenty five years' service, and find the greatest difficulty in doing the work or being allowed to retire, though returned unfit by the local medical attendant and men have been sent back to their duty who were scarcely able to return.

In some cases "the men died immediately after their return."(348)

The men sent back from the depot were usually given easier work than their more able-bodied colleagues. They could be ordered to perform "light duty," which was defined

as that of barrack orderly; "village duty," which comprised of attending at Petty Sessions within two miles of barracks, office duty and the general charge of stations, and executing warrants or serving summonses within two miles of barracks; or they could be ordered to perform "invalid duty," which consisted of office duty and the general charge of stations, attending at Petty Sessions held in the barracks, and village duty "in fine weather, and if judged capable."(349) In 1872 there were some 320 R.I.C. men (2.66% of the rank and file) whose health was considered too frail for them to perform all the duties normally allotted to policeman, but who were still refused permission to retire on pension. It could take several years for these men to be broken down enough to convince the depot surgeons of their unfitness for service. In the meantime most of their arduous duties fell to the lot of their healthier comrades, which led to much resentment, especially in the smaller stations where the presence of one of these semi-invalids caused a comparatively greater increase in the work-load of their colleagues.(350) The county inspector for Cork West Riding advocated pensioning men at an earlier age as a means of cutting down on the waiting period for retirement. Such men could be paid an additional 10 or 20 a year, and be used as a secret intelligence-gathering network in the communities in which they resided.(351)

The solution to the problem of placing senior policemen

of poor health on a degrading waiting list for retirement was ushered in by the Police Pension Act of 1883. The major novelty of this Act was that it allowed all members of the R.I.C. rank and file who joined the force after August 10, 1866, to retire voluntarily after 25 years' service, without having to produce a certificate from the medical officers that they were unfit for further duty. The pension scale was also altered slightly from that of the 1866 Act. The new legislation granted a pension of one fiftieth of annual pay for every year's service completed between 15 and 20 years. Men retiring with between 21 and 25 years' service received two fifths of their pay as pension, with an additional two fiftieths of their pay for each year completed after 20 years. Policemen with more than 25 years' service received three fifths of their pay as pension, with an additional one fiftieth for every year completed after 25 years, down to a maximum of two thirds of their salary. Members of the D.M.P. who joined after August 12, 1867, were entitled to the same rate of pension as their constabulary counterparts, with the exception that they had to serve at least 30 years before being allowed to retire without a medical certificate of unfitness. (352)

The 1883 Act placed the men of the two Irish police forces in a rather favourable position concerning pensions compared with the British police retirement regulations. Indeed, in the early 1880s members of the Glasgow and other

Scottish establishments were not entitled to any pension on retirement, and while most British police forces in the late nineteenth century enjoyed slightly better pension rates than their Irish colleagues, they also usually had to meet stringent age requirements before receiving a pension. The 1883 Act removed the minimum age limit for retirement for police in Ireland, which placed them in a privileged position for public servants.(353) The period after the 1883 Act saw a gradual increase in the numbers of men retiring on pension. In 1883 there were 5145 pensioners on the R.I.C. books, in 1893 there were 5545, and in 1903 there were 6641. A member of parliament wrote with wonder in 1896 of the "army" of police pensioners in Ireland.(354) In fact, so many members of the R.I.C. were retiring on pension in the early twentieth century - in 1906 and 1907 more than 5% left for that reason - that in 1908 the government felt it necessary to alter the favourable retirement terms. A Pension Act passed in that year required that all men who joined after December 21, 1908, had to serve for at least 30 years and be at least 50 years old, before being allowed to retire on pension without a medical certificate. The men who joined before that date were still entitled to retire voluntarily under the terms of the 1883 Act; however, if they were not at least 50 years old or had less than 30 years' service, they were pensioned on the rates of pay of the 1880s, rather than their wages on the date of their retirement. The 1908 Act succeeded in its aims

of cutting down on the expenditure on R.I.C. pensions and on slowing down the rate of men withdrawing on pension. In the two years before November 1907 only 44% of the head constables, 18% of the sergeants and 15% of the acting sergeants and constables who retired on pension were aged 50 or over; the figures for the two years down to November 30, 1911 were 73% for head constables, 43.5% for sergeants and 40.5% for acting sergeants and constables. (355)

While the pension was an important consideration for policemen, especially in the years before Lloyd George's old age pension scheme, most recipients of this benefit would have experienced a decline in their standard of living had they depended solely on their superannuation awards. As few policemen received a pension which was the equivalent of their full salary, most found that they had to supplement their retirement pay with income derived from various occupations in civilian life. Police pensioners opted for a wide variety of jobs after retirement. Ex-policemen were regarded with favour by many employers, especially the landed gentry, but also certain companies. In Dublin at the turn of the century well-paying firms such as Guinness's, Jameson's and the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company readily offered vacancies to D.M.P. and R.I.C. pensioners, and ex-policemen and military pensioners were also heavily represented in the employees of the Royal Dublin Society. (356) There is scanty information on the employment of police pensioners in the

earlier part of our period, but the evidence does suggest that they tended to work at occupations which did not require heavy manual labour, a pattern repeated by those in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The earliest examples which this writer has discovered are those of a D.M.P. pensioner who worked as the Petty Sessions' clerk for Rathfarnham in 1856, a retired inspector of the Dublin force who on his retirement became a paymaster of the Great Southern and Western Railway and in the late 1850s was appointed governor of Cork gaol, and a member of the constabulary in the 1850s who became a messenger with the Board of Works.(357) In February 1858 the schoolmaster at the Biblical Seminary in Rath Row, Dublin, was a pensioned member of the Irish Constabulary.(358) In the early 1870s the bailiff, landlord's agent and Petty Sessions' clerk on Arranmore island was a retired policeman.(359) In 1880 a police pensioner served as the postmaster and process server at Maam. In the same year an English M.P. who visited the Landsdowne estate near Kenmare reported that in only one tenant's house did he find signs of modest prosperity, as evidenced by bacon hanging in the kitchen and the general comfort of the building. On complimenting the tenant on what he presumed was his "greater industry or his better management," he was informed that it was only the man's pension from the police which enabled him to rise above the poverty of his neighbours.(360)

The 1882 committee of enquiry into the D.M.P. was told that pensioners from that force were frequently employed in minor positions by the railway companies, or as hall porters and messengers in business houses.(361) Their rural counterparts were often employed at landlords' estates as yardsmen or more frequently gate-lodge keepers, where they sometimes lived rent-free or for a nominal rent. While these occupations were not physically demanding, status-conscious rural policemen often felt it degrading that they should have to supplement their pensions by such jobs. This attitude was in contrast to that of pensioners from the London Metropolitan Police or the City of London Police, who considered the position of gatekeeper an "excellent" appointment.(362) Pensioners also took up employment as summons or process servers, or sheriffs' bailiffs, and rural policemen reflected sadly on the circumstances which obliged them to take up such positions, which were considered degrading not on account of their payment, but because of the duties they involved.(363) Other pensioners were hired in the 1880s for the unpopular position of armed caretakers of farms from which the tenants had been evicted.(364) In cities such as Belfast and Dublin retired policemen worked at the unfavourably regarded occupations of debt and rent collectors.(365)

Police pensioners did not have to engage in occupations regarded with odium by sections of the public in order to

incur unpopularity - sometimes the very fact of their engaging in employment was enough to cause resentment towards them. In January 1886 the United Ireland newspaper printed a letter on the "Police Pensioner Incubus" and his adverse affect on employment:

There is a grievance from which the ordinary clerks, book-keepers etc suffer greatly in the cities and towns of Ireland - that is, the positions monopolized by the police pensioner, to the detriment of those hard-worked and badly-paid countrymen. How many clerks are kept at low-water rates of pay in consequence of this inundation in the market of 'felon-setters,' who can afford to work at half the rate of pay that the ordinary clerk could live on? The police pensioner, with his snug bank accounts, and the future secured for him by the government he served in hounding down his countrymen, glides complacently into the world he looked on so suspiciously before, and can offer security, get any amount of magistrates' certificates of character, and his own, and thus accoutred he offers his services, and, of course, is accepted, whilst the poor clerk, who, perhaps, has a wife and children waiting for their bread, finds himself refused the situation, and Mr. Pensioner seated at the desk he fondly hoped to occupy. (366)

While the claims in this letter must be treated with some caution, given the marked anti-police bias of the United Ireland newspaper, the general picture it paints of the advantages enjoyed by pensioners who wished to become clerks, and their effect in lowering wages, is accurate.

Indeed in April 1912 District Inspector Ivan Price complained that Ireland was "over-stocked with under-paid clerks," and he urged pensioners to add to their income by engaging in small-scale horticulture instead. Price, however, missed the point when he referred to the low wages earned by pensioner-clerks; as they already had a pension,

they could afford to work for low pay, and this of course made them very attractive to prospective employers, and retired policemen could beat off intensive competition to secure clerical employment.(367) In March 1912 Jim Larkin's Irish Worker voiced its indignation that police pensioners, because of their willingness to work for as low as 35 a year, had a great advantage over applicants for the position of school attendance officer.(368) During the Land War, Cork Corporation hit out at the privileged position of pensioners in the jobs' market by vowing not to hire them for positions at its disposal. It argued that "as constabulary and military pensioners had their salaries to support them it was only fair to give appointments to citizens who with active habits & intelligence to fill such appointments had no adequate means for their support." According to the police, the proposer of this resolution, who was later imprisoned under the Protection of Person and Property Act (1881), made this attack on the pensioners "for the purpose of showing his hatred for any servants of the Crown."(369) The period following the Local Government Act of 1898 saw a marked increase in resolutions of this kind, with the mainly Nationalist-dominated county and urban district councils throughout Munster and Newry, Salthill, Meath, Cavan and Kilkenny, as well as Dublin Corporation, debarring pensioners from taking employment under their auspices or from renting council-built housing. Even Unionist-dominated councils in

Tyrone, Derry, Dromore and Belfast felt obliged to acknowledge the resentment of rate payers towards giving jobs to pensioners rather than civilians, by excluding the former from employment. (370) The effect of these bans is difficult to assess. Probably they did not have a very detrimental effect, as the number of situations at the councils' disposal was small, and private employers were likely to be even more sympathetic towards the targets of the councils' displeasure. It is significant that more police pensioners were employed in 1914, when Nationalist and Unionist agitations were at their height, than in 1901. (371)

Retired policemen engaged in a wide variety of occupations. In 1882 Constable Patrick Carty of Galway city claimed that he knew of one pensioner who was breaking stones at road-works. Policemen at the turn of the century instanced pensioners working at agricultural labour in Roscommon and Galway, one of whom was also employed at ringing a church bell on Sundays "more for charity than for anything else." One pensioner was working at Carrick-on-Shannon as a shopkeeper's messenger merely for one meal a day. (372) Police pensioners who secured employment after leaving the force tended in general to be more fortunate than those described above. For example, at the other end of the scale were those policemen who were elected by magistrates to the lucrative position of clerk of Petty Sessions. An unusual example occurred in 1882 when the sub-inspector of

Drogheda retired on a pension of 185 a year, and secured employment as clerk of Petty Sessions for the districts of Julianstown and Duleek at a salary of 120 a year.(373) It was more usual for retired members of the rank and file to succeed to this desirable appointment. Instances of Petty Sessions' clerkships filled by pensioned sergeants or head constables include those of Cabinteely in 1897, Corofin, Swords, Longwood and Ballivor in 1911, Maryborough in 1912 and Rathdowney, Borris-in-Ossory, and Riverstown in 1913.(374)

An investigation in 1901 into the occupations taken up by constabulary pensioners found that a small majority did not live off their pension alone, but were actively employed in various situations. Kildare had the highest rate of employed pensioners (70.33%), which was ascribed by a Naas sergeant to the prevalence of hunting gentlemen.(375) A large proportion of pensioners - 14.55%, or about one seventh of the total - resided in Belfast or Cork East Riding, which included Cork city. In 1914 this proportion had increased to 17.13%, or over one sixth of the total. It was pointed out in 1882 that the attraction of Cork, Belfast and other big towns for police pensioners lay in the greater employment opportunities in these places compared to rural areas.(376) Nevertheless, in 1901 Belfast had one of the highest rates of unemployed pensioners, although this situation had improved considerably by 1914. However, it was not just the

hope of getting a job which attracted ex-policemen to the cities; many married pensioners preferred to reside in them, rather than retire to their native areas, because of their much greater facilities for educating their children. Rural areas often had no school other than a National School, whereas in urban areas the Christian Brothers offered what appeared to pensioners a better education to their children. Indeed, service in cities was favoured by married policemen for similar reasons.(377) As we have already seen, most policemen came from humble small farming or labouring backgrounds, and they had climbed a step up the social ladder by their joining the force. Although they had only received a National School education themselves, they often insisted on a better deal for their children in an effort to assist their upward social climb. Sean O Faolain, the son of an R.I.C. constable, astutely remarks that "ambition for their young was a universal mark of the old R.I.C."(378) Martin Nolan records his concern over the National Schools in Dromore and Stewartstown in the 1890s, and how he went to the expense of sending his son to St. Macartan's Seminary and the Christian Brothers in Omagh so that he could take the Intermediate examination. Nolan's immense pleasure is obvious when he describes his son's winning first place for a mathematics scholarship to the National University of Ireland, beating the son of his district inspector into second place.(379)

Sub-inspector Daniel McArdle of Ballinrobe told the 1882 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. that married policemen were anxious to place their children in clerical positions or in a job "which does not involve manual labour of any sort."(380) Almost twenty years later, Sergeant Joseph McDaniel of Limerick Junction voiced his ambition of seeing his son become a house carpenter, rather than enter the "hum-drum life of trade" as a "low class artisan or mechanic." Acting Sergeant George Grogan of Tralee stated that

this being a progressive nation, every subject should add to it in some way, and endeavour to be progressive with the nation by sending his children to something higher than he had been at himself, and I know that that is the spirit of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Constable McGroarty of Banbridge described his determination to send his children to a school which would teach them Euclid. According to McGroarty, "No man is properly educated unless he knows Euclid. There is no tradesman but should know it to be master of his trade."(381) Sean O Faolain records how his father, the son of a small tenant farmer, "considered that the highest state in life that anyone could achieve was to be a Gentleman; and he wanted each one of his children to grow up as a Gentleman."(382) The policeman's striving for respectability for his children is described by Christopher Andrews in his memoirs. His mother was the daughter of a D.M.P. inspector and a mother who had been evicted from a small farm in Wicklow. She had "high notions

of gentility," and had been sent by her parents to a Dublin academy of "dancing and deportment" in North Great George's Street. (383)

To fulfill their ambitions for their children, married policemen placed great emphasis on their education and made considerable sacrifices towards this end. Sean O Faolain recalls the poverty of his childhood days, when his family resided in rooms over a public house in Cork. Most of the rooms were let to lodgers, whilst the children slept in the attic: this was "a token of the thrifty principle that dominated all our lives - my father's and mother's constant anxiety to make enough money to give their three children a good education." Other policemen willingly paid extra to have their children educated by the Christian Brothers. (384) Siobhan Lankford, who attended the Munster Civil Service in Cork before World War I, records that the students in the preparatory school included the sons and daughters of Munster farmers, shopkeepers, civil servants and members of the R.I.C. She writes of the latter that "the discipline and supervision of their fathers kept them close to their studies." (385) One gets an indication of the extent of this trend from an advertisement in the R.I.C. List for 1901, in which the director of a Dublin preparatory academy claimed that "scores" of sons of R.I.C. men "have passed through our hands and are now occupying splendid positions as surveyors of taxes, second division clerks, [and] Excise and Customs

officers."(386) Examples of young, upwardly mobile policemen's children include Joseph O'Neill (1878-1952), son of an R.I.C. man stationed on Aran Island. O'Neill attended St. Jarlath's College in Tuam, achieved first place in Ireland in the Intermediate examination, graduated with an M.A. from U.C.G. in 1902, and became a schools' inspector in 1908.(387) Sean O Faolain records the successful efforts of his father, a tenant farmer's son turned R.I.C. constable, on behalf of his children - one became a priest, another a revenue inspector in England, while Sean received a college education.(388) David Neligan writes that the children of R.I.C. men "got good education, and at one time ran the Civil Service, religious orders, and many other professions."(389) While this is a rather general and over-stated description of the role played by policemen's children in Irish society, it at least shows the awareness of contemporaries of the special efforts policemen made on behalf of their offspring. This desire to do well by their children was undoubtedly part of the reason for pensioners remaining in the workforce after their retirement from the police.

As appendix xxii shows, most R.I.C. pensioners who engaged in occupations after leaving the force were self-employed, and these formed over a quarter of all pensioned policemen. Self-employed ex-policemen involved themselves in a wide range of enterprises. Probably the most unusual example was that of an R.I.C. man named Duffy, who

established a shebeen house in Co. Louth in the 1880s despite the presence of an R.I.C. barrack nearby.(390) However, most pensioners who entered the drink trade did so legally. Inspector-general Reed claimed in 1898 that retired policemen "often set up public houses, and conduct very respectable houses."(391) Other pensioners established themselves as shopkeepers. An interesting example is that of a retired sergeant, James Gilmore of Athlone, who in 1901 ran a grocery shop in the town, after spending 150 on improving his premises. He was also employed as a sub-agent to the ex-high sheriff, and was an assistant inspector under the Fishery Board. Gilmore applied in October 1901 for a publican's licence at the Licensing Sessions, but he was turned down by Judge Adye Curran partly because, in Curran's words, "A policeman makes the worst publican you could put into a house . . . as they are up to all the dodges," and partly because Gilmore was so successful that to grant him a license would be "to the detriment of small people who are eking out a miserable existence by the sale of drink."(392)

R.I.C. witnesses before the 1901 commission of enquiry claimed that pensioners inherited their shops through their wives, and that these were not particularly profitable concerns as the ex-policemen, starting from scratch, had to give extensive credit to attract customers.(393) However they were probably rather disingenuous in their claims, as evidence from a few years later shows that at least some

pensioners with shops were making a success of their new venture. For example, in November 1911 ex-Head Constable Patrick McBride was described as having a "flourishing general business" at Coolmanagh, Hacketstown; a Castlepollard sergeant who retired in April 1913 "secured a substantial business premises in his native King's County"; in the next month a retired Limerick sergeant was reported to have started "a flourishing business" in Ballina, while in July a Constable Cooke of Larne, who was about to retire, "intends starting a large grocery and hotel establishment in the town." In June 1914 an ex-sergeant in Kilcock, in his 30th year of retirement, was described as "hale and hearty, and doing a prosperous grocery business."(394) Nor did all self-employed pensioners depend on inheriting through their wives for their start in business - the Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine for February 1914 contains a report of a Banteer sergeant paying more than 1000 guineas "for a licensed premises with farm attached."(395)

However, most self-employed ex-policemen probably engaged in farming. Policemen claimed that they or their wives had inherited the farms from their parents - while this is certainly true of some pensioners, there is also evidence to show that some at least could afford to buy their own farms on retirement.(396) Given their rural origins, it is not surprising that many R.I.C. men aspired to return to farming in their native areas after leaving the force. Sean

O Faolain records how his father avidly searched the newspaper columns of the Kildare and Queen's County newspapers in the hope of finding a suitably small farm to buy and return to: "It was the pipedream of a man who had not enough money to farm a window box, the uprooted peasant longing for his Mother Earth - incomplete, unwhole, mortally vulnerable away from it. There must have been thousands like him in the force."(397) Many pensioners partly achieved their ambition, in that they at least managed to return to a small-sized if uneconomical farm. A Longford head constable told the 1882 R.I.C. commission that as "a general rule" police pensioners settled down on "little plots of land." In 1901 a Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan constable claimed that pensioner-farmers there "are only farmers in name. A man on the side of the hill with six acres of land is not able to do much." A similar description was given by Constable Brennan of Kilmore, Co. Roscommon, of the pensioner-farmer who "holds ten acres of land on the side of a bog patch." In 1914 Constable O'Shea of Kilrush said that the 47 pensioners in Co. Clare who were self-employed were farmers of "3 or 4 acres of bog."(398) While such units would certainly not have been self-supporting, the addition of the retired policemen's pensions would have meant that they were considerably better off than other farmers with similar sized holdings.

The remainder of the active pensioners supplemented

their incomes by various means. Sean O Faolain records that his uncle, a retired R.I.C. sergeant, at first worked as the gatekeeper of a country house in Celbridge, and later became manager of the public weighing machine and market house in Newbridge, and rented out the top floor of his house to married English army officers.(399) Amongst the occupations of pensioners described to the 1901 R.I.C. committee of enquiry were those of a Banbridge bailiff and a Masonic Hall keeper, fishery inspectors in Clonmel and Killarney (the latter of whom earned 110 a year), and a Swinford railway-crossing guard who received a house and 31 a year.(400) Examples from 1911 include a number of Belfast R.I.C. men employed by the Midland Railway in office and police work. In 1912 a Carrickmacross insurance inspector, a steward of a Belfast Unionist club, an officer of Belfast Industrial Schools and Reformatories, the manager of a Belfast St. Vincent de Paul's Boys' Home, a Kilkenny insurance collector, two detectives on the "White Star" liner, a steward to Delgany golf club, and the postmaster of Manorcunningham (paid at 100 a year) were all retired R.I.C. men.(401) In 1913 the caretaker of Mountpottinger Masonic Hall, the guards of Maryborough Prison (each of whom was paid 54 12 shillings a year), the man in charge of Summerhill's detention home for young offenders, the postmasters of Louth village and Kellysgrove, Co. Galway, an inspector on a Cunard liner, an Oulart inspector for the society for the Prevention of

Cruelty to Children, and a Shandon school attendance officer were all pensioned members of the R.I.C.(402) In 1914 pensioners were employed in the Belfast cattle disease department of the Board of Agriculture, and in Beamish and Crawford's brewery in Cork and the Mardyke Athletic Grounds as night watchmen and caretaker. A Castlederg pensioned sergeant was reported as the manager of a creamery. It was claimed that the position of night watchman was the most likely source of employment for pensioners in Waterford city, while many ex-policemen in Belfast got employment in such low-paying jobs as office cleaners, messengers for solicitors and doormen at cinemas. An examination of the employment patterns of 370 D.M.P. pensioners living in the D.M.P. district in 1914 uncovered information in 207 cases. Some 107 of these were living solely on their pensions. Of the other 100, four had their own shops or businesses, two worked as musicians, five were labourers, 11 were summons-servers, 17 were employed in the Port and Docks Police or as veterinary inspectors, 27 were insurance or rent agents, and 34 were messengers, watchmen or caretakers.(403) Whatever their source of employment, it is clear from the preceding paragraphs that most pensioners did not cease to play an active and often prominent role in Irish society after retiring from the police force.

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER THREE

¹ Constabulary circular (Apr. 11, 1842) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/111); Return of income etc of D.M.P. 1856-58, p. 3; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 3,6; 1870 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 3; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 38, 123.

² Cochrane, "Policing of Dublin, 1830-46," p. 49.

³ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, pp 398-99.

⁴ I would like to thank Sergeant Gregory Allen, curator of the Garda Siochana Museum, for allowing me to have access to the D.M.P. register.

⁵ Freeman's Journal (Jan. 6, 1838).

⁶ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 5.

⁷ For a discussion of the Revenue Police see below, pp 363-365.

⁸ For a discussion of the sectarian nature of the Yeomanry in Ireland, see Hereward Senior, Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp 14, 45-6, 53, 58-9, 74-5, 188, 245-6, 268.

⁹ All of these data have been taken from the D.M.P. general register for 1837 and 1838. Rather different figures are cited in Palmer, Police and Protest, p.404, and Cochrane, "Policing of Dublin, 1830-46," p. 29. However, they did not use the D.M.P. general register for their studies, which source I am the first researcher to have used.

¹⁰ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, pp 398,434.

¹¹ D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).

¹² Statistics from *ibid*, and also Dublin Metropolitan Police. Evidence Taken Before the Committee of Enquiry, 1901, With Appendix. H.C. 1902 Cd. 1095 xlii 227, p. 22. Hereafter cited as 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence.

¹³ D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin); Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1844 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1845), p. 49; Head, Fortnight, p. 100. For the tradition of the tallest men policing the B division see Conor Brady, Guardians of the Peace (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974), p. 15.

¹⁴ Letter from John Keating, 107 Summerhill, in Freeman's Journal (Sept. 7, 1836).

¹⁵ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 8; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 5.

¹⁶ Palmer, Police and Protest, p. 404.

¹⁷ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 5.

¹⁸ D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).

¹⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 111; Constabulary circular (Jan. 16, 1838) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/111).

²⁰ Constabulary circulars (Jan. 14, Sept. 7, 1847); (Oct. 24, 1849) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/112); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 264.

²¹ For a discussion of the unrepresentative nature of the County Constabulary see below, pp 310-311.

²² 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p. 250.

²³ For the decline in illiteracy rates in nineteenth-century Ireland see Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment: the National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 376.

²⁴ Palmer, Police and Protest, p. 565.

²⁵ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, pp 247-8.

²⁶ Revd. George Benson, Leighlin diocese, to Lord Naas (Sept. 9, 1852) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(18)).

²⁷ Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/8).

²⁸ Michael Brophy, Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary (London: Burns and Oates, 1886), pp 3-4.

²⁹ Details from *ibid*, p 6, and Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/15, p. 171, and HO 184/44, p. 30.

³⁰ William H. Hurlbert, Ireland Under Coercion: the Diary of an American (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888), pp 221-2. For the ancient lineage of Echlin's family see Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p. 7.

³¹ Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p. 7.

³² *Ibid*, p. 8.

³³ Seamas O Maoileoin, B'Fhiu an Braon Fola (Dublin: Sairseal agus Dill, 1958), p. 19.

³⁴ "An Act to consolidate the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland" (6 Wm iv, c.13, s.xiv).

³⁵ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 153.

³⁶ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 18, 189.

³⁷ 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 8.

³⁸ Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/27, p. 160).

³⁹ Royal Irish Constabulary. Evidence Taken Before the Committee of Enquiry, 1901. With Appendix, H.C. 1902 Cd. 1094 xlii 313, p. 220. Hereafter cited as 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence.

⁴⁰ David Fitzpatrick, "The Disappearance of the Irish Agricultural Labourer, 1841-1912," in Irish Economic and Social History, vol. vii (1980), pp 66-98.

⁴¹ Head, Fortnight, p. 61; Report From the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Consider the Consequences of Extending the Functions of the Constabulary in Ireland to the Suppression or Prevention of Illicit Distillation; and to Report Thereon to the House; Together With the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index H.L. 1854 (53) x 1, p. 145. (Hereafter cited as 1854 Illicit Distillation Report); Nation (Nov. 3, 1860).

⁴² Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 14, 1857) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10930 on 1858/11753).

⁴³ Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/14, p. 154, HO 184/17, pp 143, 165, HO 184/18, p. 114,

HO 184/22, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Ibid, HO 184/6, p. 134, HO 184/9, p. 125, HO 184/10, pp 38, 131, HO 184/12, p. 42, HO 184/13, p. 15, HO 184/15, pp 2, 77, HO 184/16, pp 18, 93, HO 184/18, p. 14, HO 184/19, p. 151, HO 184/21, p. 106, HO 184/23, p. 197.

⁴⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 167, 178.

⁴⁶ George Pellew, In Castle and Cabin, or Talks in Ireland in 1887 (New York and London: G.P. Putnam, 1888), p. 249.

⁴⁷ Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p. 5. A similar statement is made in Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 189.

⁴⁸ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 154.

⁴⁹ Fulham, "James Shaw-Kennedy," p. 99.

⁵⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 146; 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 23; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 17-18.

⁵¹ F.S.L. Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine (London: Collins/Fontana, 1979, 6th ed.), pp 45-6, 51-2; Mary E. Daly, Social And Economic History of Ireland Since 1800 (Dublin: Educational Company, 1981), pp 90-92.

⁵² Belfast Newsletter (Oct. 20, 1866).

⁵³ Sir Henry A. Robinson, Further Memories of Irish Life (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924), pp 41-42.

⁵⁴ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 59, 139.

⁵⁵ Michael Cavanagh, Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher (Worcester, Mass.: Messenger Press, 1892), p. 21.

⁵⁶ Nation (Jan. 27, 1844).

⁵⁷ Nassau William Senior, Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland (London: Longmans and Green, 1868, 2 vols.), ii, pp 242-3.

⁵⁸ Freeman's Journal (Jan. 17, 1856).

⁵⁹ Sir Christopher Lynch-Robinson, The Last of the Irish R.M.s (London: Cassell, 1951), p.47.

⁶⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 75-76, 94. The mention of Acts of parliament is an allusion to the fact

that the police were supposed to be familiar with the legislation and how it affected their lives. Their knowledge of various Acts was periodically tested by their officers, which procedure was often considered tiresome by the rank and file.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 134; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 142; Neligan, Spy, p. 32.

⁶⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 129, 324.

⁶⁶ United Ireland (Sept. 30, 1882).

⁶⁷ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 59.

⁶⁸ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 46.

⁶⁹ Ernest Cochrane to Katherine Finlay, Hollywood, Co. Down (May 18, Dec. 20, 1882) (P.R.O.N.I.: T.3504/1/1, T.3504/1/2.).

⁷⁰ Mee, Memoirs, pp 10-11. Mee was one of nine children living on a 20-acre farm.

⁷¹ Neligan, Spy, p. 32.

⁷² 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 137.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 14.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 65.

⁷⁵ Flor Crowley, In West Cork Long Ago (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1980), p. 100.

⁷⁶ For this aspect of army recruitment see Peter Karsten, "Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?" in Journal of Social History, (Fall, 1983), pp 41, 59n47.

⁷⁷ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 30.

⁷⁸ (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11022 (22)).

⁷⁹ R.I.C. Mag. (Nov. 1911), p. 18.

⁸⁰ Ibid, (Dec. 1911), p. 29.

⁸¹ Ibid, (Dec. 1911), p. 61.

⁸² Ibid, (Dec. 1913), p. 51.

- ⁸³ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 308.
- ⁸⁴ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 168.
- ⁸⁵ 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 152-53, 168.
- ⁸⁶ Chief Commissioner Browne to Under-secretary Drummond (Aug. 6, 1838) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1839/87/947); 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 5-6.
- ⁸⁷ Kevin O'Neill, Family and Farm in Pre-Famine Ireland: the Parish of Killashandra (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 113.
- ⁸⁸ John W. Boyle, "A Marginal Figure: the Irish Rural Labourer," in Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly (eds.), Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983), p. 314.
- ⁸⁹ Cochrane, "Policeman's Lot," p. 97.
- ⁹⁰ Constabulary circulars (Mar. 29, 1843); (Feb. 13, 1844) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/111).
- ⁹¹ Nation (July 29, Sept. 23, 1843).
- ⁹² Freeman's Journal (Jan. 15, 1840).
- ⁹³ Unsigned report in (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/1456/6).
- ⁹⁴ David Thomson (ed.), The Irish Journals of Elizabeth Smith 1840-1850 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp 138-9, 141, 143-4, 150.
- ⁹⁵ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 39.
- ⁹⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 23-4, 95.
- ⁹⁷ William E. Vaughan, "Agricultural Outputs, Rents and Wages in Ireland, 1850-1880" in L.M. Cullen and F. Furet (eds.), Ireland and France, 17th -20th Centuries: Towards a Comparative Study of Rural History (Ann Arbor: UMI Monograph, 1980), pp 86, 91n6.
- ⁹⁸ 1866 Constabulary Report, pp 11-12.
- ⁹⁹ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, pp 145, 147.
- ¹⁰⁰ Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 14, 1857); Report of D.M.P. surgeon Dr. Ireland (Dec. 8, 1857) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753).

- ¹⁰¹ Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 14, 1857), *ibid.*
- ¹⁰² Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/3-5).
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid* (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/8).
- ¹⁰⁴ Report of Chief Superintendent James Monaghan, B division (Dec. 11, 1857)(S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753).
- ¹⁰⁵ Freeman's Journal (Sept. 13, 1851), re-printing an undated but recent Munster News extract.
- ¹⁰⁶ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, p. 145; Fulham, "James Shaw-Kennedy," p. 103.
- ¹⁰⁷ Times (Oct. 31, 1853).
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid* (Nov. 21, 1853).
- ¹⁰⁹ Freeman's Journal (Oct. 6, 1854).
- ¹¹⁰ Sir Alexander T. Cockburn Campbell, superintendent of police, Western Australia, to Governor A.E. Kennedy (Mar. 8, 1859)(S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1860/17785).
- ¹¹¹ (N.L.I.: MS 915, pp 44-6).
- ¹¹² Constabulary circular (Sept. 1, 1853) reprinted in Times (Sept. 16, 1853).
- ¹¹³ Memo of Inspector-general Brownrigg (Apr. 5, 1859) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7617); 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 8.
- ¹¹⁴ Freeman's Journal (Oct. 13, 1855; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 366-67.
- ¹¹⁵ Freeman's Journal (Sept. 4, 1855).
- ¹¹⁶ (N.L.I.: MS 915, p. 47).
- ¹¹⁷ Curtis, History of R.I.C., p. 136.
- ¹¹⁸ (N.L.I.: MS 915, p. 5).
- ¹¹⁹ William Morris Reade to Sir Thomas Larcom (Mar. 23, 1864)(N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7619).
- ¹²⁰ Inspector-general Wood to Lord Lieutenant Lord

Wodehouse (Nov. 11, 1865) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7617).

¹²¹ 1866 Constabulary Report, pp 9-12, 16.

¹²² D.M.P. report (Apr. 18, 1867) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1867/10913).

¹²³ Nominal List of Head and Other Constables in Ireland, Actually Under Fire in the Defence of Their Barracks, or in Collisions Outside Thereof, on the Occasion of the Late Fenian Outbreak, With the Approved Distribution of the Sum of £2,000 Voted as a Reward by Parliament; and, Copy of Correspondence Between the Irish Government and the Inspector General of Constabulary, and the Treasury, on the Subject of the Above-mentioned Awards, H.C. 1867 (525) lvii 835.

¹²⁴ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. iv.

¹²⁵ Lord Mayo to Henry Bruen, M.P. (Jan. 14, 1868) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11194).

¹²⁶ See appendices xvi and xvii.

¹²⁷ Mary E. Daly, Dublin: the Deposed Capital: a Social and Economic History 1860-1914 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1984), pp 74-5.

¹²⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 77.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 142.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

¹³¹ Ibid, pp 69, 87.

¹³² Ibid, pp 21, 44.

¹³³ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 123; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 3; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 52-3, 119.

¹³⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp. 17, 50, 63, 96.

¹³⁵ Letter from "A cleaned out Sub" in Freeman's Journal (Sept. 26, 1865).

¹³⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 96.

¹³⁷ Ibid, pp 40, 74.

¹³⁸ Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., pp 32, 39.

- 139 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 17, 26, 64, 81, 94.
- 140 Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p. 104; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 192; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 5.
- 141 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 77.
- 142 Ibid., p. 133.
- 143 Ibid., p. 116.
- 144 Macaulay, Ireland in 1872, p. 296.
- 145 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 93.
- 146 For an example of a teacher complaining about poor rates of pay and pension when compared with those of the constabulary, see letter of "A national teacher" in Nation (Jan. 30, 1847). In December 1874 the annual congress of the National School teachers highlighted the disparity between police and teachers' pensions: Freeman's Journal (Dec. 30, 1879). For the pay of National School teachers see T.J. O'Connell, History of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation 1868-1968 (Dublin: I.N.T.O., 1968), pp 11, 148.
- 147 Letter from "A national teacher" in Freeman's Journal (Oct. 18, 1867).
- 148 Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Primary Education (Ireland). Vol iv. Containing Evidence Taken Before the Commissioners From November 24th, 1868, to May 29th, 1869, H.C. 1870 (c. 6111) xxviii, Part iv 1, p. 1112.
- 149 Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p. 9.
- 150 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 142.
- 151 Daly, Dublin, pp 68-70.
- 152 Ibid, p. 69; 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 44.
- 153 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp. 35, 39, 44.
- 154 Ibid, p. 44.
- 155 Ibid, p. 39.
- 156 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.60.
- 157 Freeman's Journal (May 28, 1862); 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 19.

- ¹⁵⁸ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 35, 108; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 128.
- ¹⁵⁹ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 9.
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid, pp v, 10, 17. Surgeon Nedley considered that large houses in areas such as Eccles Street, Buckingham Street and Cumberland Street were especially suitable for renting out in apartments to married policemen. The schemes for providing married D.M.P. men with cheap lodgings were not followed up.
- ¹⁶¹ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 61; 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp 3, 21.
- ¹⁶² Superintendent Daniel Ryan's account of his police career 1840-1868, p. 14 (N.L.I.: MS 10744). Original document has been lost by N.L.I. Photocopies of pp 7-15 are in the possession of Dr. R.V. Comerford, Maynooth).
- ¹⁶³ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp 3, 5; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 196.
- ¹⁶⁴ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp iii, 4, 39-40, 42.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid, pp iii, 43.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 5.
- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 39.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pp iii, 40, 45.
- ¹⁶⁹ Henry A. Blake, "The Irish Police," in The Nineteenth Century, vol. 9 (Feb. 1881), p. 391; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 467.
- ¹⁷⁰ Lords of Treasury to Chief Secretary Cavendish (June 25, 1873) (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 904/172, no. 362).
- ¹⁷¹ Chief Commissioner Lake to Under-secretary Burke (July 9, 1873) (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 904/172, no. 347).
- ¹⁷² D.M.P. circular (July 15, 1873) and reports of Superintendent Ryan, G division (July 12, 1873); (Aug. 2, 1873) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1873/10538); Freeman's Journal (July 14, 15, 1873).
- ¹⁷³ Daly, Dublin, pp 74-75.
- ¹⁷⁴ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1875 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1876),

p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp v, 3, 44; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 3, 235; Daly, Dublin, p. 69.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from "A County Waterford Sub" in Freeman's Journal (Dec. 31, 1881).

¹⁷⁷ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 344.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, pp 19-21, 67, 87.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, pp 157, 290, 409.

¹⁸⁰ Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁸¹ Speech of John Ellis in Freeman's Journal (Dec. 11, 1888).

¹⁸² Constabulary circular (Aug. 17, 1892) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁸³ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, p. 10; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 146, 220.

¹⁸⁴ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, pp 18, 25-6.

¹⁸⁵ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 171.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, pp 2, 27, 123.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, pp 4, 76, 136.

¹⁸⁸ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, pp 14-16.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 39.

¹⁹⁰ Constabulary circular (Feb. 19, 1903) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/118).

¹⁹¹ Irwin, Betrayal, p. 8; John Ross, The Years of my Pilgrimage: Random Reminiscences (London: Edward Arnold, 1924), p. 276.

¹⁹² Freeman's Journal, (June 18, 1862). (The size of 115B did not deter a Dublin coal porter from assaulting him and two of his colleagues and tearing their uniforms.)

¹⁹³ John Augustus Shea, Roundabout Recollections (London: Ward and Downey, 1892, 2 vols.), ii, pp 12-13.

¹⁹⁴ Freeman's Journal (May 5, 1880).

¹⁹⁵ The details on Constable Wolfe are taken from the D.M.P. general register and from Maurice Gorham, Ireland Yesterday (New York: Aveland Books, 1971), illustration no. 55. Conor Brady mistakenly claims that Wolfe was in the D.M.P. in the 1870s - Brady, Guardians, p. 15.

¹⁹⁶ All the statistics on the height of the men are taken from the D.M.P. general register (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).

¹⁹⁷ Joseph V. O'Brien, "Dear, Dirty Dublin": a City in Distress, 1899-1916 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 179.

¹⁹⁸ Dublin Metropolitan Police. Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1901, H.C. 1902 Cd. 1088 xlii 209, p. 4. Hereafter cited as 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Report.

¹⁹⁹ 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence, p. 21.

²⁰⁰ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 314-5.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p. 227.

²⁰² Ibid, pp 65, 81, 106, 110, 166.

²⁰³ Ibid, pp 117-8.

²⁰⁴ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, pp 53, 127, 161; Daly, Social and Economic History, pp 51, 60, 95, 97, 101, 107; Lyons, Ireland Since Famine, pp 48-9, 53-4, 68-9.

²⁰⁵ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 31.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 165.

²⁰⁷ R.I.C. Mag. (Apr. 1914), p. 189.

²⁰⁸ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 83.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, pp 9, 73, 105, 147, 340.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 154.

²¹¹ Ibid, pp 17-8.

²¹² R.I.C. Mag. (Apr. 1914), p. 169.

²¹³ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 51,

88-9, 105, 142-3.

²¹⁴ (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919, pp 41, 58, 65, 72 (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/54); Brendan Mac Giolla Choille (ed.), Chief Secretary's Office (Dublin: Oifig an tSolathair, 1966), pp 58, 121.

²¹⁵ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 77.

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 9.

²¹⁷ See appendices xvi and xvii.

²¹⁸ For the malaise in the R.I.C. due to the political climate, see Richard Hawkins, "Dublin Castle and the Royal Irish Constabulary (1916-1922)," in Desmond Williams (ed.), The Irish Struggle 1916-1926 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp 167-8, 176.

²¹⁹ For the low numbers of R.I.C. men joining the British army during World War I, see David Fitzpatrick, Politics and Irish Life 1913-1921; Provincial Experience of War and Revolution (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), p. 6.

²²⁰ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 353.

²²¹ Daly, Dublin, p. 111.

²²² 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 265, 310.

²²³ Ibid, p. 282.

²²⁴ Chief Commissioner Lake to Under-secretary Burke (July 9, 1873) (P.R.O. (Kew): CO 904/172, no. 347); 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 42; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 41, 47-8, 95, 106, 131; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 14, 89, 94, 138.

²²⁵ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 4.

²²⁶ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p. 433.

²²⁷ Times (Mar. 15, 1862).

²²⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 128; Hart, "Police," p. 202; Carolyn Steadman, Policing the Victorian Community: the Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 48; Philip John Stead, The Police of Britain (New York: Macmillan, 1985), p. 68.

²²⁹ Data extracted from D.M.P. general register (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).

²³⁰ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1894 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1895), p. xii.

²³¹ Chief Commissioner Browne to Under-secretary Drummond (Aug. 6, 1838) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1839/87/947).

²³² Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 30, 1857) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10934 on 1858/11753).

²³³ Cochrane, "Policeman's Lot," p. 101.

²³⁴ Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 14, 1857) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753).

²³⁵ Freeman's Journal (July 4, 1857).

²³⁶ Statistics taken from Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1894 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1895), p. xii.

²³⁷ Ibid; Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919, p. 16 (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/54); Thomas Larcom to lord Naas (Aug. 7, 1858) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11190(11)).

²³⁸ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 111-3; 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries' Book, pp 55-6.

²³⁹ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 6.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁴¹ Ibid, pp 20, 39.

²⁴² 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 116.

²⁴³ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 6.

²⁴⁴ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 250; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 178, 190.

²⁴⁵ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 250, 285-6; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 190.

²⁴⁶ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1881 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1882), p. xii; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 178.

- 247 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 249.
- 248 Ibid, p. 248.
- 249 1182 D.M.P. Commission, pp 25, 178.
- 250 Ibid, pp 200-201.
- 251 Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1894 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1895), p. xii.
- 252 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 286-7, 307-8, 376.
- 253 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 106-7.
- 254 Ibid, pp 23-4; Depot Standing Orders, 1846, pp 15-16.
- 255 Report of Resident Magistrate Fitzgerald, Ballinasloe (Jan. 29, 1848) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1848/A 1455).
- 256 Daily Express (Nov. 10, 1859).
- 257 Ibid. (Sept. 15, 1859).
- 258 Constabulary circular (Dec. 1, 1858) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7620); Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, pp 88-9.
- 259 Constabulary circular (Dec. 1, 1858) (N..L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7620).
- 260 Daily Express (Sept. 22, 1859).
- 261 Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, pp 90, 93.
- 262 Ibid, p. 105.
- 263 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 18, 398.
- 264 Freeman's Journal (Aug. 13, 1900).
- 265 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 94.
- 266 Ibid, p. 21.
- 267 1866 Constabulary Report, pp 12-13.
- 268 Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, pp 90, 93.

²⁶⁹ Constabulary circular (July 14, 1868) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/114); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 254. For an example of a similar complaint from Chief Commissioner Mayne of the London Metropolitan Police, see Freeman's Journal (Oct. 26, 1853).

²⁷⁰ Constabulary circular (Nov. 15, 1900) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/118).

²⁷¹ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 24.

²⁷² Letter from "Nemo" in Freeman's Journal (Feb. 14, 1880).

²⁷³ E. Cant-Wall, Ireland Under the Land Act: Letters Contributed to the "Standard" Newspaper (London: Chatto and Windus, 1882), p. 168.

²⁷⁴ Belfast Police Commission, 1906: Evidence, p. 168.

²⁷⁵ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 247-51.

²⁷⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 29, 44; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 18, 60, 94, 335.

²⁷⁷ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 42.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, pp 25-6.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, pp 21, 30, 40, 65; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 250-51; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 213, 297.

²⁸⁰ Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

²⁸¹ Reed, 1888 Constabulary Manual, p. 75.

²⁸² Constabulary circulars, (Oct. 24, 1889) (July 5, 1892) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

²⁸³ Royal Irish Constabulary List (Dublin: Alexander Thom, Jan. 1901), p. 216.

²⁸⁴ Constabulary circular (Jan. 4, 1897) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

²⁸⁵ Eugene Sheehy, May it Please the Court (Dublin: C.J. Fallon, 1951), pp 71-72.

²⁸⁶ Patrick Gallagher, My Story (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), pp 96-97.

²⁸⁷ Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p. 240 (U.C.D.: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

²⁸⁸ Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Report. (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1907), p.6.

²⁸⁹ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, pp 22-3; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 219.

²⁹⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 80, 149.

²⁹¹ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 74, 82, 97.

²⁹² William Harding, The R.I.C. - a Plea for Reform (Dublin: Wood Printing Works, c. 1907), p. 33. Information as to the author of this pamphlet supplied by Sergeant Gregory Allen, curator of the Garda Siochana Museum.

²⁹³ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, p. 22; Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police. Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 1914, H.C. 1914 Cd. 7421 xlv 247, p. 4. Hereafter cited as 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Report.

²⁹⁴ Constabulary circulars (Oct. 24, 1889); (Aug. 16, 1893) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars, 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

²⁹⁵ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 10-11.

²⁹⁶ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1856, (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1857), p. 53; F.E. Dixon, "Weather in Old Dublin," in Dublin Historical Record, vol xiii, nos. 3 & 4 (1953), p. 102.

²⁹⁷ Times (Feb. 22, 1854).

²⁹⁸ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 111.

²⁹⁹ Daily Express (Nov. 12, 1858); Belfast Newsletter (Aug. 1, 1865), (Feb. 20, Dec. 22, 1866); (June 12, 1876); Freeman's Journal (Dec. 29, 1880); Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p. 215 (U.C.D.: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264); Mee, Memoirs, p. 16; R.I.C. Mag. (May, 1913), p. 229.

³⁰⁰ C.P. Crane, Memories of a Resident Magistrate (Edinburgh: T. and A. constable, 1938), p. 61.

³⁰¹ Letter of "A Munster Sub" in Freeman's Journal (Apr. 8, 1882).

- 302 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 69.
- 303 Letter from "Connaught" in Freeman's Journal (Dec. 25 & 26, 1885).
- 304 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 123.
- 305 R.I.C. Mag.. (June, 1914), p. 226.
- 306 (Royal) Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/7-28).
- 307 R.I.C. Mag. (June, 1914), p. 244; (July, 1914), p. 270.
- 308 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 21; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 179; Neligan, Spy, p. 47.
- 309 Annual statistics of D.M.P., 1895-1914 (Dublin: Alexander Thom).
- 310 Head, Fortnight, p. 104.
- 311 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 168.
- 312 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 116.
- 313 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 325.
- 314 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (3rd series) (July 8, 1858), c. 1126; Sir Thomas Larcom to Chief Secretary Naas (June 26, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11190(1)).
- 315 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 19.
- 316 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p. 19.
- 317 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 148.
- 318 Freeman's Journal (Sept. 7, 1858).
- 319 Ibid (Dec. 27, 1862).
- 320 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 78, 128.
- 321 Return Showing the Names, Ages, Religion, Rank, and Length of Service of Members of the Royal Irish Constabulary who were Injured While on Duty During the Past Twenty Years; the Name of the County to Which Each Member was Regularly Attached, and the Name of the County in Which the Injury was Inflicted; the Amount of Compensation Claimed and Awarded in

Each Case, and the Name of the Public Authority, Court of Law, or Otherwise, Which Made the Award; the Source From Which the Payment was Made; the Nature and Extent of the Injuries, and how Caused; the Duties, Whether Ordinary or Special, and Their Nature, Upon Which Such Members Were Engaged When Injured; the Names of Members Retired as a Result of Injuries, and the Amount of Pension, if any, in Each Case; the Names and Similar Particulars of Unsuccessful Claimants, and the Amounts Claimed, H.C. 1901 (332) lxi 391.

³²² "An Act to consolidate the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland" (6 Wm iv, c. 13); "An Act for the better regulation of the constabulary force in Ireland" (2 & 3 Vic., c 75.).

³²³ "An Act for improving the police in the district of Dublin metropolis" (6 & 7 Wm iv, c 29, s. xxxiv.

³²⁴ Cochrane, "Policeman's Lot," p. 99; Chief Commissioner O'Ferrall to Chief Secretary Eliot (Sept. 5, 1842) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1842/P.12086).

³²⁵ See appendix xvi.

³²⁶ Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 258, 568-9.

³²⁷ Constabulary circular (May 27, 1841) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

³²⁸ Inspector-general McGregor, Report on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec. 10, 1847) (S.P.O.: O.P.M.A 145/8).

³²⁹ "An Act to regulate the superannuation allowances of the constabulary force in Ireland and the Dublin Metropolitan Police" (10 & 11 Vic., c. 100, ss 3, 6, 10).

³³⁰ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 118-9.

³³¹ Ibid, pp 21-2.

³³² 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 26, 32, 38, 89; Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., p. 11.

³³³ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 226; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 182-3.

³³⁴ Constabulary circular (June 6, 1867) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/114).

³³⁵ "An Act to amend an Act to consolidate the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland" (29 & 30 Vic.,

c. 103); "An Act to amend the laws regulating the superannuation allowances of the Dublin Metropolitan Police" (30 & 31 Vic., c 95). As a result of these Acts Irish policemen were no longer deducted 2% from their pay to provide for pensions.

³³⁶ Inspector-general Wood to Treasury (Dec. 1, 1874), and opinion of Irish Law Officers on Pension Act of 1866 (29 & 30 Vic. c. 103) (S.P.O.: C.C. Sol. Papers 1874/401).

³³⁷ "An Act to amend the laws relating to the Royal Irish Constabulary" (37 & 38 Vic., c. 80).

³³⁸ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 212.

³³⁹ Members of the Tailors' Society in Cork city, one of the few occupational groups provided with pensions, received pensions of only six shillings a week in the early 1870s (£15 12 shillings a year): Sean Daly, Cork: a City in Crisis - a History of Labour Conflict and Social Misery 1870-72 (Cork: Tower Books, 1978), p. 17.

³⁴⁰ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 64; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 69, 217.

³⁴¹ Inspector-general Wood to Chief Secretary Hicks-Beach (Feb. 8, 1876) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1876/2118).

³⁴² Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., pp 215-6 (U.C.D.: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

³⁴³ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 18.

³⁴⁴ Hart, "Police," p. 206.

³⁴⁵ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 73.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

³⁴⁷ Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p. 216 (U.C.D.: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

³⁴⁸ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 16.

³⁴⁹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 197.

³⁵⁰ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 7, 19, 35, 73, 88-9, 137.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 76.

³⁵² "An Act to amend the laws relating to the pay and pensions of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the police force

of the Dublin Metropolis; and for other purposes" (46 Vic., c. 14).

³⁵³ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 10, 27; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Report, p. 27.

³⁵⁴ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 344; Thomas Lough, England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty (London: Downey & Co., 1897, 3rd ed), p. 81.

³⁵⁵ "An Act to amend the law relating to the pay and pensions of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and for other purposes connected therewith" (8 Ed. vii, c 60); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P enquiry - Evidence, p. 11.

³⁵⁶ 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence, p. 8; Irish Worker (Aug. 26, 1911).

³⁵⁷ Police Letter Book 1856-64, entry for (Jan. 21, 1856) (S.P.O.); Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec. 30, 1857) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10934 on 1858/11753); Memorial of ex-Constable Samuel Murray (Oct. 7, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11021(40)).

³⁵⁸ Freeman's Journal (Feb. 9, 1858).

³⁵⁹ Edward McCarron, Life in Donegal 1850-1900: Reminiscences of a Lighthouse Keeper (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1981), p. 84.

³⁶⁰ Freeman's Journal, (Jan. 13, 1880); Charles Russell, "New Views on Ireland," or Irish Land: Grievances: Remedies (London: Macmillan, 1880), p. 50.

³⁶¹ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 71, 80.

³⁶² Freeman's Journal (June 27, 1882); 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 135, 306; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 62.

³⁶³ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 162; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 163; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 62.

³⁶⁴ Aiken McClelland, "The later Orange Order," in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), Secret Societies in Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973), p. 131.

³⁶⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 180; Rathmines News (July 24, 1897); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 96.

³⁶⁶ United Ireland (Jan. 2, 1886).

³⁶⁷ R.I.C. Mag. (Nov. 1911), p. 23; (Apr. 1912), pp 188, 199; (May 1913), pp 237, 241; (July 1913), p. 306.

³⁶⁸ Irish Worker (Mar. 30, 1912).

³⁶⁹ R.I.C. report, Cork South (Oct. 18, 1881) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1881/35928).

³⁷⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 26, 34, 99, 171, 183, 187; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 25, 78, 82-3, 102, 107, 110, 118, 132, 139.

³⁷¹ See appendix xxii.

³⁷² 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 372; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 54, 61, 129.

³⁷³ United Ireland (May 27, 1882); Freeman's Journal (Apr. 29, 1882).

³⁷⁴ Rathmines News (Mar. 27, 1897); Freeman's Journal (Dec. 23, 1898), (Sept. 21, 1901); R.I.C. Mag., (Nov. 1911, pp 20, 23, 25; (Aug. 1912), p. 329; (Apr. 1913), p. 199.

³⁷⁵ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 226.

³⁷⁶ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 29, 34, 138, 311.

³⁷⁷ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 126; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 87, 100-101.

³⁷⁸ Neligan, Spy, pp 32, 57; Sean O Faolain, Vive Moi! An Autobiography (London: Rupert-Hart Davis, 1967), p. 31.

³⁷⁹ Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., pp 254-261 (U.C.D.: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

³⁸⁰ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 344.

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³⁸² O Faolain, Vive Moi!, p. 28.

³⁸³ Christopher S. Andrews, Dublin Made me: an Autobiography (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press, 1979), pp 17, 26.

³⁸⁴ O Faolain, Vive Moi!, p. 52; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 34, 57, 288.

³⁸⁵ Siobhan Lankford, The Hope and the Sadness:

Personal Recollections of Troubled Times in Ireland (Cork: Tower Books, 1980), pp 71-72.

³⁸⁶ Royal Irish Constabulary List (Jan. 1, 1901), p. 217.

³⁸⁷ Diarmuid Breathnach and Maire Ni Mhurchu, 1881-1982: Beathaisneis a hAon (Dublin: An Clochomhar Teoranta, 1986), p. 92.

³⁸⁸ O Faolain, Vive Moi!, pp 30-31.

³⁸⁹ Neligan, Spy, p. 31.

³⁹⁰ Breathnach, Beathaisneis, p. 66.

³⁹¹ Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, with Appendices and Index Vol. vii (Ireland), H.C. 1898 (8980) xxxviii 527, p. 39.

³⁹² Freeman's Journal (Oct. 15, 1901).

³⁹³ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 20, 76.

³⁹⁴ R.I.C. Mag. (Nov. 1911), p. 23; (Apr. 1913, p. 200; (May 1913, p. 243; (July 1913), p. 305; (June 1914), p. 240.

³⁹⁵ Ibid. (Feb 1914), p. 112.

³⁹⁶ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p. 13; R.I.C. Mag. (Dec. 1911), p. 50; (Apr. 1912), p. 201; (Nov. 1912), p. 20; (Mar. 1913), p. 158.

³⁹⁷ O Faolain, Vive Moi!, p. 37.

³⁹⁸ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 109; 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 61, 194; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 159.

³⁹⁹ O Faolain, Vive Moi!, pp 70-71.

⁴⁰⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 125, 128-29, 164.

⁴⁰¹ R.I.C. Mag. (Nov. 1911), p. 15; (Mar. 1912), p. 161; (Aug. 1912), p. 328; (Dec. 1912), pp 52, 60.

⁴⁰² Ibid (Jan. 1913), p. 82; (Feb. 1913), p. 135; Mar. 1913), p. 155; (May 1913), p. 240; (June 1913, p. 280; (Aug. 1913), pp 346, 350; (Oct. 1913), p. 408.

⁴⁰³ Ibid (Mar. 1914), p. 141; (Apr. 1914), p. 180; (May 1914), p. 208; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 83, 87-88, 259.

CHAPTER IV

THE OFFICERS OF THE CONSTABULARY, 1836-1914

It has been noted earlier that, with the exception of the post of chief commissioner, the officer positions in the Dublin Metropolitan Police were filled by men who had been promoted from the ranks. This meant that most D.M.P. officers had originally held a comparatively low status in society. This cannot be said of most of the officers of the Irish Constabulary. Indeed, the two most striking differences between the two main Irish police forces were in their policies regarding the use of firearms, and the type of officer employed by each. The typical constabulary officer was a man who was commissioned to his rank from outside of that force, and whose social status was considerably higher than that of the rank and file. The superior caste of the constabulary officer was acknowledged by the first chief commissioner of the D.M.P., Lieutenant Colonel Cuyler, when he ordered that all members of the Dublin police should salute constabulary officers in uniform, but such an arrangement was not reciprocated by the inspector-general of the constabulary as "neither [D.M.P]

superintendents nor inspectors ranked as gentlemen." In 1860 Chief Commissioners Lake and O'Ferrall admitted to Inspector-general Brownrigg that they would not invite their own officers to dine with them because of their lowly origins.(1)

The principle of officer selection from the ranks was not entirely ignored by the constabulary authorities, but only a fraction - 84, or 17.72% - of the 474 sub-inspector vacancies from 1836 to 1866 inclusive were filled by promoted head constables. This proportion increased later in the century, but officers promoted from the ranks were still in the minority before World War I.(2) Who, then, were the majority? An analysis of the officers serving in the Irish Constabulary in 1836 shows that 39.88% of those who were appointed without serving in the ranks had had some kind of previous military experience.(3) It was the practice of the pre-1836 constabulary to appoint "gentlemen" to the lowest officer rank, that of chief constable (the name of this rank was changed in 1839 to "sub-inspector"), which policy was continued by the Irish Constabulary.(4) One gains an interesting insight into the high social origins of these men from the fact that Inspector-general McGregor found it necessary in October 1839 to issue a warning that any officer would be dismissed who either gave or accepted a challenge to fight a duel in future.(5) Such an attitude was not appreciated by all of the officers. One who served at that period felt that the possibility of becoming involved in a

duel "made men more particular in giving offence," and in the 1870s yearned for "the good old days gone by" when duelling was accepted as a means of settling unpleasant difficulties between gentlemen. He complained of the "scandalous revelations, so demoralizing to the rising generation, that appear in the daily papers from the divorce court; duelling would quietly settle two-thirds of them at least."!(6)

In 1842 a "cadet" system was introduced in the constabulary, whereby several young gentlemen (usually four at a time) were invited to compete for acceptance into the force as officers.(7) Whenever a vacancy arose in the rank of sub-inspector the candidate who gained the highest marks in the competitive examination was called to the depot in Dublin to undergo a period of training before filling the vacant post. There were two types of cadet. One was nominated by the inspector-general of constabulary, who until 1897 was entitled to recommend candidates to compete for a certain number of vacancies. Until 1866 one sixth of all sub-inspector posts, and one fifth of all cadet vacancies, were filled after competitive examination by nominees of the inspector-general. They were invariably the sons of constabulary officers, and competed in a special examination amongst themselves. Inspector-general McGregor, who retired in 1858, usually put forward the names of the sons of needy police officers. For example, in August 1853 he nominated the son of the late Deputy Inspector-general, Lieutenant

Colonel Holmes, "whose family were left in extremely embarrassed circumstances." Shortly after this he adopted the policy of recommending to the lord lieutenant the names of a county inspector's and sub-inspector's son alternately.(8) After the 1866 committee of enquiry the inspector-general received the privilege of nominating to one third of all cadetships, and in keeping with the established pattern these were restricted to the sons of police officers. These retained their privileged position in the cadet system until January 1, 1898.(9)

The other type of cadet, which represented the majority of commissioned officers until the end of 1897 and all such officers from 1898 onwards, was nominated by the chief secretary or lord lieutenant. Candidates who wished to compete for these cadet positions usually needed political influence to gain a nomination. Sir John Nott Bower, who joined the R.I.C. in 1873, records how he secured a nomination from Chief Secretary Lord Hartington through the influence of W.E. Forster, who was at that time Minister for Education and an "old friend" of Nott Bower's father.(10) The correspondence of chief secretaries in the 1850s and 1860s amply illustrates the role of patronage in entering for the cadet examinations. Ensign Stuart Mitchell of the 81st Dumfries Militia received a nomination in 1858 from the Tory administration at the request of his father, a Scots Conservative who wrote several newspaper columns in support

of the government; in the same year William Henry Boyd was nominated simply because he was the son of the late seneschal of Newry, who was described by Lord Downshire to Lord Naas as "a most respectable worthy man & a great friend to our interest."(11) In 1859 Henry Cullen, son of a magistrate in Co. Leitrim and a protege of Lord Enniskillen, was nominated as he was "a good true blue." John George, M.P. for Wexford, ensured the successful application of John Hatterton of Somerton, after reporting to Lord Naas that Hatterton's father "rendered the most valuable political assistance as a member of my Wexford committee during the contested elections for the county in 1852 & 1857." The son of a barrister who had performed the same sort of service for George in these elections was similarly rewarded by the Naas administration.(12) A Thomas Whelan of Co. Wicklow was nominated in 1858 because his father "and all his connexions" in Wicklow and Carlow were "staunch conservatives."(13)

Members of parliament and their supporters viewed constabulary cadetships as the spoils of electoral victory, to be shared out amongst the party faithful. One M.P. wrote to the chief secretary in September 1852 that he was "tortured by constituents . . . who require practical gratitude for votes given." The most popular token of "practical gratitude" was a cadetship in the police, he claimed.(14) Failure to deliver brought members of parliament under severe pressure from their constituents.

The leading conservatives of Carlow complained to the chief secretary in 1859:

We look around to see what appointment[s] have fallen to our party in the county, & I think one in the constabulary and three in the excise will complete the list, or nearly so. We then look on the other hand to see what Mr. Ball, a single member with only his personal influence was able to obtain from his party: we find two resident magistracies, one constabulary appointment [and] several I know in the excise. These facts are continually thrown in our teeth by the expectants of our side, and, I must say that unless there is some proof given to us, that Carlow men are not always to be overlooked our influence will be seriously injured. (15)

An M.P. in August 1852, complaining of the delay in his protege's being called up to compete for a cadetship, warned that "Unless the government take some trouble both to oblige and keep their present friends, and also secure new ones, I fear that at a future day they may be looked for but not found." (16)

Political service on the part of an applicant or, most commonly, an applicant's family was often crucial in his gaining the desired nomination to compete in the cadet examination. While the examples given here are for Conservative administrations in the 1850s and 1860s, undoubtedly the same held true for Whig/Liberal administrations at other times. In February 1859 Samuel McAuliffe was nominated after pointing out to an official in the Irish Office "the entire support of our family interest which numbers over 200 voters of the City of Cork"; in December 1852 a Leitrim applicant succeeded because his father had brought in 128 voters at the county election, and

in March 1867 a Co. Down landlord who applied successfully on behalf of his son significantly pointed out that "As one of the landed proprietors of this parish [Hollywood] I have always supported the Conservative interest, and my tenants at the county elections have been constantly on the right side."(17) An interesting example of reward for political loyalty occurred in September 1866. Lord James Butler applied to the chief secretary, Lord Naas, for a cadetship on behalf of the son of Sir John Blunden of Co. Kilkenny. Butler emphasized to Naas that Sir John "stood by me at the Kilkenny election & got a blow on the head for his pains, which made him more conservative than before." Blunden's son was duly nominated by the chief secretary.(18) A more unusual example occurred in the following year, when the architect of the Wellington Memorial erected in Trim in 1817 claimed that this "service" to the government should prompt "kind consideration" to his son's application, whose name was subsequently placed on the list of examination candidates.(19)

Many applicants emphasized the past services of their family in the interest of the Crown to elicit the sympathy of the Dublin Castle authorities and justify their being nominated for the cadet examination. Sometimes this family service was the main or only credential put forward. One successful candidate wrote the following to Lord Naas in September 1866:

My name is Alfred Thomas Gilley. That your Lordship may fairly judge of my claims I may add that my grandfather served in the 7th Fusiliers through the Peninsular War. My father served for 20 years in the same corps and I have lost two brothers in the army - one served through the late war in India and was unfortunately killed in that country, the other a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers died on foreign service.(20)

In November 1866 Rev. Thomas Burrowes, an Irishman and the rector of Hutton in Somerset, got his son's name placed on the list of candidates after detailing a rather ghoulish list of relatives killed in the past. One of his granduncles, Rev. Robert Burrowes, the chaplain of H.M.S. Director, was drowned in 1797; another granduncle, a Captain Jennings of the 25th Regiment was "blown from a battery at Burtphare in 1825," while his cousin, a Major Campbell of the 75th Highlanders, died during the Crimean War. His more fortunate relatives were an uncle, a general who served unscathed for 30 years in India, and his cousin, a colonel in the Royal Horse Artillery, who survived the Sikh War.(21) In July 1867 John Cuppage, an Armagh justice of the peace, alluded to the death of his eldest son in India in an attempt to speed up the examination process for another of his sons.(22) The most skillful letters of this type encountered by the author were those of Edward Mansergh of Miltown Malbay, who applied with success for a nomination in May 1858 on behalf of his brother. Mansergh's father, two uncles, grandfathers and twelve granduncles had served in the army and navy, while another uncle had died while serving as paymaster in the Irish Constabulary. His great-grandfather had served as

attorney-general for Ireland and sat on the King's Bench; his grandfather had represented Clare in parliament for 22 years, his uncle had been M.P. for a lesser period, and his cousin was the present member for the county. A skillfully chosen detail was the fact that Mansergh's brother had been educated in Caherush in the school established by Colonel George Wyndham, Lord Naas's father-in-law, which was denounced by its (presumably Catholic) detractors as "a low vile hotbed of proselytism."(23)

It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that there was a considerable social gulf between the cadet officers and the mainly peasant rank and file. In 1861 it was claimed that "very many of the officers of the Irish Constabulary are connected not only with the first families in the country, but some with nobility."(24) While this was true in a broad sense, in that most cadets came from a landed gentry background, the evidence suggests that they came from the lower end of the higher social scale: the cadet officers were "gentlemen of good families, birth, and education, but who, being for the most part without private means, could not support themselves if appointed to the army."(25) In November 1852 Chief Commissioner George Browne of the D.M.P. wrote to Lord Naas to apply for a cadetship for his nephew. Browne claimed that his relative was about to inherit £2000, "too small a sum to place him in the army, and too small to purchase promotion, and to enable him to live like other

officers."(26) The constabulary cadet officer and the army cadet officer were of a similar social rank. Deputy Inspector-general Hillier stated in 1872 that "the young gentlemen we are getting into the service now - clergymen's sons, professional men's sons, and magistrates' sons - are about the same class of men as are entering the army. Of course, there is not the same eclat attached to our service, but our men are in the same social position."(27) The biggest difference between the two groups of cadets was that those joining the police were financially less well off than their army counterparts. Indeed in 1888 one member of parliament referred to the Royal Irish Constabulary as "a system of outdoor relief for the younger sons of the landlords of the country."(28)

A sizeable proportion of the cadets were the sons of clergymen of the Established Church of modest financial resources. C.P. Crane and his brother, who joined the R.I.C. in the early 1880s, were sons of a Manchester clergyman. Both brothers graduated from Oxford and, according to Crane, "we both had similar tastes - he ought to have been a soldier and so ought I, but the necessity of a further two years at Sandhurst put the idea out of the question."(29) The county inspector for Kerry in 1906, Cheeseman, was described by a contemporary as the "third son of a Berkshire High Church parson, who knew the right people to place his son in an exclusive government job."(30) The sons of Church of Ireland

clergymen were naturally more numerous in the constabulary than those of clergymen from the sister church. A retired policeman writing in the 1880s suggested that

as Maynooth College is to the mass of the Roman Catholic farmers of Ireland, a medium through whose instrumentality their sons are assisted into the priesthood, so is the depot, Phoenix Park, an alma mater to the sons of the clergy of the Protestant church in Ireland to pass them on to the much-coveted sub or district inspectorships.

The Church of Ireland clergy favoured the R.I.C. "as it opened up a door of employment, of a very desirable character, for his sons, the purchase system in the army debarring them from a chance of carving their fortunes with their swords in that direction."(31) It is not surprising that the average Protestant clergyman welcomed the opportunities which the constabulary offered their sons, as his lot, especially if he had a large family, was not a very enviable one in post-Famine Ireland. In 1867 nearly one third of the church's benefices contained 100 or fewer parishioners. One fifth of all benefices were worth less than £100 a year, while almost half (47.29%) were worth less than £200. The living standards of the Anglican clergy in 1867 were lower than they had been in 1832.(32)

George Garret Black, a first class sub-inspector in 1872 and the son of a Wexford Church of Ireland rector, could state from bitter experience that Anglican clergy were "paid most miserably."(33) The after-effects of the Famine accentuated the financial difficulties of some of the clergy.

In March 1859 the wife of a Co. Clare clergyman requesting a cadetship for one of their sons claimed that "the living of Lomgrany situated in the unfortunate poor law union of Scariff has been for years almost entirely confiscated in poor rates, and a large and ancient family estate was sold and sacrificed in the Encumbered Est[at]es from the same cause to pay debts."(34) Other clergymen pleaded poverty as the reason for their applications, but did not blame the Famine for their plight. Reverend J.H. Franklin of Carlow stated in 1858 that he had "a very large family on a[n] income of not £200 per ann[um]." He succeeded in having his son nominated, after first bemoaning the state of affairs where "a Roman Catholic clergyman would have more interest than I should" - an allegation undoubtedly geared towards gaining the sympathy of its Irish Conservative reader.(35) A Co. Galway clergyman secured a nomination for his son in April 1859 after he complained that "my income derived from a small benefice will not enable me to give my son his degree in college."(36) Other examples from 1859 include the plea of a Co. Wexford rector that he was "aged between 60 and 70 years - with a small benefice - and a large family to provide for; and therefore it is an object most desirable and of great importance that this chance of a provision for one of my sons, should be attempted . . . with some fair and reasonable prospect of success." A Tralee clergyman outlined the difficulties facing him in finding employment for his

large family of 13 children. His eldest son was studying in Trinity for the church, one had five years' service in the constabulary, and another had received a commission without purchase in the army, while another had applied to join the Royal Marines. A Mornington rector who succeeded in having his son placed on the list of candidates after a personal interview with Lord Naas's secretary lamented that he was living "on a benefice of scarcely £100 a year with a numerous family of children all grown up but all as yet unprovided for. I lost private means a few years ago which have (sic) strained me exceedingly & tried me in a manner never expected thro[ugh] adverse Chancery proceedings entered against me." He explained that he had sent one son to Trinity in January 1859, but later "circumstances compelled me to abandon the idea."(37)

One gets an interesting insight into the plight and mentality of these clergyman applicants from the request by a Co. Cork rector in 1852 for a cadetship for his son, which failed only because the candidate was too young. The Reverend Joseph Rogerson Cotter explained that he had 16 children. Two joined the church, two became doctors, and one son and two daughters had been obliged to emigrate to Australia. He believed that his son would make an ideal constabulary officer because "at the several occasions on which we had our house in a state of defence . . . he has learned all the movements of the manual exercise, marching,

etc, and would . . . now be able to drill a squad of recruits in all such things."(38) While most of the surviving evidence relates to the Protestant clergy pulling strings for their sons, some Catholic clergy were not slow to assist relatives joining the police as cadets. In July 1866 John George, M.P. for Wexford, gained a nomination for the nephew of the parish priest of Oulart, whom he described as a "staunch supporter of mine."(39) Not all Anglican clergymen relied on the plea of poverty to sway the decision of the authorities. One Co. Wexford cleric had his nephew admitted to the cadet examination after reminding his M.P. of his past political services: "I was a principle means of your getting at each of the four contested elections nearly one hundred votes out of Killanne parish when I was clergyman in 1852, 1857 & 1859 - & nearly all plumpers & in 1865 was the means of your getting a large number of scattered votes out of Whitechurch." The M.P. took the hint and secured the desired nomination from the chief secretary.(40)

While financial and economic pressures prompted many young men to join the constabulary as cadets, not all applied simply because their fathers were unable to provide them with a more attractive alternative. For example, pecuniary difficulties were unlikely to have led to the application in 1858 of a candidate described as the son of one of the "most respectable Galway merchants." The following year a Belfast bank official applied to become a cadet. In the words of his

sponsor, he was "desirous of obtaining some more active employment as his health is likely to suffer from the confinement of his present one." In 1852 a Ferns clergyman's son was recommended as a cadet by Sir Duncan McGregor. Before applying to join the constabulary he had been working in the office of the Duke of Leinster's land agent, "but he tires of desk work, & w[oul]d much prefer something more military."(41) Before he joined the R.I.C., John Nott Bower was commissioned in the army as a cadet. However, after a few years he despaired of advancement, as he "saw not the slightest opportunity of a great war," and so he opted for a career in the police instead.(42)

Whatever their reasons for entering the constabulary, the cadet officers shared one thing in common - the status of "gentleman." Exceptions to this rule seldom occurred. In December 1866 Lord Naas wrote that "Inadvertently I gave a nomination to a shopkeeper's son in Limerick who succeeded in his examination & thereby gave great offence to the force. Consequently I must be more careful in nominating any man whose father is not beyond all dispute in the rank of a gentleman."(43) In November 1866 James Scott Burne, son of a "well known conservative member" of Dublin municipal council, was at first given permission to compete for a cadetship but this was subsequently withdrawn when it was discovered that he father was merely a pawnbroker.(44) While the sons of shopkeepers were considered beyond the pale of

respectability, the term "gentleman" was applied to men of rather varied backgrounds. Those considered as gentlemen included George McCullagh, whose father served for 24 years as a clerk in the Chief Secretary's Office. George began his working life as a clerk in the D.M.P. tax office in 1837, transferred to the Constabulary Office in May 1839 and was appointed sub-inspector in 1847.(45) The term could also be applied to a Kilkenny man who was recommended for a cadetship in 1866 because he was the son of a nobleman's tutor; to a Westmeath doctor's son who took first place in the cadet examinations of October 1865; to the son of the clerk of the crown for Co. Donegal who joined the force as a cadet in July 1868, or to the county inspector for Clare before World War I, who was a school tutor before joining the R.I.C.(46)

In 1872 an R.I.C. sub-inspector who was asked to state with which groups in society constabulary officers compared themselves, selected the curates of the Church of Ireland and the clerks in the War Office and the various government departments.(47) It is significant that he included the latter group for, as table 4 shows, a sizeable proportion of cadets worked at some kind of respectable white-collar profession before entering the constabulary. Of the 519 cadets who joined from 1852 to 1914, 174 (33.53%) had been previously employed. With the exception of a minority of army, naval and Revenue Police officers, practically all of these had been involved in clerical or teaching work. As

appendix 23 shows, a study of the origins of the cadets shows that most of them were Irish. The proportion of non-Irish cadets fluctuated somewhat; while they were always a minority of the commissioned officers, their numbers increased in the latter part of our period, reaching a peak in the years from 1876 to 1885 and 1896 to 1905. The data for Irish-born cadets show that easily the largest single provincial contingent came from Leinster, with 30% of the 850 directly commissioned officers from 1836 to 1914. The second highest represented province was Munster, with 22.8% of the total. However, Munster's rate of supply was not consistent, with over 27% of directly commissioned officers coming from that province before 1866, and only 16% from 1866 to 1914.

Table 4: Proportion of cadets employed before joining the constabulary, 1852-1914.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. Cadets</u>	<u>No. previously employed</u>	<u>Description of employment</u>
1852	14	1	Assistant in merchant's office
1853	12	4	2 bank clerks; 1 engineer; 1 clerk in "office of Fines and Penalties"
1854	19	2	1 solicitor's apprentice; 1 G.P.O. employee
1856	4	0	
1857	24	19	18 Revenue Police officers; 1 bank accountant & cashier
1858	14	12	10 Revenue Police officers; 1 militia officer; 1 railway clerk

1859	23	11	4 bank clerks; 2 merchants clerks; 1 merchant's cashier; 1 militia officer; 1 engineer; 1 N.S. teacher; 1 teacher in Erasmus Smyth school
1860	11	3	1 navy officer; 1 clerk in D.M.P. office; 1 merchant's clerk
1861	10	1	1 Census Office clerk
1862	6	4	2 bank clerks; 1 Census Office clerk; 1 clerk in military store
1863	12	3	2 bank clerks; 1 Census Office clerk
1864	10	6	1 bank clerk; 1 Census Office clerk; 1 railway clerk; 1 Customs clerk; 1 surveyor's assistant; 1 navy officer
1865	10	1	1 schoolmaster
1866	14	5	2 bank clerks; 1 engineer's apprentice; 1 cashier/bookkeeper/commercial traveller; 1 clerk in 2 "London establishments"
1867	14	0	
1868	19	2	1 architect's apprentice; 1 clerk in Ecclesiastical Commissions Office and navy officer
1869	8	2	1 bank clerk; 1 merchant's apprentice
1870	6	1	1 general broker's apprentice
1871	15	2	1 navy officer; 1 army officer
1872	5	2	1 army N.C.O; 1 clerk in Church Temporalities

Commission

1873	4	4	1 teacher; 1 army officer; 1 architect's assistant; 1 Census Office clerk
1877	3	2	1 court clerk; 1 stock jobber's clerk
1878	6	3	1 bank clerk; 1 tutor; 1 Recruiting Pay Office clerk
1879	11	6	1 Education Office clerk; 1 bank clerk; 1 War Office clerk; 1 college tutor; 1 engineer's apprentice; 1 shipping office clerk
1880	12	4	1 journalist; 1 Church Temporalities Office clerk; 1 linen merchant's clerk; 1 teacher/tutor
1881	13	1	1 bank clerk
1882	23	10	2 tutors; 1 bookkeeper; 1 army officer; 1 militia officer; 1 "office apprentice"; 1 linen trade clerk; 1 clerk at Belfast Broadway Works; 1 "tea trade" (unspecified); 1 in "scholastic employment"
1883	17	2	1 Post Office clerk; 1 college master
1884	10	4	1 bank clerk; 1 Civil Service clerk; 1 Land Commission clerk; 1 Elementary School master
1885	3	2	2 Private School masters
1886	7	1	1 veterinary assistant
1887	9	2	1 tutor; 1 schoolmaster
1888	15	2	1 teacher; 1 ranching in America

1889	3	0	
1890	9	6	1 metal broker's clerk; 1 teacher; 1 schoolmaster; 1 tutor; 1 surveyor; 1 bank clerk
1891	9	4	1 college tutor; 1 librarian; 1 Land Commission clerk; 1 clerk in Irish Lights Office
1892	9	1	1 schoolmaster
1893	5	1	1 teacher
1894	9	4	1 auctioneer's clerk; 1 Petty Sessions clerk; 1 college teacher; 1 Census Office and Land Commission clerk
1896	6	3	1 schoolmaster and tutor; 1 P.R.O. copyist; 1 clerk in father's (timber merchant) office
1897	4	1	1 apprentice in linen business
1898	10	3	1 tutor; 1 college tutor and militia officer; 1 clerk in Land Commission
1899	5	2	1 assistant schoolmaster; 1 surveyor's clerk
1900	5	2	1 brewery analyst; 1 Grammar Schoolmaster
1901	4	2	1 Civil Service clerk; 1 Grammar School assistant master
1902	9	6	2 tutors; 1 teacher; 3 schoolmasters
1905	5	1	1 brewery clerk
1906	2	1	1 college tutor
1907	2	0	

1908	9	3	2 army officers; 1 Customs and Land Commission clerk
1909	6	0	
1910	8	1	1 glass-blowing company employee (unspecified)
1911	4	2	1 army officer; 1 teacher and solicitor's clerk
1912	6	2	1 languages teacher; 1 tutor
1913	5	4	1 schoolmaster; 1 Dept. of Agriculture clerk; 1 insurance inspector and assistant engineer; 1 solicitor's apprentice
1914	2	1	1 assistant schoolmaster

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary, Officers' register 1817-1921; volumes i-iii (P.R.O[Kew]: HO 184/45-47.

There were no cadets in 1855, 1874-76, 1895 and 1903-4.

Like the recruits to the rank and file, candidates for cadetships had to meet a number of requirements before being accepted into the constabulary. The regulations for 1849 stipulated that one had to be unmarried and under 30 years of age to qualify for the position.(48) While the rule requiring cadets to be bachelors was retained, the age limit was modified later. From 1872 onwards officers' sons were accepted if they were 18 years old; all other candidates had to be between the ages of 21 and 26 with the exception of those who had served in the army, navy or in another police force - these could be admitted up to the age of 28 years.(49) An examination of the ages of the commissioned

officers on their acceptance into the constabulary from 1836 to 1845 shows that they ranged from 16 1/2 to 50 years, with the average at 26. This relatively high figure was partly due to the fact that a large proportion (14.52%) of the men had served in the military or other police forces before entering the Irish Constabulary. Another reason was that before the establishment of the cadet system in 1842 officers were directly commissioned, and the constabulary authorities opted for comparatively older gentlemen to fill the officer positions: from 1836 to 1841, 52.87% were older than 25. The average age of the commissioned officers fell noticeably after 1845. In the three decades from 1846 to 1875 the average was 21 years, from 1876 to 1895 it was 22 years, and from 1896 to 1914 it rose again slightly to 23 years.(50) Candidates for cadetships also had to meet certain minimum height requirements, but these were less stringent than those for the rank and file. Until the late 1880s officers had to be at least 5'5" tall; this was increased to 5'6" in 1890, and to 5'8" by the early twentieth century.(51)

Those nominated for a cadet examination often had to wait a considerable length of time before they had an opportunity to compete. The number of vacancies in the post of sub-inspector, and one's place on the list of candidates, determined when one's examination took place. In June 1846 there were 509 names on the candidates' list, and in May 1852 over 200.(52) No data have been discovered for later

periods, but one observer of the R.I.C. in 1915 noted that "the demand for district inspectorships is greater than the supply, and the waiting lists are always full."(53) The cadet examination was conducted by the Civil Service commissioners. The subjects included arithmetic and spelling, handwriting and writing from dictation, British history, the geography of Britain and Ireland, Latin or French, and an examination on criminal law, based on selected chapters from Sir James Stephens' Commentaries on the Laws of England and Digest of the Law of Evidence.(54) John M. Regan, the son of a district inspector, took the examination in the 1890s. He recalled that "it seemed to load the dice in favour of those in hunting and fishing circles." The three essay subjects from which he had to choose were "Horse breeding in Ireland," "Salmon fishing in Ireland," and "Describe an Irish jaunting car and a typical Irish jarvey."(55) One of the Special Resident Magistrates appointed in the 1880s claimed that the cadets' examination was designed "to prove that they had received a fair general education free from "cramming."(56) Evidence from as early as 1862, however, suggests that examinees frequently resorted to "cramming" or "grinding" establishments to prepare for the examination. In that year W. Stapleton, a T.C.D. graduate, claimed that James Lock of Mountmellick, who took first place in the examination, was the 22nd "pupil" of his "University, Civil and Military Institute" to achieve cadet success.(57)

There were several other grinding institutions which catered for aspirants to cadetships in the latter half of our period.(58) One of the most prominent of these was Skerry's "Civil Service College," with branches in Dublin and Belfast, where 35 of the 41 successful examinees in 1906 and 1911 were tutored.(59) According to Inspector-general Chamberlain in 1914, the examination was a "highly competitive" one, and "it requires special grinding, so that a man cannot expect to pass that examination with an ordinary examination knowledge, or without at least six months' special preparation."(60) Overall the cadet system succeeded in its aim of reserving most officer positions for men of high social standing and good education.(61) The R.I.C. inspector-general in 1882 stated that cadets entering the force were "officers of very superior education." A newspaper which investigated the standard of education of R.I.C. officers in 1890 backed up his claim. It found that more than one seventh of the officers (43 out of 276) were university graduates. Some 25 of these were from Trinity College, Dublin, including two Bachelors of Laws and one Doctor of Laws. Nine of the officers were graduates of Oxford, and two of Cambridge. In addition, five were qualified as barristers. One of these was the inspector-general, Sir Andrew Reed, who joined the force in 1859 when the lord lieutenant offered a cadetship to Queen's University Galway, at which institution Reed was preparing for the Indian Civil Service examination at the

time the offer was made.(62) Over a quarter of the cadets appointed from 1901 to 1914 were university graduates.(63)

Cadet officers had to undergo a period of training in the duties of a sub-inspector (in 1883 the name of this rank was changed to district inspector) before being appointed in charge of a district. In the 1850s their training at the Dublin depot usually lasted from four to five months, and in the early twentieth century eight months.(64) They underwent the same courses in drill, musketry and police duties as the rank and file; in addition they were given intensive horse-riding training by experienced ex-cavalrymen, as the ability to ride a horse was considered indispensable for the proper performance of a constabulary officer's duty. Even in the earlier twentieth century, when increasing numbers of officers bought motor cars and relied on them for their mobility, the R.I.C. authorities insisted on their ability to ride a horse. Cadets were also instructed by senior head constables in how to make the various statistical returns required from a sub-inspector, including crime returns and police accounts. They were not sent to take charge of a police district until they had satisfied the depot commandant of their familiarity with the constabulary drill and regulations, and their ability to handle the intricate paperwork duties of an officer. According to C.P. Crane:

An officer in the Royal Irish Constabulary was supposed to be a sort of "Jack of all trades." He had to know infantry drill, a certain amount of cavalry drill, sword exercise and musketry; to understand how to choose forage

and how to shoe a horse; and he had to go through a short veterinary class and be a good rider. He had to be well up in criminal law and the law of evidence, and capable of instructing his men in all their duties. Moreover, he had to keep accounts and learn the Code of Regulations of the force, a formidable work, which nearly drove him distracted by its multiplied instructions.

During their training, the cadets' ability to command and discipline men was tested by their sitting as judges at disciplinary courts on the recruits at the depot, and by their being placed in charge of drill sessions of recruits.(65)

The Irish Constabulary's care in grooming its officers for their future duties excited the admiration of foreign observers. Sir John Nott Bower, who served in the R.I.C. before his career as head of the Leeds, Liverpool and City of London police, wrote it was "altogether the most complete and practical . . . system of training for the duties of an officer of police, available anywhere within the United Kingdom."(66) The high regard in which the constabulary system was held can be gauged from the fact that it was used as a model for the various police forces of the British Empire. According to Inspector-general Brownrigg in 1863:

No sooner is it determined to establish a constabulary force in any, even of the most distant of Her Majesty's colonies, than application is made for a copy of the constabulary regulations, & of its principal forms, to serve as a foundation for the projected force; nor can a colony be named in any part of the British Empire, which has not at one time or other made similar applications, and which has not, as far as circumstances permitted, a large infusion of our system in its police establishment.(67)

Throughout its history the constabulary was a "constant

supply of recruitment for officers of many colonial police forces," and towards the end of our period police officers from such colonies or overseas territories as South Africa, Shanghai, Uganda, Somaliland, North and South Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, Malaysia, Malta and Fiji were trained by the R.I.C. at the Dublin depot. (68)

Many British police forces also benefitted from the infusion or the influence of ex-R.I.C. officers. As early as November 1839 the Home Office pressed the inspector-general of the constabulary for suitable candidates for the post of Worcestershire chief constable, because of the difficulty in finding suitable Englishmen for the position. (69) Two of the 15 English county constabularies established between 1839 and 1842, those of Gloucestershire and Staffordshire, were organized by ex-officers of the Irish Constabulary. (70) The constabulary influence in leading positions in British police forces was even more marked later in the century. Amongst the ex-R.I.C. officers appointed to the British police were the chief constables of the Nottinghamshire police in 1875 and the Leeds police in 1878, the deputy chief constable and assistant head constable of the Liverpool Borough Police in 1886 and 1894 respectively, the Devonshire chief constable in 1892, the Cornwall chief constable in 1896 and the Birkenhead chief constable in 1898. At the end of our period the city police establishments of

Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Hull and the city of London, and the county forces of Ayrshire and Argyle, were commanded by officers who had begun their careers in the R.I.C.(71) Indeed one district inspector claimed that it was the disbandment of the R.I.C. in 1922, which led to the drying up of this source of leading officer material for the British police forces, that prompted the establishment of Hendon Police College for the training of British police officers.(72)

While the examples above might appear to be strong proofs of the efficiency of the constabulary officer and the worth of the cadet officer system, one should bear in mind that their performance did not go unquestioned in Ireland. For example, in July 1862 Inspector-general Brownrigg complained that "many sub-inspectors are very irregular in their attendance at Petty Sessions, and further, that some are in the habit of giving only a limited attendance thereat." To combat against this neglect of an important part of an officer's duty Brownrigg felt it necessary to institute the system whereby sub-inspectors had to "clock-in" their times of arrival at, and departure from, Petty Sessions.(73) Inspector-general Wood voiced a more serious indictment of the officers a few years later. In July 1868 he wrote:

It is with regret that I am compelled to remark that, not only on my own inspections of counties, but also on those of the officers at head quarters, there has appeared a general want of knowledge, on the part of county and sub-

inspectors, of the regulations bearing on their practical (I may say their daily official) duties. For example; when asked what orders have been recently issued regarding correspondence; the placing of men on the promotion list; the notice that should be taken of cases of intoxication in the force; the pay of the different grades and ranks, and similar questions; the officers are generally at a loss for a correct answer, which clearly indicates that orders, when read, instead of being fixed in the memory, are laid aside and left to others, less responsible, to carry out; and hence the trouble is so often experienced at head quarters, in having to refer officers to existing orders which they have forgotten or neglected. (74)

That such neglect existed among the county and sub-inspectors is perhaps not surprising when one reads the following advice given to a cadet at the depot in the early 1870s: "Never neglect any routine duty. Never take any responsibility you can avoid. Never attempt any job which is not strictly your own. Then you will have a happy time in the police." (75) Another officer left the following description of the effect of his training at the depot:

I had gained distinction as a ring-leader in the pastime of 'haymaking' [i.e., the prank of piling fellow cadets furniture in a heap], had mastered the intricacies of the goose-step, had fired twenty rounds of balled cartridge at Sandymount - chiefly to the disturbance of the local mud - and was unrivalled in my sublime ignorance of both statute and common law, and the detection of criminals . . . I could form a hollow square, but of the necessary steps to be taken in a murder case my head was about equally empty. (76)

How did the constabulary function if, as the above picture suggests, the officers were frequently distinguished mainly by their incompetence? The answer was recognized by the editor of the Constabulary Gazette in the early twentieth century, when he argued that the cadet officers were merely

the "ornamental section of the force" - the essential day to day work of the constabulary was carried out by the rank and file.(77) It was the men in charge of the hundreds of station parties scattered throughout the country who kept the police machine running smoothly, who sent their men out on patrol and were the first to anticipate or receive reports of trouble. This was pointed out by a retired sergeant in the 1890s:

At home in his station the sergeant is looked to for everything and by everybody. He is the . . . brains-carrier for his men; chancellor of his station's exchequer; law-giver of his sub-district; and a species of chief secretary, who must be prepared to answer all and every query touching the affairs of his little world or district when called on.(78)

Officers, especially newly appointed cadets, relied heavily on the help of the experienced head constables when performing their duties, especially essential paperwork. A policeman in 1866, disgruntled that "juveniles fresh from school" received officer status over the heads of senior men of the rank and file, complained that "head constables have to instruct these recipients in police duties for years after [their] joining their stations."(79) District Inspector John Regan wrote that the "greatest dread" of head constables was that young officers, whom they regarded as their charges, should make mistakes in the complicated financial and other returns required of them, and assumed these responsibilities themselves. Regan records that "I used to sneak old duplicate accounts out of the office at night and study them

at my lodgings. I finally mastered them."(80) Not all officers were as diligent as Regan. The Constabulary Gazette editor claimed that

A head constable becomes a d[istrict] i[n]spector, if he is lucky, with twenty-five years' service. But a youth from school enters into command and responsibility without any knowledge or training worth mentioning. He is enabled to do this by providing him with a head constable as a clerk and a guide. . . . A head constablenesship is won only after many years of hard and zealous labour, and when it is attained, what is its value? - clerk to an untrained officer, or, possibly, to a promoted head constable, and a salary of two pounds a week.(81)

A correspondent to the gazette editor claimed that "The great majority of the district inspectors, as is well known throughout the force, simply sign their names when the documents are put before them."(82)

While these assertions of the dependency of cadet officers on the more experienced members of the rank and file for the smooth running of the police system are probably over-stated, as they mostly come from men who were dissatisfied with the R.I.C.'s officer system, there is certainly a kernel of truth to them. Why then did the authorities persist in giving positions of command to young gentlemen from outside the force? One explanation lies in the fact that the constabulary was the only armed police force in the United Kingdom. The military nature of the force has been commented upon so often as to require no elaboration here.(83) However, because the constabulary was in many ways like a military force, it is not surprising that

the authorities relied on an officer system which was mainly modelled on that of a British infantry regiment for its regulation. As in the British army (and, indeed, armies in general), it was felt more appropriate to give most positions of command to commissioned, educated members of the gentry, who, by virtue of their superior social, status could more readily command the respect and obedience of the rank and file. Perhaps there was also an unspoken fear that an armed force commanded by men of mainly plebeian origins could not be trusted to behave. Deputy Inspector-general Hillier stated in 1872 that he would "look upon promotion altogether from the ranks as so fatal that it is not to be contemplated." In 1914 Inspector-general Chamberlain admitted that officers who had been promoted from the rank of head constable had shown "the greatest efficiency in their duties," but he nevertheless pointed to his 27 years' experience in the army to argue that "the direct commissioned officer is found to be a necessity." (84) The 1914 commission of enquiry into the R.I.C. made the connection between the constabulary as an armed body, and the cadet system. The treasury remembrancer, Maurice Headlam, expressed the hope that improving living standards in Ireland would bring "an improvement in the disposition of the people," which would lead to a decline in the use of arms by the constabulary and consequently do away with the need for an "officer class" of cadets. (85)

Many officers who had entered the constabulary as cadets displayed a certain amount of class prejudice when arguing that a police force commanded by men promoted from the ranks would be a danger to society. According to Sub-inspector John Caulfield of Tramore in 1872:

In so large a force as ours the tendency of a policeman who finds himself armed with considerable authority is to become arrogant, and that tendency is only checked by the discipline maintained and the tone given by the gentlemen officers . . . I think that the detective energies and the detective ideas of the men would [otherwise] be so prominently brought forward that it would lessen their preventive instincts. If you promote the men in Ireland, you would have the force officered and guided by a lower form of intelligence. . . . The bent of a policeman's mind is to believe every man guilty until he is proved innocent. The instant an outrage occurs, if any suspicion attaches to any person, every policeman strains his ideas to make anything that turns up fit into an idea of that man's guilt. That is a feeling that may become very dangerous in the country, and it requires a man of enlarged ideas to check it - who, if necessary, will have a repressive influence on the men. There is also a feeling that is inevitable in every trained policeman, and that is a feeling that he should have a conviction if possible. That feeling, added to a system of records for convictions, possibly may place a man on the witness table with strong temptations to secure a conviction, and that is a tendency the gentleman officer will counteract.(86)

Caulfield maintained further that:

The duty of a sub-inspector is to correct by his supervision the inevitable consequences of mere police training, and therefore his education goes in the direction of insuring fair play between the police and the public. That is the object of the sub-inspector. Were that not the object, a gentleman sub-inspector would be unnecessary for police purposes; and therefore the sub-inspector is exercising his mind judicially during the whole course of his service. The sub-inspector's duty is to see that police supervision does not become police tyranny.(87)

Quin John Brownrigg, the sub-inspector for Bray in 1872,

agreed with the argument put forward by his colleague:

None but well educated gentlemen could properly discharge a sub-inspector's duties. The moral influence of persons of good education and birth is felt more in this country than in perhaps any other. The tendency of police - especially detective - training is such, that it requires the guiding and restraining influence of officers of enlarged and liberal views. (88)

The commissioners appointed to enquire into the grievances of the R.I.C. in 1882 agreed that gentleman cadet officers were more desirable than officers promoted from the ranks:

A semi-military force imposes duties on its officers which obviously require qualities different in some respects from those suited to purely civil forces. The officers of an armed force, in dealing with their own men and with the people, require habits of command and perfect tact, qualities with which education and social standing have a good deal to say. (89)

Another important reason for reliance on an officer caste was the perceived need to retain the confidence of the landed classes in the police. Before the reform of the constabulary in 1836 the local magistrates, most of whom were from the Protestant landlord class, had exercised the right not only to appoint men, frequently their own tenants, to the police, but they also intervened in the operations and with the discipline of the force. (90) In 1862 Sub-inspector Heard of Carrick-on-Suir, who joined the constabulary before the 1836 reforms, recalled the state of affairs when he arrived at his first posting. One of his men was absent at the local magistrate's house "seeing butter packed up for market, as he acted as steward and kept the accounts"; at another station two men were absent training a magistrate's

greyhounds, and one man was absent from barracks every night as "he was the news-carrier and humble companion of the justice"; another two men were assisting the rate collector (a magistrate's steward) to distrain for non-payment of rates. Heard met one policeman who was carrying a brace of partridge as a present from a magistrate to a lady friend. (91)

Inspector-general McGregor gave an even more graphic description of the detrimental influence of the magistracy on the County Constabulary. He claimed that the police

were allowed to hold farms - to act as sub-agents, gardeners, menial servants, and even, in some cases, without ever wearing uniform, were filling the office of clerks & tutors in the families of the neighbouring gentry & magistrates - that they were allowed to indulge in intemperance, and to neglect the general interests of the public, provided they exercised a watchful superintendence over the demesnes of particular individuals - that bands of music were formed of the paid conservators of the peace, for the entertainment of their officers & the magistrates - that the public horses were employed in drawing carriages, & the mounted men required to act as messengers to purchase articles of millinery etc for the magistrates' ladies. (92)

After 1836 the justices of the peace lost their right to appoint to, or to interfere with the discipline of, the police. However, they remained a central part of the administration of justice at the Petty Sessions. Gentleman officers claimed that the cadet system complemented the judicial role of the mainly landed justice of the peace, and that their mixing socially with the gentry ensured harmonious and fruitful relations between the police and the magistracy. Each sub-inspector in the early 1870s who desired further

promotion was told that one of the pre-requisites was that he had "cultivated a friendly intercourse with the gentry in his neighbourhood." Many gentleman officers claimed in the 1860s and 1870s that an increase in the number of sub-inspectors promoted from the ranks would be detrimental to the efficiency of the force, as gentlemen and the justices of the peace would have less confidence in such officers and valuable sources of information would thus be closed to them. (93)

Such claims do not stand up to close examination. Even officers who claimed that members of the rank and file were poor material for the position of sub-inspector admitted that those head constables who had been promoted to the superior rank performed their duties as well as, and some said better than, their gentleman colleagues. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that head constables were much more experienced as policemen than young cadets, and that they often served for several months as de facto sub-inspectors when their officers were absent on leave or sick. Head constables received no extra pay for the duties of acting sub-inspector. (94) One can judge the respective merits of promoted head constables and gentleman officers by Inspector-general McGregor's statement in 1858 that few officers had received rewards for cases of exceptional police duty for several years, and that those who had were officers who had been promoted from the ranks. (95) Even the claims made for

the usefulness of the friendly relations between gentleman officers and the gentry - and, by extension, of the cadet system - are brought into doubt by Inspector-general Brownrigg's admission in 1859 that despite the facilities which local magistrates and landlords had at their disposal for acquiring information, for example through their agents, bailiffs and tenantry, "they have not, even in a single instance, that I can call to mind after an experience of 33 years, been able to detect any crime of an agrarian or serious character, or been able to afford the constabulary the slightest hint useful for the discovery of the perpetrators, or their whereabouts."(96) Nor can there be any serious doubt about the competency of men promoted from the ranks for the post of sub-inspector. That rank was roughly analogous to, but less responsible than, that of superintendent in the various English constabularies, which position was always held by policemen who had progressed through the ranks rather than gentlemen commissioned from outside the force.(97)

Nevertheless, the constabulary authorities remained reluctant to open up the officer ranks to deserving head constables. As we have already seen, less than one fifth of sub-inspectors appointed before 1867 came from the ranks.(98) In 1848 24 head constables were promoted en bloc to the rank of sub-inspector "to gratify the men," but these were coolly received by their gentleman fellow-officers who referred to

them as the "four-and-twenty blackbirds."(99) Following the recommendations of the 1866 constabulary commission one quarter of the sub-inspectorships were reserved for promoted head constables. This increase was a disappointment to the rank and file. The officers who appeared before the 1872 commission asserted that the men preferred to be commanded by gentlemen who entered as cadets rather than officers who had progressed through the ranks, claiming that the latter were harsher disciplinarians and were more aware of the ways by which the men shirked their duty. The representatives of the men, however, contradicted this claim and demanded that promotions to all positions below those of headquarters' staff should be made from the ranks.(100) Constable J.J. Hughes of Omagh told the 1882 constabulary commission that he believed that promoted head constables felt closer to their subordinates than the gentleman officers, and tried harder to gain promotion for the men of their district.(101) An indication of the bitterness engendered by the cadet system can be gauged from the complaint made in 1880 that cadets

generally enter the force after graduating for a few months in a grinding establishment, quite inexperienced in the duties of police, and very often flaunt in the faces of their subordinates an amount of bigotry, arrogance and intolerance quite in keeping with their narrow-mindedness, capriciousness, and prejudices.(102)

John Regan, who joined the R.I.C. as a cadet in the 1890s, records that the system was "very unpopular with members of the force who were seeking outlets for promotion."(103)

Promoted head constables at first received sub-inspectorships at a rather young age. The ages of those promoted between 1837 and 1847 ranged from 26 to 48, with an overall average of only 35 years. In 1848, the year of the 24 "blackbirds," there was a noticeable change towards promoting more experienced head constables. The ages of the men promoted in 1848 ranged from 36 to 58, with an average of 43 years. This was also the average age of those promoted to sub-inspector from 1848 to 1864.(104) In 1865 Inspector-general Wood brought in the regulation that no head constable older than 48 years was to be promoted, and this rule remained in force until the end of our period. Wood was concerned that the more senior head constables who received promotion regarded a sub-inspectorship as "merely a means of securing [a] larger pension."(105) A number of head constables who had passed the regulation age for promotion were compensated by receiving a small increase of pay.(106) The new regulation did not affect the average age of promoted head constables - this remained at 43 years between 1867 and 1894.(107) In 1895 Inspector-general Reed decided to grant half of all district inspectorships to head constables. Half of these vacancies were to go to head constables on the seniority list, and half were reserved for successful contestants in a written competitive examination for head constables under 42 years of age. A survey of the service records of the promoted head constables from 1904 to 1914

showed that those from the seniority list had an average of 27 years' service in the R.I.C., and over nine years in their rank, and that their average age was 46. The head constables promoted by competition had served four years in that rank and 20 years in the force, with an average age of 40. According to the constabulary authorities in 1914, it was impossible to achieve district inspector's rank by seniority alone: even those head constables promoted from the seniority list had secured some advancement by special promotion during the course of their careers. (108)

Officers' pay was considerably higher than that of the rank and file. In 1836 chief constables (the equivalent of the later sub and district inspectors) of the second class received £90 a year, while those of the first class received £150. In addition, second and first class chief constables respectively were paid five shillings and seven shillings a day whilst attending assizes, Quarter Sessions or for night duty, and two shillings a day for the upkeep of their horse. Officers in their first year had to be supplied with £50 from home to help cover such expenses as paying for their uniform. (109) Until February 1873 each officer was allotted a sub-constable to serve as his orderly or servant; at the latter date sub-inspectors were given an allowance of £45 a year to hire a civilian servant. This was a welcome boost to officers' incomes, as they were often able to pocket as much as one third of the allowance themselves. However, the

temptation to be frugal with their servant's wages was tempered to some extent by the regulation that any officer whose servant was not "respectably and properly dressed" would forfeit the allowance.(110)

The officer ranks were re-formed in 1839. A three-tier sub-inspector rank replaced the old two-tier chief constable rank. Third class sub-inspectors' salaries were £100 a year, the second class received £120, and the first class £150. Some 23 of the approximately 180 second and third class sub-inspectors were paid an additional £12 a year, and six of the first class received an additional £30.(111) The highest officer rank below that of the headquarters' staff in 1836 was that of sub-inspector (changed in 1839 to county inspector). In 1836 their salaries were £250 a year. Following the 1839 reforms county inspectors of the second class received £220, and those of the first class £250, a year. These salaries remained in force until 1866, with the exception that long service pay for officers was introduced in 1859, as it had been for the rank and file in 1854. Officers who served for more than two years and less than seven were given an additional £1 per month, which was doubled for those who served for up to 15 years, trebled for those who served from 15 to 20 years, and went up to £4 a month for those with more than 20 years' service.(112) In August 1866 long service pay for officers was abolished, but they were compensated somewhat by an increase in their

salaries. Second class county inspectors received salaries of £270, and those of the first class £300; the salaries for the three classes of sub-inspectors were £125, £150 and £200 respectively. The real increases were small, however, due to the abolition of long service pay.(113)

We have already seen that in the period from the 1850s to the early 1870s the rank and file had serious financial difficulties, and there are also indications that the officers were in straitened circumstances at the same time. Even so high an officer as Deputy Inspector-general Brownrigg borrowed £500 from a subordinate in November 1857.(114) In 1862 the sub-inspector of Headford, Co. Galway, embezzled £41 by various means.(115) A sub-inspector complained to the inspector-general in February 1864 of the excessive strain on officers' finances as a result of the niggardly behaviour of many county inspectors:

Those officers when on their periodical inspection, are in the constant habit of billeting themselves on the sub-inspectors, 'eat drink and sleep,' and not alone that, but expect as a matter of course that they are to be driven round each district, and from district to district by them, thereby [effecting] a total saving of the liberal allowance both for extra pay and mileage . . . independently of their large forage allowance. I need not tell you that the small pay of a sub-inspector - many of whom even of the 3rd class have large families, is quite limited enough for his own demands, and that the visit of his county inspector for two or three days, each quarter, must entail very considerable expense on him, beside the wear and tear of his horse. The county inspector being under those obligations to his officers, is it not reasonable to suppose that if any faults exist in his district they would be lightly passed over? I believe ours is the only branch of the public service where the superior officers thus quarter themselves upon their subalterns. I, and I am sure all the officers of

the force would be most happy to extend any reasonable amount of hospitality to their county inspector, but the matter has latterly become quite a grievance, at least in some counties, and I am sure you will in that high spirit of fair play for which you are proverbial adopt stringent measures to have it discontinued.(116)

This complaint was simply a symptom of the poor pay of constabulary officers at that time.

On April 1, 1867, Sub-inspector Crean of Granard absconded with £180, which sum was intended to meet the pay and expenses of the men of his district.(117) It was probably this incident which prompted the commissioners of the Treasury to direct on April 10, 1867, that sub-inspectors should give security of £200 each, either by purchasing government stocks or producing the guarantee of the European Assurance Society, for the "due and faithful discharge of their financial duties."(118) Sub-inspectors routinely handled large sums of money as part of their duties, as they had to pay the salaries and allowances of their subordinates, the pensions of retired members of the force and gratuities to policemen's widows, as well as expenses such as car hire, medical fees, barrack rent and repairs, so perhaps it was understandable that the Treasury became skeptical about their trustworthiness in financial matters at this time.(119) Sub-inspector Gustavus Hare would not have reassured doubting Treasury officials by his absconding on September 3, 1868, with £208 which he had fraudulently obtained from the manager of the Bank of Ireland at Omagh.(120) Westmeath sub-inspector Edward Burgess, who was dismissed from the R.I.C.

in 1870 when he was imprisoned for debt, and County Inspector Stafford of Antrim, who lamented in 1872 that "I am nearly thirty years in the force and I never was extravagant in any way, and I will say, without fear of contradiction, that I never up to the present day, was able to save a single penny," are further evidence of the poor financial condition of many R.I.C. officers at this period. (121) The most tragic incident involving a needy R.I.C. officer was that which occurred in Newtownstewart on June 29, 1871. Sub-inspector Thomas Hartley Montgomery, who was £1,398 in debt on his transfer to Newtownstewart (he had a history of borrowing large sums of money from his subordinates, contrary to police regulations) tried to make good his arrears by murdering the cashier of the local bank and stealing around £1,500. (122)

The financial rewards of the officers, as well as the men, were considerably improved by increases in 1872 and 1888. Only the junior, third class sub-inspectors received no addition to their salaries. In December 1872 second class sub-inspectors' pay was increased to £165 a year, while the first class received £225. Second class county inspectors' salary was increased by £30, to £300 a year, while those of the first class were raised by £50, to £350 a year. In July 1882 there was an important reform of officers' pay with the introduction of payment on the basis of the number of years served. For example, second class sub-inspectors with less than five years in that rank received £165, and those with

more than five years received £180 a year. First class sub-inspectors with less than three years in that rank received £225, they received £250 for between three and six years' service, £275 for between six and twelve years' service, and £300 for all periods longer than that. The two-grade county inspector rank was simplified into a single-tier rank, with salaries beginning at £350 and rising by £20 a year to a maximum of £450. The officer in command of the R.I.C. in Belfast, who had a rank equivalent to that of a county inspector but was referred to as the Belfast Town Commissioner, received an increase from £400 to £600 in 1882, in recognition of the extra responsibilities of his position. These salaries remained in force until the end of our period.(123)

As promotion for officers was a slow process, the guarantee of an increase in pay over a set number of years helped to compensate for frustration at lack of advancement in status. Evidence from the 1870s shows that it took a sub-inspector an average of 25 years to advance to the rank of county inspector.(124) In 1886, Assistant Under-secretary for Crime and Police E.G. Jenkinson, painted a gloomy picture of the effects of the slow rate of officer promotion in the R.I.C.: "There is at present a stagnation in promotion, and fine efficient young men are either idling or fretting their time away. Let them be brought to the surface before they fall into the groove from which no R.I.C. officer ever gets

out, and before their independence of character and vigour are destroyed."(125) According to Special Resident Magistrate Clifford Lloyd, promotion for officers was "extremely slow," and that "it can be supposed that in many cases, by the time an officer reached the rank of county inspector, much individuality had been knocked out of him. He was frequently past his work, and still more often quite unsuited to it from a police point of view."(126)

At the end of his service the police officer could retire on pension. Officers and men who joined the Irish Constabulary from its formation in 1836 down to the passing of the 1847 Pension Act were entitled to the same pension rates on retirement. However, after July 22, 1847, the date on which the new Act was passed, officers usually had to serve for a longer period than the men to receive the same proportion of salary as pension. Both men and officers who joined after the Act could receive half of their pay as pension if obliged to retire after a service of from 15 to 20 years. Men could receive two thirds of their pay for 20 to 25 years' service, three quarters for between 25 and 30 years' service, and full salary for over 30 years' service. In contrast, officers had to serve between 20 to 30 years to receive two thirds of their pay as pension, between 30 and 40 years to receive three quarters of their pay, and over 40 years to receive full salary as pension. The only other way to receive one's full pay as pension was to be incapacitated

from injuries sustained in the line of duty. No officer younger than 60 was allowed to retire without a medical discharge.(127) A short-lived Act, passed in 1874, gave different pension rates to all officers who joined the constabulary after August 10, 1866. Officers completing 15 years' service were to be entitled to a pension of fifteen fiftieths of salary, which was to increase by one fiftieth for every year subsequently completed down to 30 years. Three fifths was the maximum pension normally allowed; however, one could receive a larger pension "in case of extraordinary merit or good conduct.(128) This Act was superseded by the 1882 Constabulary Act, the last piece of legislation affecting the pensions of R.I.C. officers in our period. Under this Act all officers who joined the force after August 10, 1866, who were retired after ten years' service, were entitled to one sixth of their salary as pension; for every year completed after ten years an addition of one sixtieth of one's salary was made, with the maximum pension being fixed at forty sixtieths of pay.(129) The trend, then, throughout this period, was for the salary of the officers to increase, but the rate of pension to decrease.

For a minority of officers service in the constabulary was rewarded with prestigious promotion to the post of stipendiary or resident magistrate. The position of resident magistrate had been created by the government in an effort

to counteract the often partisan administration of justice by the unpaid or local magistracy.(130) At first several sub-inspectors (the equivalent of the later county inspectors) acted as magistrates while still serving in the constabulary, but this practice was forbidden by a special order in 1837.(131) Henceforth, police officers became resident magistrates after severing their connections with the force. Elevation to the magistracy was viewed as a worthwhile promotion by sub-inspectors, as their pay was better and the stipendiary magistrate was higher in the social scale than the lesser constabulary officer ranks. During the first four years of his command, Inspector-general McGregor exercised the right to appoint officers to resident magistracies, but this was subsequently controlled by the chief secretary and lord lieutenant.(132) Of 58 resident magistrates in 1840, some 23 had served in the Irish Constabulary.(133) In 1854 the government adopted the policy of granting one third of resident magistrate appointments to constabulary sub-inspectors, which ratio was maintained into the early twentieth century. According to an R.I.C. officer in 1914, only those who were considered capable of performing the duties of at least a county inspector were promoted to resident magistrate.(134)

Over one in thirteen (7.92%) of the 807 sub-inspectors appointed to the constabulary down to 1905 finished their careers as resident magistrates, and, as appendix 24 shows,

this proportion increased for those appointed after 1855. It is not surprising that the authorities placed a lot of trust in the capabilities of resident magistrates who had been promoted from the constabulary, given their familiarity with police routine and their methods of preventing and investigating crime. While the unpaid justices of the peace played an important role in the judicial system at the Petty Sessions level, they were less inclined than resident magistrates to aid the police in controversies of a local nature. According to Sir Thomas Larcom in 1862:

The local justices, so far as my observation has gone, are glad to throw on the paid magistrate (& consider that they have a right to do so) the unpleasant duties which the state of Ireland requires - such as attendance with the police at riots, races, fairs, faction fights & meetings of all kinds, quelling disturbances, & night work. At elections, for example, they for the most part abstain from acting, & very properly so, for their personal sympathies are necessarily in this angry country with one side or the other.

He added that magistrates from the police "are invariably the men we look to in a difficulty."(135) The constabulary policy of frequently transferring police officers heightened the usefulness of resident magistrates promoted from the force, in that during the course of his career an officer became familiar with several parts of the country, but was unlikely to be as affected by local influences as the local magistrate residing in one district for most of his life. An examination in 1883 of the length of time spent by R.I.C. officers at a particular posting showed that second class district inspectors spent on average just one year and seven

months in a district in a particular county before being transferred; the figures for a first class sub-inspector were three years and five months in a district, and three years and nine months in a county.(136)

In summary, then, the officer corps of the constabulary was unique in the United Kingdom in that it consisted mainly of gentlemen cadets who were commissioned from outside the force and trained as officers. A minority were men who had been promoted from the highest non officer rank, that of head constable. As we have already seen, these men were often viewed with suspicion by their gentlemen colleagues and superiors, and the mantle of sub or district inspector with its obligation of the social round with the gentry did not always rest easily on their shoulders. This was recognized by the editor of the Constabulary Gazette early in the twentieth century:

The average head constable does not wish to be a Dandy. It costs a lot of money. He must take a bigger house than he requires, buy a horse, keep a groom, attend Court functions, and pretend to be a swell. He has no such ambition. Make him an inspector, give him an extra £50 a year, and he will do all the police work that is necessary to be done. He will keep his own bicycle, and be glad to earn a little mileage [allowance] by riding it. . . . But do not put him into competition with a gentleman that keeps a hunter, rides to hounds, plays golf and tennis. It is a cruelty, and it is not in the public interest.(137)

The cadet officers had no qualms about being "swells," as the social life of the constabulary officer mirrored that of the young Irish country gentleman in many respects. The relatively light duties of an officer gave ample scope to

indulge in the leisurely pursuits of the gentleman. John Nott Bower records that while he was stationed in Rathcoole in the 1870s the "old Irish families" constituted his social circle: "Hunting, shooting, entertaining, dancing, hating work of any kind, restless, and enjoying life to the utmost, they were the most delightful of companions, and at once made a stranger one of themselves, their only complaint being that he would not avail himself even more of their open-handed hospitality." His duty schedule, which was "not exacting," enabled Nott Bower to frequently travel to Dublin where he acted at the Theatre Royal under an assumed name.(138)

The autobiographies of other cadet officers support Nott Bower's rosy picture of their lot. Vere Gregory, who while a student at Trinity College, Dublin, was commissioned as an R.I.C. cadet in 1894, recalls that "During the first twenty years of my service, and before the political situation became acute, there was probably no other profession in the world which afforded such scope and leisure for enjoying a maximum amount of sport at a minimum expense."(139) C.P. Crane, who joined the force as a cadet in 1879, records that on arriving at his first posting "one of my first thoughts was to equip myself with various 'engines,' wherewith to catch fish." His autobiography details his avid pursuit of such gentlemanly pastimes as fishing, sailing, rowing, snipe, rabbit and woodcock shooting, cliff climbing, fox and otter hunting and cricket.

On one occasion, because of his passion for sports, he identified with a poacher whom he observed poaching a salmon in the River Laune in the 1880s. Instead of arresting the poacher he shouted encouragement and advice to him, and was "as pleased as possible in watching the struggle." (140) Part of his duties while a district inspector in Kerry in the 1880s included showing visiting dignitaries the beauties of the Lakes of Killarney. Visitors included "much that was best in Irish and English life, soldiers, statesmen, artists," as well as German and Austrian nobility and an Indian "potentate," the Thakore Sahib of Limbdi. (141)

John Regan, who joined the R.I.C. as a cadet in the 1890s, was such an avid follower of the hunt that he habitually attended Petty Sessions with his hunting outfit under his police greatcoat: "Twenty or thirty cases of a petty nature could be concluded in fifteen or twenty minutes, when I would throw off my coat, get on the horse and make for the meet." Officers were allowed to proceed without leave in a twelve mile radius on recreation, but Regan ignored this as chased hares or deer, "not being aware of our regulations," did not keep "within the magic circle." (142) Garrow Green, who was commissioned as a cadet in the early 1870s, offers an invaluable insight into the importance of sport and social intercourse with the gentry for the gentleman officer. Service in the northwest and west was considered uncongenial because of the relative scarcity of

such outlets of amusement. Here is what he writes of his transfer to Crossmolina:

Take heed all ye English aspirants for cadetships, especially those who have healthy and gregarious instincts, and [who] fresh from your luxurious homes and social delights hanker after the sword of the R.I.C. Use all your diplomacy and interest to avoid being consigned to one of these ultima Thules, for they are the very abomination of desolation. The stagnation of them, the horrible environment, the misery and lethargy of the people, the absence of all inducement to live save in the performance of uneventful duties and the mere animal instinct, must be experienced to be even imagined. I believe there are still worse states of exile in India, but trust me that the unhappy wretch who is relegated to one of these awful places can only exist in the hope of getting out of them.

I once met one of ours, in a northern train; a thorough-bred English gentleman, and ex-scholar of Oxford, who had been lately emancipated from some ghastly station in Donegal. His account was pitiable. He had been forty miles from the nearest railway, had only a hard-worked country doctor to speak to, the parson being an acidulated old book-worm, and the only magistrates small shop-keepers. I asked him about field sports. 'Oh,' said he, 'there's lots of wild shooting, but after a time one gets to loathe the very look of the interminable black bog, and I had no one to give the birds to.' The same applied to fishing also, and his only resources were his piano and scribbling magazine sonnets of a weird and mournful character.(143)

Donegal and Crossmolina did not exhaust Garrow Green's list of unpalatable postings.

For example, his description of Dunmore makes it clear to the reader his unhappy experience of serving there:

Try and imagine a wretched collection of dank hovels and weather-stained houses, and their chiefly thatched roofs coated with damp moss and tufts of grass; where the only hotel is a squalid public-house, and the principal shop an emporium for rat-traps, greasy sweets, paraffin oil and other heterogeneous commodities. The place may have improved since I saw it - there was room - but there was an evil smell of mildew, mouldiness and decay pervading it, which suggested untimely demise and ghoulish churchyards. The inhabitants, men, women and children had all

the same baked, turfy, unhealthy, morose look, and I should have been disposed to regard felo de se as a most pardonable offence in any one of them.

The place, doubtless inaugurated by some malevolent misanthrope, was appropriately situated in an arid, treeless plain, whose vast extent of bog and silt might have rivalled the steppes of Tartary. (144)

Green's transfer to the "vile station" of Tubbercurry was no improvement on the year he spent "vegetating" in Crossmolina: "There were no local gentry, but little field sports, and in vain you looked after returning from an inspection for cards of invitation to dances or tennis." (145) His service in Tinahely was equally distasteful because of the absence of "that hospitality which to us means so much," whereas an "incessant round of gaiety" marked his service in Shinrone:

I had scarcely shaken down, when from all sides the local gentry - even some from a distance - flocked to call. Carriages and traps were constantly at the door, and there was a never-ending hail of cards for 'At Homes,' tennis parties, afternoon dances, balls and receptions, besides invitations to hunt and to fish, and so many kind attentions from everyone that I consigned the miseries of the past three years to oblivion and prepared to enter on a fresh lease of life. . . . Besides the upper ten, there existed, as usual in Ireland, a lower strata, who kept up a sort of minor court among themselves. Though their pretensions to family may have been more dubious, they were eminently respectable and had such hospitable houses that they contributed very considerably to an undercurrent of merry-making, filling up all the gaps between larger functions. (146)

John Regan recalls that district inspectors in Ennis were as a matter of course invited to join the "County Club," which was a club where police officers rubbed shoulders with landlords and their agents and legal advisors, military officers and judicial figures such as the county court judge. (147) In general, though, gentlemen officers shunned

service west of the Shannon. As a Claremorris head constable explained in 1914, the west of Ireland "is not a desirable place for a district inspector, as there is very little society for him in it, and the country is poor and backward, and there are no hunting grounds in it."(148)

ENDNOTES CHAPTER IV

¹ Inspector-general Brownrigg to Sir Thomas Larcom (Mar. 19, 1860) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7622).

² Data taken from (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register, volumes i-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-47).

³ *Ibid.*, volume i (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45).

⁴ Palmer, Police and Protest, pp. 253-4, 576-77.

⁵ Constabulary circular (Oct. 12, 1839) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

⁶ A retired constabulary officer, "Leaves from my notebook," in Dublin University Magazine, vol. 88 (Oct. 1876), pp. 453, 455-56.

⁷ Curtis, History of R.I.C., p. 54.

⁸ Inspector-general McGregor to chief secretary [?] (Aug. 4, 1853) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1853/7030); Daily Express (Sept. 15, 1859); 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 13.

⁹ 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 14; Lord Naas to Mr. Archdale, M.P. (Dec. 25, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11142(16)); Freeman's Journal (Nov. 1, 1880); Constabulary circular (Jan. 17, 1895) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁰ Sir John William Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years a Policeman (London: Edward Arnold, 1926), p. 26.

¹¹ H. Mitchell to Lord Naas (Apr. 10, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11024(2)); Lord Downshire to Lord Naas (Aug. 20, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11022(7)).

¹² Lord Enniskillen to Lord Naas (Mar. 16, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11026[3]); John George, M.P. to Lord Naas (Oct. 9, 1858) and (Nov. 11, 25, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11022(36)(37)).

¹³ Henry Bruen, M.P., to Lord Naas (Mar. 15,

1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11021(5)).

¹⁴ Mr. Taylor, M.P., to Lord Naas (Sept. 9, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11020(29)).

¹⁵ Henry Bruen, M.P., to Lord Naas (Apr. 30, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11025(16)).

¹⁶ Mr. King Harman, M.P., to Lord Naas (Aug. 7, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11019(18)).

¹⁷ Samuel McAuliffe to Richard Wingfield, Irish Office (Feb. 23, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11020(14)); J. Blackwood to Lord Naas (Mar. 19, 1867) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11147(12)).

¹⁸ Lord Butler to Lord Naas (Sept. 18, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11142(17)).

¹⁹ James Bell to Lord Naas (May 10, 1867) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11147(19)).

²⁰ A.J. Gilley to Lord Naas (Sept. 15, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11145).

²¹ Rev. Burrowes to Lord Naas (Nov. 24, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11143(26)).

²² John Cuppage, J.P., to Lord Naas (July 2, 1867) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11149(1)).

²³ Edward Mansergh, to Lord Naas (May 1, 8, 1858) and Lord Naas, to Edward Mansergh (Sept. 9, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11024(4)).

²⁴ Daily Express (Dec. 4, 1861).

²⁵ Ibid. (Oct. 27, 1858).

²⁶ Chief Commissioner Browne to Lord Naas (Nov. 11, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(22)).

²⁷ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 119.

²⁸ Freeman's Journal (Dec. 11, 1888).

²⁹ Crane, Memories of R.M., pp. 12-13, 53-54.

³⁰ Joseph O'Connor, Hostage to Fortune (Dublin: Michael F. Moynihan, 1951), p. 167.

³¹ Murphy, Sketches of R.I.C., pp. 10-11.

³² Data from Donald Akenson, The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 87, 218-21.

³³ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 66.

³⁴ Memorial of Mrs. Matilda Brady (Mar. 3, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11027(28)).

³⁵ Rev. J.H. Franklin to Lord Naas (Apr. 7, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11022(19)).

³⁶ Rev. R.B. Eyre, to Lord Naas (Apr. 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11026(4)).

³⁷ Rev. John Alexander, Churchtown, to Lord Naas (Apr. 15, 1859); Rev. Henry Denny, Tralee, to Lord Naas (Jan. 8, 1859); Rev. Joseph Dunne, Mornington, to Lord Naas (Mar. 13, Apr. 25, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11025 (4)(30)(33)).

³⁸ Rev. Joseph Rogerson Cotter to Lord Naas (Sept. 6, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(33)).

³⁹ John George, M.P., to Lord Naas (July 24, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11145).

⁴⁰ Ibid. (July 30, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11145).

⁴¹ W.H. Gregory, to Lord Naas (Dec. 13, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11022(38)); H.M. Cairns to Lord Naas (May 24, 1859) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11025(28)); Rev. Henry Moore to Lord Drogheda (Nov. 4, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(46)).

⁴² Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, pp. 24-25.

⁴³ Lord Naas to Mr. Archdale, M.P. (Dec. 25, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11142(16)).

⁴⁴ Unsigned letter from Chief Secretary's Office, to Lord Naas (Nov. 20, 1866); Arthur Guinness, St. James's Gate, to Lord Naas (Nov. 28, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11143(26)).

⁴⁵ Memorial of Sub-inspector George McCullagh (July 14, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11145).

⁴⁶ Freeman's Journal (Oct. 26, 1865); Sir John Pakington to Lord Naas (Sept. 12, 1866) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11145); Leon O Broin, The Prime Informer - a Scandal

- Suppressed (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971), p. 16; Fitzpatrick, Politics and Irish Life, p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 66.
- ⁴⁸ Constabulary circular (May 5, 1849) (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/12).
- ⁴⁹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 126; Royal Irish Constabulary List (July 1879), p. 26; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 198.
- ⁵⁰ Data compiled from (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register, volumes i-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-47).
- ⁵¹ Constabulary circular (Feb. 20, 1890) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); Leatham, Sketch of R.I.C., p. 8; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 189.
- ⁵² Lord Lieutenant Baron Heytesbury to Chief Secretary Earl of Lincoln (June 22, 1846) (Nottingham University: Newcastle MSS: Correspondence of Lord Lincoln, 1844-46); Mr. Bateson (Treasury official), to Lord Naas (May 14, 1852) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(5)).
- ⁵³ Raymond F. Fosdick, European Police Systems (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1968, reprint of 1915 original), p. 161.
- ⁵⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 126; Royal Irish Constabulary List (July, 1879), p. 21; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 189.
- ⁵⁵ Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, p. 21 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160).
- ⁵⁶ Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, p. 56.
- ⁵⁷ Freeman's Journal (May 31, 1862).
- ⁵⁸ Ibid. (July 29, 1871) (Dec. 27, 1879; Crane, Memories of R.M., p. 13; Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, pp. 17-20 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160).
- ⁵⁹ Irish Times (Mar. 10, 1906) (Jan. 12, 1911).
- ⁶⁰ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 237.
- ⁶¹ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p. 40.
- ⁶² 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 448; Times (Sept. 20,

1890); R.B. McDowell, The Irish Administration 1801-1914 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 140.

⁶³ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 237; (Royal)Irish Constabulary officers' register 1817-1919, volumes ii-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/46-47).

⁶⁴ Head, Fortnight, p. 52; Leatham, Sketch of R.I.C., p. 8.

⁶⁵ Depot Standing Orders, 1846, pp. 5-6; Head, Fortnight, p. 52; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 200; Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., pp. 12, 18, 21-22; Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, pp. 26-27; Crane, Memories of R.M., pp. 14-15, 17; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 191; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp. 204, 206, 208.

⁶⁶ Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Report on the state of Ireland in the year 1863," p. 203 (N.L.I.: MS 915).

⁶⁸ Broeker, Rural Disorder, p. 242; Sir Charles Jeffries, The Colonial Police (London: Max Parrish, 1952), pp. 29-31; Times (Oct. 5, 1895); Constabulary Gazette (Nov. 22, 1901); R.I.C. Mag. (Feb. 1912), p. 115.

⁶⁹ F.C. Mather, Public Order in the Age of the Chartists (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), p. 135.

⁷⁰ Palmer, Police and Protest, p. 451.

⁷¹ Freeman's Journal (Dec. 18, 1885); (Royal)Irish Constabulary officer's register 1817-1919, volumes i-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-47); Fosdick, European Police Systems, p. 161; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 203.

⁷² H. Malcolm McKee, "The Royal Constabulary of Ireland, 1822-1922," in Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery Quarterly Notes, no. lvi (Mar. 1938), p. 2.

⁷³ Constabulary circular (July 31, 1862) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/113).

⁷⁴ Ibid. (July 1, 1868) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114).

⁷⁵ Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, p. 27.

⁷⁶ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., p. 24.

⁷⁷ Harding, Plea for Reform, p. 24.

- ⁷⁸ Michael Brophy, Tales of the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: Bernard Doyle, 1896), p. 25.
- ⁷⁹ Letter from "Goose Quill" in Freeman's Journal (Feb. 12, 1866).
- ⁸⁰ Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, p. 37 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160). See also Crane, Memories of R.M., p. 38.
- ⁸¹ Harding, Plea for Reform, p. 20.
- ⁸² Ibid., p. 75.
- ⁸³ See for example Fulham, "James Shaw-Kennedy," passim; K. Theodore Hoppen, Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland 1832-85 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 409; Charles Townshend, Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance Since 1848 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 72-77.
- ⁸⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 119; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 183.
- ⁸⁵ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Report, p. 33-34.
- ⁸⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 97.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 99.
- ⁸⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 17.
- ⁹⁰ Broeker, Rural Disorder, pp. 146-47, 149, 156, 199, 201, 210-11.
- ⁹¹ Clonmel Chronicle (July 19, 1862).
- ⁹² Report of the Inspector-general McGregor on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec. 10, 1847) (S.P.O.: O.P.M.A. 145/8).
- ⁹³ 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 13; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 245; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp. 61-62, 65, 70, 80, 119.
- ⁹⁴ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p. 38; 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 13; 18872 R.I.C. Commission, pp. 35, 62, 65, 75, 80, 118; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 59.
- ⁹⁵ Inspector-general McGregor to Sub-inspector T.D. Fitzgerald (Feb. 8, 1858) (N.L.I.: R.R. Madden Papers, MS

8403(3)).

⁹⁶ Extract from "Report of Sir Henry John Brownrigg, C.B., Inspector-general of constabulary, for the year 1859" (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).

⁹⁷ 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 14; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp. 64, 75, 118, 128.

⁹⁸ See above, p.246.

⁹⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 305; Harding, Plea for Reform, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 14; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp. 9, 42, 75, 105, 118.

¹⁰¹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 168.

¹⁰² Letter from "Longford Sub" in Freeman's Journal (Oct. 7, 1880).

¹⁰³ Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, p. 24 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160).

¹⁰⁴ Data from (Royal)Irish Constabulary officers' register 1817-1919, volume i (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45).

¹⁰⁵ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 247; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 183.

¹⁰⁶ "An Act to amend the laws relating to the Royal Irish Constabulary" (37 & 38 Vic., c. 80).

¹⁰⁷ Data from (Royal)Irish Constabulary officers' register 1817-1919, volumes i-ii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-46).

¹⁰⁸ Constabulary circular (Jan. 17, 1895) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 152; Green In the R.I.C., p. 14; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 198.

¹¹⁰ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 218; Constabulary circular (Feb. 7, 1873) ((P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/115); Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, p. 32; Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, p. 66 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160); 1913 R.I.C. Financial Department, p. 76.

¹¹¹ "An Act for the better regulation of the constabulary force in Ireland" (2 & 3 Vic., c 75); 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 5.

¹¹² 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.151; Rules and Regulations for the Control and Management of the Financial Department of the Constabulary Force of Ireland (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1860, revised ed.), pp. 80-81; 1866 Constabulary Report, p. 8.

¹¹³ "An Act to amend an Act to consolidate the laws relating to the constabulary force in Ireland" (29 & 30 Vic., c. 103); 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Freeman's Journal (June 2, 1877); John Croker, The Croker Inquiry: Miscarriage of Justice Exposed (Dublin: privately printed, 1877), p. 8.

¹¹⁵ G. Arbuthnot (Treasury official), to Irish Constabulary Receiver (Mar, 11, 1862)(S.P.O.: C.C. Sol. Papers, 1862/52).

¹¹⁶ Constabulary circular (Feb. 10, 1864)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/113). This circular contains the cited extract of a letter from "One of the aggrieved."

¹¹⁷ (S.P.O.: C.C. Sol. Papers, 1867/114).

¹¹⁸ Constabulary circular (undated, Apr. 1867) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114). Extant officers' bonds in the State Paper Office show that they often persuaded relatives to pledge security for the honest performance of their financial duties - (S.P.O.: C.C. Sol. Papers. 1867/318, 1878/323).

¹¹⁹ 1860 Constabulary Financial Dept., passim.

¹²⁰ (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register 1817-1919, volume i (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45).

¹²¹ Ibid.; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 61.

¹²² Freeman's Journal (July 22, 25, 28, 1873); V.T.H. Delaney, Christopher Palles: Lord Chief Baron of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland 1874-1916: his Life and Times (Dublin: Allan Figgis, 1960), pp. 75-78.

¹²³ Constabulary circular (Sept. 12, 1882)(N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Report, p. 20.

¹²⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 5; data from list of

- county inspectors in Royal Irish Constabulary List (July 1879), p. 9.
- ¹²⁵ E.G. Jenkinson to Sir Redvers Buller (Nov. 27, 1886) (P.R.O. (Kew): WO 184/4A).
- ¹²⁶ Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, p. 36.
- ¹²⁷ "An Act to regulate the superannuation allowances of the constabulary force in Ireland and the Dublin Metropolitan Police" (10 & 11 Vic., c. 100).
- ¹²⁸ "An Act to amend the laws relating to the Royal Irish Constabulary" (37 & 38 Vic., c. 80).
- ¹²⁹ "An Act to amend the Acts regulating the pay of certain officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary force, and for other purposes connected therewith" (45 & 46 Vic., c. 63).
- ¹³⁰ Broeker, Rural Disorder, passim; Oliver MacDonagh, Early Victorian Government 1830-1870 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1977), p. 192.
- ¹³¹ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p. 45.
- ¹³² Curtis, History of R.I.C., p. 55.
- ¹³³ Constabulary List, 1840 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1840), pp. 42-43.
- ¹³⁴ J.H. Burke, Irish Office, to Sir Thomas Larcom (Aug. 16, 1860) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7618); 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 97; Leatham, Sketch of R.I.C., p. 8; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 232.
- ¹³⁵ (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).
- ¹³⁶ Return of the Number of Sub-inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Specifying Those who have been Stationed over 10 Years in any one County or District, and in all Cases Where the Period has Exceeded the Term of 20 Years, Stating the Grounds of Departure From the General Practice; and, Average Number of Years that Sub-inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary have been Stationed in the Same County or the Same Station, H.C. 1884 (28) lxiv 329.
- ¹³⁷ Harding, Plea for Reform, p. 38.
- ¹³⁸ Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, pp. 28-29.
- ¹³⁹ Vere T.R. Gregory, The House of Gregory (Dublin:

Browne and Nolan, 1943), pp. 151-52.

¹⁴⁰ Crane, . Memories of R.M., pp. 19, 23, 35-36, 40-43, 46, 49, 74, 109, 134-35, 137, 139, 142.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 108-11.

¹⁴² Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, pp. 67, 69 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160).

¹⁴³ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., pp. 86-87.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 97, 99.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 111, 119, 124, 127.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 111, 119, 124, 127.

¹⁴⁷ Memoirs of District Inspector John M. Regan, p. 35 (P.R.O.N.I.: D.3160).

¹⁴⁸ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p. 63.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE IRISH POLICE FORCES, 1836-1914

One of the important topics peculiar to Irish police history is that of confessional rivalry in the various forces. Before the reform of the County Constabulary in 1836, it was perceived by most peasants as a sectarian force. Alexis de Tocqueville was struck by the bitter feelings evident between people and police in many parts of the country in 1835.(1) Galen Broeker points out that the attitude of the police and peasantry towards each other before 1836 "can only be described as hatred."(2) This can partly be explained by the role of the constabulary in unpopular duties such as tithe collection, but another important factor in much of the country was clearly the disproportionate number of Protestants in the force.(3) In 1830 only Kerry had a police establishment comprised mainly of Catholic policemen, although even there 60% of the officers were Protestants. In one county, Down, there was not a single Catholic policeman in a force consisting of 136 men and officers. By 1832 Kilkenny, Tipperary and Galway, as

well as Kerry, had more Catholics than Protestants in their force, although the officers remained predominantly Protestant.(4) The admission of Ulster police officers in 1835 that many of their men were or had been Orangemen did not help to allay the belief that the County Constabulary was not free from sectarian bias.(5) Although the proportion of Catholics in the police was already slowly increasing in the early 1830s, it was Thomas Drummond, under-secretary for Ireland from 1835 to 1840, who made the force more acceptable in the eyes of the people. Following the re-organization of the County Constabulary as the Irish Constabulary in 1836, recruitment was strictly on a non-confessional basis, Catholics were actively encouraged to join and the membership of the force quickly became more representative of the population in general.(6)

The 1837 constabulary code went to some lengths to remove the taint of partiality from the new force. The sixth article of the code stipulated that "above all, both officers and men are to avoid, in every respect, the most remote appearance of partizanship, or the expression of sectarian or political opinions."(7) Recruits had to swear an oath that they were not members of secret societies, with the exception of the Freemasons, a move designed to keep out both Orange and Ribbon zealots. The duke of Leinster, who in 1836 was grand master of the Irish Freemasons, was influential in securing the exemption of his society from the ban. The

London Times commented that

This very ancient and harmless society may therefore pursue its puerile amusements without fear of exclusion from office. We believe that the society does some good, and we never heard of any harm, unless it be harm for aged and respectable gentlemen to strut about, as we sometimes see them, with white aprons over their trousers and bricklayers' trowels in their hands.(8)

To ensure freedom from local bias, a policeman was not allowed to serve in his native county or in counties where he had relations by marriage, or in districts where his relatives carried on business activities.(9) The constabulary authorities were careful when allocating men to stations that the religious affiliations of a county's force reflected as much as possible the religions of the county's civilian population. Two well-known observers in the 1840s noted that most policemen in Ulster were Protestants, while the majority in the rest of the country were Catholics.(10)

According to a later source, Sir Duncan McGregor, the inspector-general of the Irish Constabulary from 1838 to 1858, tried to accommodate the men in barracks in the proportion of two Catholics to two Protestants, or vice versa, to prevent the fears (or hopes) of the local population that the police were the creatures of one faction or another.(11) It is unlikely that it was practicable to follow such an exact proportion to the letter. The 1872 R.I.C. code simply stated that "The proportion between men of different religious persuasions at each station, is to be as nearly as possible the same as that which exists

throughout the whole force of the county."(12) This regulation still shows the anxiety of the authorities that the police should not be considered obnoxious by the local population on sectarian grounds. Although professing a neutrality in religious matters, the constabulary authorities stipulated that all men and officers, and their wives and children, should be regular attenders at "divine service." Each sub-inspector was to vouch in his monthly report for the attendance of himself and his men. The police were told that "Any man who is negligent of these his highest obligations cannot be regarded as trustworthy in other respects."(13) County inspectors were told that "no man ought, if it can be avoided . . . to be kept longer than twelve months at any post which is not within a reasonable distance of his place of worship."(14)

It is clear that the police authorities, in their efforts to blend their men in with the local population and in their encouragement to their subordinates to feel part of a neutral Christian rather than narrow sectarian organization, were determined to avoid some of the mistakes of the pre-1836 force. They were successful, to the extent that the post-1836 constabulary was generally accepted by the population to be non-partisan, although this was not necessarily considered to be an improvement by some Ulster people.(15) The proportion of Catholics in the new force was strikingly higher than in the old County Constabulary,

the rank and file were Catholics, a figure which increased steadily throughout the nineteenth century. By 1851 the Catholic proportion amongst the men was 64%, by 1861 it was almost 69%, in 1871 it was just over 70%, and by 1881 73% of the rank and file were Catholics. In 1914 almost 81% were Catholics. The Catholic proportion of the general population was 77.69% in 1861, 76.69% in 1871, 76.54% in 1881 and 73.86% in 1911. (16) Although Catholics predominated in the rank and file from the start, the higher non-commissioned officer ranks (from acting constable to head constable) continued to be held mainly by Protestants for some years. It was not until 1851 that most of the constable ranks were held by Catholics, with 866 out of 1721 positions; by 1863 Catholics predominated in the rank of second class head constable, with 152 out of 301 positions, and, by 1871, held most of the 67 first class posts. (17) In 1859, Sir Duncan McGregor explained that the discrepancy between the proportion of Catholics in the rank and file, and their attainment of a commensurate amount of non-commissioned officer positions, was a result of the long service of the 1836 head constables and constables, most of whom were Protestants, but that such discrepancy was bound to be done away with in the long term, as the numerically stronger Catholic sub-constables achieved long service and became entitled to fill the higher ranks. (18)

In the post-1836 constabulary, much was made of the

fact that the policemen of various denominations were remarkably free from sectarian bias in their dealings with each other. Inspector-general Brownrigg stated in 1863 that "there is an absence in the force of any manifestation of sectarianism - Protestant and Catholic alike discharging duties at the same station, with, so far as I can learn, entire harmony amongst themselves." (19) Visitors to Ireland often echoed this view, both as regards the Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police. (20) Such claims appear an accurate enough appraisal of the behaviour of the men towards each other. There are some examples of ill-feeling based on religious grounds, but these are so rare that they scarcely serve as qualifications to Brownrigg's general claim. Often these exceptions to the rule involved drink. On February 11, 1853, two Co. Clare sub-constables were dismissed for "improper manifestation of sectarian feeling on the public road, and being under the influence of liquor"; three days later a Co. Meath sub-constable was removed from the force for "grossly insulting another sub-constable on account of his religion," while on the 19th of the same month a Co. Cavan sub-constable was dismissed for "threatening and assaulting a comrade from sectarian feelings." In June 1860, a Queen's County sub-constable was dismissed for drunkenness and "using offensive party expressions." (21) In July 1871, two Limerick policemen were dismissed over a dispute "relative to the merits of their

respective prayer books."(22)

An incident which occurred in Dundrum, Co. Tipperary, in December 1863 best illustrates the sensitivity with which the constabulary authorities treated potentially divisive sectarian issues in their force. In that month Constable Wiggins, a Protestant who was married to a Catholic, lay dangerously ill of dropsy and apoplexy (he died in January 1864). Wiggins declared on his death-bed his wish to become a Catholic and to be buried with his two daughters in Kilpatrick. Sub-inspector Bryce refused a Catholic clergyman admittance to his room, feeling that Wiggins was not in his right mind due to his illness, although his wife and the local doctor insisted that he was. Constable Wiggins had six children, four boys and two girls; the former were baptized as both Protestants and Catholics but were reared as Protestants, while the latter had been reared and died as Catholics, hence the constable's desire to change his religion in order to be buried with them. At his previous station, Newpark, Wiggins had stopped sending his sons to Protestant services or to the local National School, because of a dispute with the Cashel minister who gave religious instruction there, and this had caused his transfer to Dundrum. The minister at Dundrum felt that Wiggins had been "tampered" with on his death-bed either by his wife or his brother-in-law, and insisted that his sons be entrusted to the care of the Protestant Orphan Society rather than to

their Catholic mother.

On the night of December 9, 1863, a number of civilians went into the barracks and one of the Catholic policemen at the station, Sub-constable Peel, helped Fr Corcoran, the local Catholic clergyman, into the dying man's room, despite the efforts of the sub-inspector to prevent the priest from going upstairs. Peel threatened to "knock the head off" anybody who laid hands on the priest, and locked himself and Fr. Corcoran in Constable Wiggins' room until they could ascertain his intentions as to his conversion. Head Constable Ransome, a Catholic married to a Protestant, eventually removed the two from the room on his sub-inspector's orders. Once the officer was convinced that the dying man was in earnest about changing his religion he allowed Fr. Corcoran free access to his room, but the incident did not close there. All but one of the Protestant policemen refused thereafter to speak to Mrs. Wiggins, holding her responsible for the row over her dying husband, and Sub-constable Peel was dismissed for his insubordinate conduct. Fr. Corcoran complained to the authorities about Sub-inspector Bryce's conduct in the affair, and the lord lieutenant, while considering that he had not acted from "any perverse or improper motive" in originally excluding the priest, nevertheless felt that he was "deserving of some censure" and ordered that he be reprimanded, and removed from Dundrum to another station.(23) Fifty years later the

Dunshaughlin R.I.C. station party was transferred to other areas, following allegations by a Catholic sergeant there that men of his religion were not allowed full facilities for attending Mass on Sundays and holy days by their head constable. (24)

Despite the paucity of instances of open sectarian feeling in the constabulary, periodic discontent arising from perceived religious discrimination is one of the minor threads one picks up from a study of Irish police history. Their protestations of neutrality notwithstanding, the police authorities were at times partly responsible for such feelings of discontent. At the height of the Repeal agitation in September 1843, when Chief Secretary Eliot complained to the home secretary, Sir James Graham, that the lord lieutenant had failed to appoint a Catholic police officer over the past 12 or 14 appointments, Graham replied to him that it was necessary to combat the "pernicious influence" of doubtful officers, "especially at the present moment, when the arts and power of the Roman Catholic priesthood are exerted to shake the fidelity of the armed forces in Ireland, and in particular of the constabulary." (25) Lord de Grey later denied to Graham that Catholic officers had ever given grounds for alarm, and claimed that "some of the most valuable and trustworthy [officers], and those who stand in the highest confidence of the inspector-general, are Roman Catholics." But he added:

As regards the men there is a difference. We know that some of them have been tampered with; and though I as lord lieutenant have nothing to do with the enrollment of recruits, I know that Colonel Macgregor did not feel it safe to increase the number of Catholics.(26)

A year later the home secretary admitted to the Duke of Wellington that the constabulary

notwithstanding its military organization and military discipline . . . are not held to be entirely trustworthy, on account of the large proportion of Roman Catholics, and the influence which daily intercourse with a disaffected population cannot fail to exercise, in a religious struggle, on members of the same communion.(27)

Given these attitudes, it is hardly surprising that from 1841 to 1847, by which time it was clear that the Repeal campaign was on the wane, only 25 out of 85 officers appointed below the rank of county inspector were Catholics, and four of these were to the "safe" position of paymaster. Nine of the 25 were appointed during 1847, a "safe" year as far as Repeal was concerned. In contrast, there were no Catholic officer appointments in 1842, and only one in 1843.(28)

The under-representation of Catholics in the officer ranks often gave rise to whispers of discontent, especially at times when there was already widespread feelings of anger over poor pay, inadequate compensation for expenses incurred on detachment duty, or poor promotion prospects. In the 1850s none of the officers above the rank of county inspector were Catholics. In 1850 only three out of 35 county inspectors were Catholics, and none of these were of the first class. In 1854 there were no Catholic county inspectors, and for the rest of the period from 1852 to 1858

there was only one Catholic county inspector, who was never of the first class.(29) In the same decade Catholics only held between 23% and 26% of sub-inspectorships.(30) An examination of the religious affiliation of sub or district inspectors appointed from 1850 onwards (see appendix xxv) shows that until the late 1880s promotions from the rank of head constable were more or less shared evenly between Protestants and Catholics, although a disproportionate number of the former were promoted, when one considers that by the late 1880s Protestant head constables were outnumbered by Catholics by almost two to one. Catholics were much less likely to be appointed as cadet officers. In the 1850s and 1860s around one fifth, and in the 1870s and 1880s only around one tenth of cadetships went to Catholics. By 1892 their share of county inspectorships had risen to five out of 38, but in that year Catholics held only 18% of district inspectorships.(31) Chief Secretary Morley admitted in May 1894 that the small number of Catholic R.I.C. officers represented a large problem for the government, but believed that the unsatisfactory situation was likely to remain "until the Catholics have better educational chances."(32) However the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth saw a considerable increase in the number of Catholics appointed to district inspectorships. This was not accounted for by a dramatic improvement in the Catholic educational system, but rather by the government's decision

in 1895 to give half of the district inspector vacancies to promoted head constables, most of whom were Catholics. In the 14 years before World War I almost two thirds of promoted head constables were Catholics, as were just over one third of the cadet officers. For the first time, as many Catholic as Protestant district inspectors were appointed; by 1914 Catholics held 45% of district inspectorships, and four out of 37 county inspectorships.(33)

The question of the denominational breakdown of officers was of interest to the men, which is not surprising, given the importance of Irish religious divisions. The 1872 R.I.C. committee of enquiry was told by one policeman that the fact that most officers were Protestants meant that Catholic officers went out of their way to be stricter on their co-religionists: "considering the number of officers at headquarters who are Protestants, the Roman Catholic officers are afraid to do their duty to their own co-religionists. To show their impartiality they really become partial."(34) Another sub-constable claimed that most of the men wanted their superior officers to be "half and half of the same religion, as it would cause them to have more confidence in the decisions they give in cases."(35) Concerns about the imbalance between a mainly Catholic rank and file and mainly Protestant officer group were expressed more frequently in the early 1880s. These were often combined with allegations about the influence of Freemasonry

in the force. For example, a policeman named O'Hara, serving in Co. Armagh, told the 1882 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. that

Freemasonry in the service is causing universal dissatisfaction. The Catholic portion of the service is prohibited by the head of their church from joining the craft, and they believe that the officers, who are nearly all Freemasons, do everything in their power to get a sub-constable who is a Mason either promoted or transferred to a favourite station.(36)

A constable serving in Derry told the committee that "It is the feeling of a great many, whether rightly or wrongly, if a young man is promoted, and he happens to be a Freemason, to attribute his promotion to that fact."(37)

The theme was also taken up in anonymous letters to the newspapers, which were almost certainly written by policemen who were afraid of being punished. For instance, "Justice" complained in May 1880 that "The officers of the force, who are almost all Protestants and Freemasons . . . recognise only the claims and consider the interests of those who are of their own creed or who are brother Masons."(38) "A Wexford sub" wrote that the higher ranks were "nearly monopolized by the favoured creed," and alleged that while a Catholic policeman "will consider himself lucky if he aspires to the rank of constable, his Protestant comrade will not be satisfied with anything less than head constable or sub inspectorship." The allegations of the letter writers were echoed by a Presbyterian sub-constable serving in Roscommon in 1882, who claimed that promotions in the force

were due to "sectarianism, favouritism, and flunkeyism." He added that sectarian influence "does not go all the one way," implying that it worked to the advantage of Catholics as well, but concluded that "as a rule, the Protestants get far better advantages that way than the others." (40) The county inspector for Cork, West Riding, admitted that such beliefs were general throughout the force, whatever the grounds for their validity. (41)

It is impossible to prove that sectarian influences materially affected a man's career in the R.I.C. It can be shown that for almost every year from 1841 to 1914 Catholics were more likely to be punished by dismissals, fines or disratings than were their Protestant fellow policemen, but it would be unwise to claim that discrimination accounts for this fact. Most of the lesser ranks were filled by Catholics in this period, and it was notoriously the younger, less experienced sub-constable who was most likely to be guilty of breaches of discipline. (42) The change of sectarianism seems to have more substance when one examines the workings of the Belfast Borough Police, or "Bulokies," who were responsible for the policing of the northern city until their abolition and replacement by the Irish Constabulary in September 1865. The borough force was appointed by Belfast town council, practically all of whose members were Protestants and who rarely looked beyond their co-religionists when recruiting for the police. A Catholic

solicitor stated in 1854 that "The council were humbugged in the appointment of these officers in a way that was not very creditable to the town; and their constables did not possess the confidence of the forty thousand Roman Catholics of the town."(43)

Only five of the 160 men in the force in 1864 were Catholics, and all of the officers - two chief constables, 12 inspectors and four acting inspectors - were Protestants.(44) The chairman of the Belfast police committee, responsible for hiring Belfast's policemen, unconvincingly tried to explain this state of affairs by asserting that Protestants in counties Down and Antrim, the main source of recruits, were "generally stronger than the lower classes of the Roman Catholics," and therefore were more suitable as recruits. The committee did not cast its net very widely when looking for new policemen: five of its force were natives of Ballinderry, eight came from Drumbo, nine from Derriaghey, 17 from Magheragall and 23 came from Glenavey, "an Orange walking district."(45) Interestingly, one recruit who joined the force in the 1850s, named Pope, was a Presbyterian convert from Catholicism who had left the Irish Constabulary because "he could not get peace from the Roman Catholic sergeant who was over him." He managed to get a transfer to Newcastle away from the bothersome sergeant, but "they treated him worse there, and called him a 'Souper'." His application to join the Belfast force caused

some "jocularly" to the Police Committee on account of his name, but he was accepted as he was "a good Presbyterian" and had "left the Papists." (46) The Belfast Borough Police was abolished in 1865 because it was believed, following the riots of 1857 and 1864, to be hostile to the Catholic portion of the population. (47)

In the late 1850s, at the same time that the Belfast Borough Police was coming under the close scrutiny of Dublin Castle, the Dublin Metropolitan Police was also being subjected to the same treatment, and for a similar reason: allegations that it was an intrinsically sectarian force. In fact, during 1858 the Irish executive made a determined bid in parliament to abolish the D.M.P. and have Dublin city and its suburbs policed by what it perceived as the less partizan Irish Constabulary. At first glance it seems surprising that allegations of sectarianism should have been raised against the D.M.P. The Dublin force was modeled closely on the London Metropolitan Police, so much so that it even used the same type of books for registering recruits. These had no column for a candidate's religion, so the question never arose. (48) When quizzed in 1839 as to the denominational make-up of his force, one of the two D.M.P. chief commissioners, the Catholic John Lewis O'Ferrall, stated that "It is very hard to state that accurately; we apprehend there are from 300 to 400 Protestants, and from 600 to 700 Roman Catholics," but it was not possible to be more

exact than that.(49) The other chief commissioner, the Protestant George Browne, claimed that the men of different religions got along quite well together: "I never knew religious dissension among them; in fact the duties of our police are so severe that they have scarcely any time to think about those things," and added that "I am sure any man of the force would arrest the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury if directed, they are so perfectly free from political bias."(50) The first precise data we have of the number of policemen of different religious persuasions date from February 1857, as a result of a private enquiry ordered by the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle. This ascertained that out of a total force of 1092 officers and men there were 135 Protestants (12.36%) and 957 Catholics (87.64%). These numbers had changed slightly by December 12, 1857, at which date there were 152 Protestants and 911 Catholics in the force. Protestants made up slightly more than 12% of the D.M.P. rank and file, but held 21% of the officer ranks.(51) This over-representation of Protestant officers was partly a consequence of the early recruitment of the force, when selected men were brought in from the London Metropolitan Police to give the fledgling force a backbone of experienced officers: most of those sent over to Dublin by the London commissioners happened to be Protestants.(52)

Despite what appears to have been a rather favourable

position for Protestants in the D.M.P., there were numerous claims that the Dublin force was permeated with an anti-Protestant bias. Such claims came from both inside and outside the force. The first indication of the existence of such feeling which this writer found involved the inveterate anti-Papist preacher, the Reverend "Thresham" Gregg. Following an incident in June 1840, in which an enraged crowd in Little Britain Street attacked the car on which he was travelling, the minister falsely claimed that the "Popish police" failed to intervene in his protection (in fact a C division sergeant was hit on the head with a brickbat and a broken bottle while keeping the crowd at bay, who were angry at "Thresham" for having forcibly removed a Protestant convert to Catholicism from the George's Hill convent, and insulting the nuns there). Although the minister's accusations were rather unfair to the D.M.P., he was an influential figure among Dublin Protestantism, and his claims that his co-religionists had "fallen upon evil times" because of the unwillingness of the police to protect Protestants struck a responsive chord in some quarters. (53)

Signs of Protestant antipathy towards the mainly Catholic D.M.P. were more frequent in the 1850s. In July 1851 a drunken coppersmith from Kevin Street was arrested after emerging from a public house in Golden Lane and shouting out "to Hell with the pope and popery and the bloody papist police - I will have £5 a head for shooting them

shortly."(54) Feelings of hostility towards the police by a section of Dublin's Protestants were probably intensified as a result of a series of incidents on the day of the arrival of a new lord lieutenant, the Earl of Eglinton, on March 10, 1852. As the lord lieutenant's procession was passing Trinity College, one of the students tied a large orange handkerchief bearing a representation of King William to a lamp post at the college gates. This led to "great excitement among the population in the street," so Constable 159D removed the offending object. His action merely heightened the excitement and led to a three-way affray between police, a "large body of students" and the bystanders, as a result of which four students were arrested for assault and obstruction and fined on the same day by magistrates. On the offenders' release a large crowd of students marched around King William's statue at College Green, again to the annoyance of a crowd of on-lookers, but were dispersed by a detachment of the B division police under Inspector Walpole.

Later that night, almost 200 students attempted to march around the statue again, but were stopped by a party of around 40 police, and some arrests were made. Other prisoners were taken when more students came out of the college and attempted to rescue those who had been arrested. Later still an even larger gathering of students tried to march around the statue, and came into collision with the

police. The Freeman's Journal stated that "Several of the students were provided with sticks, which they freely used," and more than 20 were lodged in College Street station as a result of the night's proceedings.(55) Resentment over the conduct of the police undoubtedly festered with some of the student body. In May 1854, when two Trinity students who were "roaring, shouting, and creating noise and disturbance" in French Street were threatened with arrest by Constable 83B if they did not go home quietly, they replied to him "of course you will bring us up before [Magistrate] Hugh O'Callaghan and trump up a popish story against us."(56)

These undercurrents of hostility towards a police force considered by many Protestants to be excessively composed of Catholics became more open later in the 1850s. Sometime around November 1856 the Jesuits of Gardiner Street chapel, aware that Catholic policemen often had difficulties in regular attendance at church due to their hours of duty, began to invite Catholic D.M.P. men to attend at their chapel "at hours most convenient to the police, however inconvenient to the clergy."(57) Many of the D.M.P. took up the Jesuits' offer, prompting the Daily Express, the leading Conservative journal in Ireland, to print the following in November 1857:

It is a startling fact, to which we have often thought of directing the attention of the public, that considerable detachments of the metropolitan force have been in the habit of attending the establishment of the Jesuits in Gardiner Street in this city. They have been observed going there in groups, in their uniform, regularly, so early as five o'clock in the morning - for what purpose it is not difficult to conjecture . . . They

cannot need the spiritual guidance of a foreign society, so notoriously hostile to the state, and so justly obnoxious to the great body of the Protestants of the country. To say the least, it is an extremely suspicious circumstance that the body which is armed and paid to preserve the peace - our "National Guard" we may call it - should be placed to any extent under the spiritual 'direction' of a society which, above all others in the church of Rome, is sworn to labour for the subversion of every Protestant state in the world, and of England above all. (58)

Bearing in mind the recent Sepoy mutiny in India, the newspaper went on to ask: "Who knows in what hour of England's peril a Nana Sahib, who has been smiling blandly among the most obsequious in the gay circle of the viceregal court, may suddenly stand unmasked as the perfidious and cruel chief of the revolted constabulary of Ireland?" (59)

The attendance of many D.M.P. men at the Gardiner Street church, and their alleged sympathy with the mob during the "Souper riots" early in 1857, heightened the conviction of many Protestants that the Dublin force was a sectarian body. Tensions were high in the Coombe area early in 1857 over the activities of the St. Peter's Protestant Schools, known as "Souper" or proselytizing schools by local Catholics. Many individuals were arrested for insulting converts by calling them "Souper" in the streets. On March 30 some scripture readers were attacked by a crowd in the Coombe, causing the school management to complain that Sergeant Barnes and seven constables stationed at Newmarket did not assert themselves sufficiently to prevent the assaults. An investigation at the Lower Castle Yard by the

chief commissioners, however, failed to substantiate the charges. They were nevertheless believed accurate by many Dublin Protestants. The attack on the scripture readers followed the activities of a pupil of Coombe "Souper" school. He had received communion at the churches of Francis Street and High Street, and instead of swallowing the Hosts had placed them in his handkerchief. During the next week he displayed them to his friends, as well as to a "Bible meeting" at Stephens Green, until Fr McCabe eventually managed to retrieve the Hosts. Not surprisingly sectarian feeling in the area ran high, and according to the Freeman's Journal, "it requires nearly all the time, influence and persuasion of the clergy of the parish to prevent the people taking the law and vengeance into their own hands."

The final incident in this volatile situation occurred in May 1857. After Mass on May 12, a lunatic named Redmond created a disturbance in the Catholic church in Francis Street and the congregation, mistaking him for a "souper," savagely beat him up, and the police had great difficulty in conveying him to Kevin Street barrack against the opposition of a hostile mob from the surrounding area. Rumours spread in the locality that "a priest had been murdered at the altar" and a man named Madine, who was unfortunate enough to be passing through the area, was accused by a woman of being a "Souper" and severely assaulted by the crowd. They also broke the windows of the New Row and New Street Protestant

schools, and of St. Bride's Church, and engaged in several skirmishes with the police. On the next day 300 police were engaged to protect a meeting of school members in the Coombe from the hostile attentions of a crowd of more than 2000 people. Despite the fact that several policemen were injured in clashes with Catholic mobs during these "Souper riots," the Daily Express later claimed that the D.M.P. had failed to intervene to protect Protestants, and had even "strongly sympathized with the law-breakers, conniving at their crimes, and laughing at the injuries they inflicted upon their neighbours." (60)

It is no coincidence that George Browne, the Protestant chief commissioner of the D.M.P., made a series of allegations in 1857 about discrimination against Protestants in the force he jointly commanded with John Lewis O'Ferrall. Browne claimed that "the great evil of the force arises from the thorough conviction of the Protestants in it that they have not fair play." He and the Protestant D.M.P. members believed that "slight offences would be reported by Catholic officers, if committed by Protestants, when the same offences would not be reported if committed by Roman Catholics." Citing the example of a Protestant acting inspector whom a Catholic sergeant spotted coming out of a brothel, he stated "it is his belief and that of all the Protestants in the service, that if the acting inspector had been a Catholic, he would not have been reported." Chief Commissioner Browne

also complained about the attendance of many D.M.P. men at the Jesuit chapel in Gardiner Street, and claimed to have met some men who were going there in such a hurry that he thought a fire had broken out somewhere. It struck Browne as suspicious that Catholic D.M.P. men had contributed £130 to £140 for a chandelier at the church, stating vaguely that "certainly great pressure must have been used somewhere to induce the men to contribute so largely to Gardiner Street." Another suspicious fact was that the Jesuits kept books stamped "Dublin Police" for the use of D.M.P. men, and he stated that "these things cause great distrust and dissatisfaction amongst the Protestants of the force, who are under the impression that members of the Gardiner Street congregation have a much better chance of escaping reports than themselves." Chief Commissioner O'Ferrall offered a detailed refutation of Browne's general statements about the unfair treatment of the D.M.P.'s Protestant policemen, which was accepted by Chief Secretary Herbert, but the issue of a sectarian bias in the D.M.P. was to be raised in March 1858, and Browne's allegations were to be used by the attorney-general as a justification for the attempted abolition of the force. (61)

The immediate spark to the controversy was another clash between the Dublin police and the students of Trinity College. On March 12, 1858, on the occasion of the entry of the lord lieutenant to Dublin Castle, a group of Trinity

students engaged in a relatively harmless display of making noise, and throwing oranges and "squibs," which frightened the horses of the mounted police but amused the crowd of spectators at College Green. Following one incident in which Chief Commissioner Browne was struck by an orange, he ordered the police to disperse the students, which they did with some brutality, including a charge by sabre-wielding mounted policemen. Many of the students were hurt as a result of the police charge. (62) Three days later the lord lieutenant was informed that the Trinity students were convinced that the men of the B division of police "bear a decided hostility to them, their principles and religion," and that "if they do not go prepared to meet any attack that may be made on them (similar to the late one) either their lives may be endangered or their persons seriously injured." (63) According to Under-secretary Thomas Larcom, it was the Trinity College fracas which convinced Lord Naas of the need to amalgamate the D.M.P. with the Irish Constabulary. (64)

When Lord Naas introduced his Bill for this purpose on June 15, 1858, most of his speech concentrated on the alleged benefits of an amalgamation of the two largest Irish police forces. However, in one minor passage of his speech he introduced a controversial religious element which was to prove fatal to the success of his Bill:

Both the Belfast and Dublin police forces were open to the objection of containing an undue proportion of men of the same religion, which was particularly objectionable in a country like Ireland, where the

population was divided between two religions, because it gave a sectarian character to the force, which it was most desirable to avoid.(65)

On July 8 he went further, by stating that "the Dublin force is to a great extent - to an extent which I think improper - Roman Catholic."(66) Such statements by the effective head of the administration in Ireland robbed the issue of amalgamation of whatever merits it may have possessed, and the issue became a straightforward confessional one. J. Lambert, a member of Dublin corporation, claimed on July 1, 1858 that if the Bill were defeated "The Protestant party in Dublin may for ever hold down their heads. Mr. Commissioner O'Ferrall and the Jesuit Fathers of Gardiner St[reet] and the Dublin police may be called our governors."(67) A song entitled "The Popish Police" was sung in some Protestant circles, one verse of which amply illustrates its theme:

Nay, his number, six hundred and sixty and six!
 Good Heavens! When will warnings and prodigies cease?
 In bright letters of brass, we have all seen it pass,
 On the collar of one of the Popish Police.(68)

Catholic opponents of the Bill were scarcely less restrained. Alderman Reynolds, an erstwhile critic of the D.M.P., considered it bad grace to dredge up their past errors "when those men are on trial for their religion."(69) Most Dublin city councillors, and the Freeman's Journal, took the same view.(70) In the face of what the Freeman's Journal claimed was the opposition of nine tenths of the city of Dublin to the Bill, Disraeli withdrew the proposal as unworkable.(71)

With the failure of the Bill Lord Naas ordered Colonel

Henry Atwell Lake, who succeeded Browne as chief commissioner on his retirement in September 1858, on a recruiting mission especially designed to attract Protestant recruits. By the end of November 1858 some 40 Protestants were signed up, 37 of these coming from Ulster.(72) In 1859 Protestants comprised almost 31% of all D.M.P. recruits.(73) However, this was to be the year with the highest proportion of Protestant recruits. Throughout the 1870s Protestants made up approximately 13% of all newcomers to the D.M.P.; in the 1880s almost 21%, in the 1890s around 19%, and from 1900 to 1914 11% of recruits to the force were Protestants.(74) Are we to conclude from the low proportion of Protestants in the D.M.P., as Lord Naas did in July 1858, that Protestants did not join in greater numbers because they objected to joining a mainly Catholic body?(75) While this is one possible explanation, it appears to this writer to be an inadequate one: after all, such an objection could equally have been raised against the Irish Constabulary, but Protestants continued to join it in large numbers throughout our period. Until the early 1880s, service conditions in the D.M.P. were simply not attractive enough to entice many recruits from mainly Protestant Ulster. D.M.P. men were more likely to be assaulted than their Irish Constabulary counterparts, service in Dublin was ordinarily much tougher than in the towns and rural areas of Ireland, and complaints about inadequate pay were frequent from the 1850s onwards. An Ulster Protestant

(and Catholic) was more likely to join the constabulary than the D.M.P. In February 1857 Chief Commissioner Browne wrote that "The distance from the north of Ireland prevents the Dublin police from being joined by many from that part of the country; besides which the small farmers are in easier circumstances, and the young men eligible for the police in the north are enabled to emigrate." Until the early 1880s the D.M.P. was recruited overwhelmingly from the counties nearest to Dublin, from which recruits could join at minimal expense: most Catholic and Protestant recruits were Leinstermen.(76) Significantly it was only in 1883, when conditions of service in the D.M.P. were greatly improved by the legislature, that Ulster Protestants outnumbered Protestant recruits from the rest of the country. This continued for most of the years until the turn of the century, when the benefits of D.M.P. membership were becoming less attractive, and the numbers of Ulster Protestant (and Catholic) recruits fell dramatically.(77)

As stated earlier, it was usually in times when there was widespread discontent about pay and general service conditions that claims about religious discrimination in the police forces came to the fore. Policemen were often inclined to blame what they considered their unhappy lot on the sinister machinations of unseen forces. This was certainly the case with the anonymous author of the pamphlet Promotion in the Royal Irish Constabulary (1906) who, the

internal evidence suggests, was almost certainly a Catholic policeman. He re-echoed the allegations of many R.I.C. men in the early 1880s as to the advantages enjoyed by Protestants and Freemasons when it came to promotion.(78) Police claims about the baneful influence of Freemasonry on their careers mirrored similar claims by the Catholic professional classes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and should be seen as an attempt by educated and ambitious men to explain why their "rising expectations" - to use a term current in Irish agrarian history - were not satisfactorily realized.(79) Suspicions about favouritism in the R.I.C. were especially intense in Belfast at the turn of the century. A commission appointed to examine the conditions of service in the Belfast R.I.C. force pointed out that due to the large numbers of men serving there - 1056 in 1906 - and the small number of sergeants, most of whom were slow to retire, competition for promotion was especially keen, and the promotion rate slower than in the rest of the country.(80) The force consisted of 561 Protestants (53.12%) and 495 Catholics (46.88), while the population of the city was 70.1% Protestant in 1901. Although the men disagreed, the commission could see no reasonable grounds for assuming a sectarian bias in the R.I.C. in Belfast. It pointed out that "both sides" complained that they should get more promotions. There was particular controversy over the allocation of the 26 station

sergeantships, with 18 being filled by Protestants and eight by Catholics.(81)

Regarding relations between the men, Head Constable William Cassidy told the commission, "I do say there is a little party feeling in the force in Belfast. There are some stations it does not exist in, but there are a great many [in which] it does."(82) Writing shortly after the Belfast police "mutiny" of 1907, the Belfast town commissioner stated that the three great difficulties for the maintenance of discipline in the city were the hours of duty which prevented officers from often seeing their men, the considerable number of police living together in large barracks, and "the sectarianism which prevails locally and which, after a time, is apt to affect men living amid such surroundings."(83) In his opinion the latter factor would continue "so long as sectarianism exists in Belfast," and suggested that the only remedy was "the prompt transfer to another part of Ireland of any man who gives evident proof of having been tainted with sectarianism" (regulations stated such a man should be dismissed), which surprising solution the inspector-general apparently endorsed.(84) Rivalry between Catholics and Protestants in the Belfast R.I.C. must have been fairly apparent at this time, because even a German observer of the British and Irish police systems noted in 1908 that only in Belfast did the men of various religious denominations keep a jealous eye on promotions.(85)

As we have already seen, the R.I.C. authorities greatly reduced the standards for recruits joining their force early in the twentieth century, especially the educational requirements, in an endeavour to compensate for falling numbers of applicants. Such lessening of standards may account for the reports of sectarian feelings amongst some of the Belfast men. One policeman told the 1914 R.I.C. committee of enquiry that the recruits, especially those from Ulster, were of a rather poor stamp in recent years:

They are themselves, and so are their fathers, brothers, and relations, either rabid Orangemen, or low-classed Ribbonmen; call them Molly Maguires, or whatever you wish, the terrible fact that they are totally unfit to be admitted to the service remains unaltered. In some barracks in Antrim and Derry the most melancholy exhibition of sectarian bitterness prevails, and the promoters and participators in this unseemly conduct are the men admitted in recent years to the ranks of the service. The sergeant's influence to restrain them seems in many cases unavailing. If he threatens to report one of these characters for such unseemly conduct, his own position is made intolerable. The theory that he is a tyrannical bully is disseminated broadcast, and the associates of his subordinates plan, and sometimes succeed in effecting his ruin, so that he, very often, considering his own prospects, deems it wiser to permit irregularities inside than come into conflict with violent partizan leaders outside. With the present unsettled political state of the northern counties, the danger arising from the admission to and retention in the service of such men is pre-eminently manifest. They are a danger to the peace of the locality and a menace to their older comrades, whose efforts to maintain peace, order and tranquility, fellowship and good feeling among all classes of the general public, they very often frustrate. It is, sir, absolutely impossible, utterly opposed to the dictates of reason and experience, to expect an ignorant man, brought up in an unhealthy and immoral atmosphere, trained from infancy to the tune of 'To Hell with King William' or 'God perish the Pope,' a few months only having elapsed since he threw off the Ribbonman's sash, or laid down the Orange drum, to discharge, in times of political excitement or sectarian

bitterness, his duty without fear, favour or affection, malice or ill-will. I am fully acquainted with a man of this class, who, on the occasion of a party demonstration last year, almost cried, because, by being placed on duty as barrack orderly, he was, as he himself declared, deprived for the first time of marching with the procession.(86)

The members of the committee of enquiry expressed their "regret" that the policeman should have raised such a topic, but his evidence does tie in with the earlier evidence from Belfast. It was not the first time, nor was it to be the last, that an Irish police force was confronted with allegations of sectarianism within its ranks.

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER V

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, Journeys to England and Ireland, ed. J.P. Mayer (London: Faber, 1957), pp 151, 185, 191n.

² Broeker, Rural Disorder, p. 193.

³ For the tithe-collecting role of the County Constabulary, see Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 265-66, 321-24.

⁴ A Return of the Constabulary Police in Ireland, During Each of the Last Three Years . . . and, Also, a Return of the Number of Roman Catholics, in Each County, Distinguishing Those Who Have Been Appointed or Promoted, During the Same Periods, H.C. 1833 (379) xxxii 415.

⁵ Report From the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire Into the Nature, Character, Extent and Tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland: With the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix, H.C. 1835 (377) xv 1, p. 337; Third Report From the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire Into the Nature, Character, Extent and Tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland; With the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, H.C. 1835 (476) xvi 1, pp. 142-43.

⁶ R. Barry O'Brien, Thomas Drummond, Under-secretary in Ireland 1835-40: Life and Letters (London: Kegan Paul and Trench, 1889), p. 350; Gearoid O Tuathaigh, Ireland Before the Famine, 1798-1848 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), p. 93; Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 345, 347-48, 362.

⁷ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 6.

⁸ Times (May 7, 1836).

⁹ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p. 30.

¹⁰ Samuel Carter and Anna Maria Hall, Ireland, its Scenery and Character etc. (London: Hall, Virtue & Co., 1841-43, 3 vols.), iii, pp 422n, 423n.

¹¹ Samuel M. Hussey, The Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent (London: Duckworth, 1904), p. 128.

¹² 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p. 27.

¹³ Ibid., pp 141-42.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 27. The Dublin Metropolitan Police did not make it compulsory for its men to attend religious services. The closest it came to such a rule was in the 1879 instruction book, which states: "The police are as much as possible to be encouraged to attend divine service both by precept and example of the superior officers": (1870 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p. 132.

¹⁵ Resident Magistrate Goold of Antrim wrote to Chief Secretary Lord Naas on April 17, 1852, that the constabulary of that town, who were of mixed religions, were called "papist police" on account of their stopping illegal Orange marches: (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11019(7)). H. Stanley McClintock, M.P., Randalstown, claimed on April 18, 1852, to Naas, that whenever a vacancy occurred in the local police force, "the place is always filled up, by a papist - which will account for the opposite party feeling sore - as Antrim furnishes many recruits to the force - all Protestants of a very good class": (N.L.I. Mayo Papers, MS 11019(7)). In 1878 a prosperous farmer from Carnmoney was upset that "a popish vagabond of a policeman" caught his son poaching on a neighbour's land, obliging him to pay a fine of £2 10 shillings: Brian M. Walker (ed), Sentry Hill: an Ulster Farm and Family (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1983), p. 41.

¹⁶ (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54, pp 1, 10, 20, 30, 40, 73; Census of Ireland, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1911.

¹⁷ (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54, pp 10, 22 30.

¹⁸ Daily Express (Sept. 15, 1859) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).

¹⁹ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Report on the state of Ireland in the year 1863," p. 43 (N.L.I: MS 915).

²⁰ S.C. and A.M. Hall, Ireland, iii, p. 423n; Head, Fortnight, pp 46, 104, 106.

²¹ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

²² Times (July 29, 1871).

²³ Report, With Evidence and Documents, Received From the Magistrates Commissioned to Investigate Charges Preferred by the Rev. W. Corcoran, Against Sub-inspector Bryce, of the Police Station at Dundrum, in the County of Tipperary, H.C. 1864 (236) xlix 887; Letter of Complaint Relative to the Police Inquiry at Dundrum, From the Rev. W. Corcoran: Reply from Sub-inspector Bryce: Warrant, Dated 8th February 1864, Constituting Commission of Inquiry, and Decision of the Lord Lieutenant, H.C. 1864 (333) xlix 927.

²⁴ Freeman's Journal (Aug. 20, 1913).

²⁵ Charles Stuart Parker, Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, Second Baronet of Netherby, P.C., G.C.B., 1792-1861 (London: John Murray, 1907, 2 vols.), i, p. 365.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 367. Letter dated (Sept. 5, 1843). For a similar comment on the unreliability of Catholic policemen from the Longford county inspector, see Donal Kerr, "Peel and the political involvement of the priests" in Archivium Hibernicum vol. xxxvi (1981), p. 21.

²⁷ Parker, Sir James Graham, i, p. 412. Letter dated (Oct. 9, 1844).

²⁸ Irish Constabulary officers' register, volume 1 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45). Commenting on the fact that a Catholic named Slattery was appointed as chief constable in the early days of the Irish Constabulary despite being over the upper age limit, Gearoid O Tuathaigh claimed that the administration had a "policy of positive discrimination in favour of Catholics." The significance of Slattery's appointment, however, was not that he was a Catholic, but that he was a Catholic with "clout." His brother was a bishop. The sub-inspector for Carrick-on-Suir was another Catholic appointed on account of his influential relatives rather than his religion. He was the nephew of Archbishop Murray of Dublin: Nation (May 18, 1844); M.A.G. O Tuathaigh, Thomas Drummond and the Government of Ireland 1835-41 (n.p.: National University of Ireland, n.d.), p. 19.

²⁹ Number of Persons in Each Class Forming the Constabulary Force in Ireland; With their Pay and Emoluments; Also Number of Protestants and Roman Catholics in Each Class, &c, H.C. 1859 (134. Sess. 2) xix 683.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54); (Royal) Irish

Constabulary officers' register, volumes i-ii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-46).

³² (HO 184/45-46).

³³ Royal Irish Constabulary officers' register, volumes ii-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/46-47); Royal Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54, p. 73).

³⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p. 44.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 46.

³⁶ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 197.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 159. It is not possible to determine how many officers or R.I.C. men were Freemasons, although some of them certainly were. Ramsay Colles records that in the latter part of our period two constabulary officers rubbed shoulders in Dublin's largest Freemason lodge with army officers, barristers, clergymen, medical men, solicitors, engineers, architects, stockbrokers, bank officials and professors of music: Ramsay Colles, In Castle and Court House: Being Reminiscences of 30 Years in Ireland (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1911), p. 183.

³⁸ Freeman's Journal (May 5, 1880).

³⁹ Ibid, p. 358.

⁴⁰ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p. 216.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 358.

⁴² (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54).

⁴³ Freeman's Journal (July 19, 1854).

⁴⁴ Minutes of Evidence and Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, 1864, Respecting the Magisterial and Police Jurisdiction of the Borough of Belfast, H.C. 1865 3466-I xxviii 27, pp 359-60.

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp 121, 216, 359-60.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp 59, 208; Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Origin and Character of the Riots in Belfast in July and September 1857; Together With the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, H.C. 1857-58 (333) xlvii 781, p. 240.

⁴⁷ The local police force of Derry city, which was also almost entirely made up of Protestants, was abolished in 1870 following allegations of inefficiency and partisanship in the wake of the riots of 1869. It was replaced by the R.I.C. See Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, 1869, Into the Riots and Disturbances in the City of Londonderry. With Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, H.C. 1870 (c. 5) xxxii 411.

⁴⁸ Return of Income etc of D.M.P. 1856-58, p. 7.

⁴⁹ 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p. 399.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 434-35. D.M.P. recruits, like their Irish Constabulary counterparts, had to swear that they belonged to no secret society, with the exception of the Freemasons.

⁵¹ Return of Income etc of D.M.P. 1856-58, p. 7.

⁵² 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, pp 398, 419.

⁵³ Freeman's Journal (May 3,4, 1841).

⁵⁴ *Ibid* (July 22, 1851).

⁵⁵ *Ibid* (Mar. 11, 1852).

⁵⁶ *Ibid* (May 9, 1854).

⁵⁷ *Ibid* (Nov. 19, 1857).

⁵⁸ Daily Express (Nov. 14, 1857).

⁵⁹ *Ibid*. Such hysteria about the Jesuits in Ireland was clearly a reaction against the strong position of the church of the "devotional revolution." Significantly the Daily Express article also attacked the Redemptorists for attack: "The Redemptorist Fathers are another set of foreign friars, who seem to be aiming more at the moral reform of the Roman Catholics, but their mission is eminently calculated to strengthen the papacy in this country. They are all ultramontane in their doctrines; their preaching excites an intense animosity against Protestants."

⁶⁰ Freeman's Journal (Apr. 7, 1857) (May 6, 14, 15, 19, 21,, 1857); Daily Express (Oct. 14, 1857).

⁶¹ Collection of reports in Dec. 1857 and Jan. 1858 to Chief Secretary Herbert from Chief Commissioners Browne and O'Ferrall (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1858/11753); Hansard, 3rd series, vol. cli (July 16, 1858), col. 1608.

⁶² Freeman's Journal (Mar. 13, 1858).

- ⁶³ William Monk Gibbon, L.L.D., to Earl of Eglinton (Mar. 15, 1858) (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7621).
- ⁶⁴ See his account of the college riots in *ibid*.
- ⁶⁵ Hansard, 3rd series, vol cl (June 15, 1858), col. 2152.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid*, vol. cli (July 8, 1858), col. 1129.
- ⁶⁷ J. Lambert, to Lord Naas (July 1, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11023(23)).
- ⁶⁸ (N.L.I.: Larcom Papers, MS 7621).
- ⁶⁹ B.D. Brady to Lord Naas (July 8, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS. 11021(15)).
- ⁷⁰ Freeman's Journal (June 23, 29, 30, 1858) (July 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 1858).
- ⁷¹ *Ibid* (July 8, 20, 1858).
- ⁷² Atwell Lake to Lord Naas (Nov. 30, 1858) (N.L.I.: Mayo Papers, MS 11023(27)); D.M.P. general register 1837-1924 (Garda Museum).
- ⁷³ D.M.P. general register 1837-1924 (Garda Museum).
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁵ Hansard, 3rd series, vol. cli (July 8, 1858), col. 1130.
- ⁷⁶ Chief Commissioner Browne to under-secretary for Ireland (Feb. 5, 1857) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753); D.M.P. general register 1837-1924 (Garda Museum); 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p. 43.
- ⁷⁷ D.M.P. general register 1837-1924 (Garda Museum).
- ⁷⁸ "One who knows," Promotion in the Royal Irish Constabulary (Dublin: James Duffy, 1906).
- ⁷⁹ Terence de Vere White, "The Freemasons" in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), Secret Societies in Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973), pp 46-57; Kevin B. Nowlan, "Conclusion" in *ibid*, p. 184.

⁸⁰ Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Report. (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1907) (S.P.O.: Miscellaneous and Official Papers 1876-1922, parcel no. 6), pp 5-6.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 7; Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Appendix to Report of the Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, Appendices, and Index (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1907) (S.P.O.: Miscellaneous and Official Papers, 1877-1922, parcel no. 6); Census of Ireland 1901.

⁸² Belfast Police Commission, 1906, Evidence, p. 115.

⁸³ Inspector-general Chamberlain, "The recent indiscipline of certain members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast" (Sept. 14, 1907) (S.P.O.: C.S.O.R.P. 1908/20333).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p. 192.

⁸⁶ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 136-

CHAPTER VI.

ASPECTS OF IRISH POLICE DUTY.

In general terms, the duties of the Irish police in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be summed up as the prevention and detection of crime, including what would today be called "subversive crime," and the preservation of the peace. An observer commented in 1881 that "Everything in Ireland, from the muzzling of a dog to the suppression of a rebellion, is done by the Irish Constabulary." (1) The experiences of the police in performing their duties depended very much on the part of the country they were stationed in, whether they were in a specialized section of the service, and the time period one examines. One cannot discuss their lives as if all police concentrated on the same type of duty, or as if they were not strongly affected by regional or other influences. The general police experience in part of our period was often markedly different than in others.

For example, during the 1840s the Irish Constabulary performed duties and put up with hardships which were unparalleled in later years. The early part of the decade was marked by widespread hostility from tenant farmers to the

payment of poor rates. Frequently detachments of the constabulary had to escort collectors distraining for non-payment of rates in areas where violent resistance was expected. Inevitably violent clashes occurred between the populace and the police. For instance, in August 1843 a party of police aiding in the collection of poor rate at Kilchreest was "completely repulsed" after it met with local resistance. (2) In a much-publicized incident in November 1842, an escort consisting of 70 constabulary, which was protecting the poor rate collector at the townland of Creagh, about five miles from Skibbereen, was stoned by a crowd of 200 to 400 people. The police responded by firing on the crowd, killing one man outright and mortally wounding another. (3)

Not all confrontations between people and police ended in bloodshed. On one day in May 1844, a company of soldiers and 32 policemen in the district of Shruel, Co. Mayo, spent from four o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night in enforcing the payment of poor rates, but only managed to collect the paltry sum of £3 and ten shillings, "a part of which was paid by the police, who seeing the wretched condition of the poor people, collected among themselves, and in many instances paid the greater portion of the rate." (4) A sign of the intensity of the popular resistance to rate payment is the fact that the constabulary had to be employed as escort to the collectors in 21 poor law unions in 1842 and 1843, with combined police and military escorts considered

necessary in 11 of the unions.(5)

The onset of the Famine and the intensification of miserable conditions in much of the country heightened the opposition to poor rate payments. The men employed as escort on distraining expeditions witnessed many harrowing sights during this period. A Galway resident magistrate described one such gloomy expedition in February 1848, when a number of police became so ill from exposure to the snow that they had to return to their barrack. After the county cess collector seized cattle in a number of townlands, the magistrate recorded:

I was obliged to attend him through the mountains and bogs, frequently up to my knees in wet, to the pound of Kilkerrin - the nearest one - about sixteen miles further.....From the time the cattle were seized till we arrived at the pound - a distance of upwards of sixteen miles, we were surrounded by unhappy wretches, the owners of some of the cattle, each bewailing with the most pitiable cries the loss of her cow - and oh, Sir, it was a distressing sight to witness as I did on the occasion, the tears flowing down the cheeks of the father of a large and destitute family, at having them deprived of his cow - their almost sole support.(6)

There were numerous other occasions on which the constabulary protected parties seizing livestock for the payment of poor rate. In Dungarvan poor law union in December 1847 as many as 200 police were employed for this purpose. A constable was killed whilst performing this duty in Moneygall, King's County, in November 1847, and on other occasions lesser violence was offered the constabulary. Even in the many instances where no violent resistance was offered, the fact that the police were used to enforce a measure against the

wishes of the local population is unlikely to have boosted their popularity in the eyes of the public.(7)

It was not only their acting as escort to poor rate collectors which earned the police public opprobrium in many parts of the country in the 1840s. During the Famine they were employed, along with the military, to protect food convoys from attack by hungry crowds. These were usually supplies of food from the commissary-general to the various relief committees or depots, although sometimes private food supplies were also given protection by the constabulary. Angry confrontations between people and police were inevitable. In Sligo in September 1846, police were employed to protect bread being taken to the poorhouse after a mob plundered its supply. Similar measures were taken in Limerick in October 1846, following attacks on bread carts in Irishtown.(8) In September 1846 police and military at Dungarvan came into collision with a crowd of around 700 labourers who were protesting about inadequate wages. Several of the protestors were wounded in the clashes, one of them fatally.(9) On October 26, 1846, the five police stationed at Templemore, aided later by several companies of the military, battled for two hours with a crowd of 300 to 500 hungry people from the nearby public works. On October 29, 50 carts of flour, protected by soldiers and constabulary, were "surrounded by a starving multitude" between Birr and Shannon Harbour, and some of the contents taken away. In November 1846 in Castletownroche a

"considerable number of the unemployed labouring population" assembled in the town to attack the flour mill, but their attention was diverted by the arrival of a cart laden with flour, which they looted. When the police of the town, hearing of the incident, tried to recover the stolen property, they were so roughly treated by the exasperated and exhausted multitude, that they considered it the most prudent course to retire from the contest." (10) On December 19, 1846, the six policemen guarding two loads of flour at Ballyragget, Queen's County, were stopped by a crowd of around 300 people. When they threatened to open fire on the crowd they were told that "if they did so, not one of them would be left alive after." The constabulary prudently held their fire, and the crowd escaped with half of the flour.(11)

In other hunger-related incidents, a series of food riots and attacks on bakers' shops by 800 to 1,000 people in Cork city in February 1847 were suppressed by parties of police and military stationed in the city. In May 1847 a mob estimated at from 600 to 3,000 people from the area of Meelick, Co.Clare, after smashing the local soup kitchen and attempting to destroy the one at Ardnacrusha, laid siege to Ardnacrusha police barrack after one of the rioters was arrested. The siege was not lifted until a party of the 8th Hussars was despatched from Limerick city. A mob of 500 people attacked seven carts of provisions protected by four policemen between Carass and Kilmacow, Co. Limerick, while "an immense

mob" stopped 26 cars of police-protected meal between Bruree and Rathkeale, and carried off the contents. The constabulary were "pelted with stones and badly injured," but still managed to make some prisoners. Despite the arrival of military reinforcements, the crowd was so determined on rescuing the prisoners that the officer in charge decided to release them. In Castlemartyr a fight occurred between the local police and a "large party of destitute labourers" who threatened to break into the demesne of the Earl of Shannon, and who were not dispersed until the arrival of troop reinforcements from Cork. (12)

In June 1847 "a large concourse of people" attacked a flour mill and food store at Dunfanaghy, Co. Donegal, although a police bayonet charge left two of their number mortally wounded and others severely injured: "The mob, notwithstanding, continued their assault with great vigour, and ultimately compelled the police party to desist, leaving their assailants in possession of the mill and store, which they robbed of every vestige of its possessions." (13) In April 1848 a party of 18 constabulary managed to retain most of the contents of a convoy of 54 carts of meal, despite an attack by a crowd of 1,000 starving people between Westport and Castlebar. (14) Other police duties during the Famine included protecting the pay clerks of public works. In January 1847 a sub-constable was murdered when performing this duty near Dundrum, Co. Tipperary, while in March 1847 a policeman

and a pay clerk were shot dead at Chapelized demesne, in Co. Kilkenny. (15)

The D.M.P. were not affected by the Famine as drastically as their constabulary counterparts. Nevertheless, it did impose some extra duties on the Dublin police, as for example in early January 1847, when "crowds of distressed men" from country districts, as well as "persons of the most abandoned character" from the city, attacked bread carts in various parts of Dublin. (16) However, the main effects of the Famine on the duties of the D.M.P. can be seen in the number of "suspicious characters" and vagrants arrested. In 1838, the first year of the D.M.P.'s patrolling Dublin's streets, only 322 "suspicious characters" and 313 vagrants were arrested. The combined totals in 1847, 1848, 1849 and 1850 were 2,559, 6,653, 15,159 and 20,774 respectively. (17) But the extra duty of rounding up vagrants from the countryside paled in comparison with the increased workload of the Irish Constabulary. Charles Trevelyan, the assistant secretary to the treasury, recorded their heavy duties: "great exertions were made to protect the provision trade, and the troops and constabulary were harassed by continual escorts. The plunder of bakers' shops and bread carts, and the shooting of horses and breaking up of roads, were matters of daily occurrence." (18) A Drogheda newspaper claimed in 1847 that the police of that town were "almost fatigued to death with extra duty, as escorts to the bread, flour, and other provisions,

leaving town."(19) According to the Tipperary Vindicator in January 1847, thefts of sheep and cows were "carried on in this neighbourhood to an alarming extent. Scarce a night passes that some farmer is not minus a sheep, or something else; and the police and military, between escorts and patrols, are harassed off their feet." (20)

The constabulary's extra burden was not limited to the preservation of the peace or the protection of food supplies. As they were already established in most towns and villages, it seemed to the authorities an obvious choice to rely on their knowledge of local conditions for the administration of relief. Inspector-general McGregor was a member of the commission nominated by Sir Robert Peel in 1845 to coordinate relief efforts.(21) In November 1845 copies of a guidance sheet entitled "Advice concerning the potato crop" were supplied to each police station, for distribution to farmers bringing in that stricken crop.(22) Throughout the country the constabulary played an important role in informing relieving officers of cases of destitution which came under their notice. One gets an insight into how harrowing this duty could be from the example of one head constable, who in May 1846 made out a list of 1,100 people "bordering on starvation" in the neighbourhood of Banagher, for the Cloghan relief committee. While the necessity for such a role declined rapidly after the Famine, it still remained a part of the constabulary's duty in the 1860s.(23) All constabulary

officers were, with the government's consent, nominated as ex-officio members of relief committees of their respective districts in October 1846, although the inspector-general cautioned them that their attendance at such bodies was "permissive, not imperative," and was "nowise to interfere with their ordinary duties." (24) In areas where there were no relief committees, constables were placed in charge of the stores of Indian or oaten meal imported by Peel in 1846, which was sold at low prices to relief committees whenever supplies in local markets were insufficient and, where no committees existed, the corn was sold directly to the populace. (25) In Cardtown, Queen's County, a soup kitchen was established in the constabulary barrack, while the police in Ballinasloe, and probably elsewhere, were involved in distributing the soup at the local soup kitchen. (26)

At the height of the Famine, it was a daily occurrence for policemen to find the bodies of the dead in cabins or by the roadside in the most stricken areas. (27) Indeed, by March 1847 the Sligo constabulary no longer bothered organizing coroners' inquests on the bodies of local people whom they were sure had died of famine, and held inquests only on "the bodies of strangers who perish[ed] miserably by the way side or in ditches." (28) Evidence from as far afield as Dungarvan, Ennistymon, and Bantry testifies to the fact that policemen, moved by the suffering around them, provided charity for the starving. (29) A grimmer obligation which befell the

constabulary was the burial of famine victims, which task was carried out by the police in Skibbereen, Schull, Cork city, Wilton, Mountisland in Tipperary, Owenduff in Mayo, Ballina in Clare, and Roscommon.(30) So many destitute dead were left at police barracks in Cork city for burial that many of the force there fell ill with "fever" and had to be transferred to the Fever Hospital, while the police authorities in May 1847 forbade their men from supplying any more coffins for the Famine dead.(31) It is not surprising, given the frequent contact of members of the constabulary with the dead and dying of the Famine era, that the three years from 1847 to 1849 saw the highest ever death toll in the history of the force.(32)

As stated earlier, the police experiences of the Famine years illustrate the fact that the nature of the policeman's duty could vary from point of time or place. As time passed, the duties expected of the constabulary expanded. This is amply illustrated by the growing volume of instructions issued to policemen on how to perform their duty - the 1837 constabulary code contained some 730 sections, that of 1872 had 1,387 sections as well as an 80-page appendix, while the code of 1911 had 1,978 sections. Often the Irish police performed duties which were not carried out by their British counterparts. For example, as early as 1838 the constabulary were engaged in making discreet enquiries about the size of the potato crop in the country.(33) In 1847 - significantly

at the height of the Famine - the police for the first time openly began the collection of statistics of the amount of land devoted to tillage, as well as the numbers of poultry and livestock in the country. This duty was subsequently performed annually by the constabulary, with usually two men in each district allotted this task for a month. The work was considered ideal for newcomers to a barrack, as it afforded them a good opportunity to gain a knowledge of their local area. An indication of the amount of effort expended on this task can be gained from the fact that in 1870 almost 4,000 members of the R.I.C. and D.M.P. were engaged in collecting the agricultural statistics.(34) In 1851 the D.M.P. and Irish Constabulary assumed almost the total burden of gathering the Irish census statistics, with only 662 civilians being involved, and 4,826 constabulary men. In 1861 5,096 policemen collected the census statistics outside the D.M.P. area - there were no civilian enumerators involved, although some civilian interpreters aided the police in Irish-speaking areas.(35) The constabulary proved so adept at gathering agricultural and census statistics that Chief Secretary Sir Robert Peel attempted in February 1862 to also make them responsible for registering births and deaths in Ireland, for which each policeman would be paid five pounds extra per year, but the constabulary "narrowly escaped" this addition to their workload.(36) The R.I.C. did not, however, escape the additional responsibility of collecting statistics on the

number of sheep killed annually by dogs, which duty was imposed on them in July 1890.(37)

Other unique duties of the Irish Constabulary included delivering and collecting the voting papers for the election of poor law guardians, and checking for fraudulent weights and measures used by shopkeepers and publicans and at fairs and markets. The latter duty fell to the lot of the constabulary in 1844. Policemen had to have a certificate from the Board of Trade to qualify for the lucrative position of inspector of weights and measures, and this entailed passing a rather complicated written and practical examination in mathematics, mechanics and physics. The benefits for policemen employed on this duty included not just the gratitude of consumers on low incomes at fairs and markets, but also a share in rewards offered by the Board of Trade for successful prosecutions for use of fraudulent weights. Inspectors in Belfast in 1911 were paid £11 per year more than their colleagues who did not carry out this duty.(36)

At the end of the century, members of the R.I.C. were actively involved in the various schemes for administering relief in the west of Ireland, following a partial failure of the potato crop. In the early 1890s they gratuitously performed extra duty in preparing lists of those worst affected in their areas, and in delivering weekly relief cheques and administering at a local level the Viceroy's "Fund for the Relief of Distress in Ireland."(39) After the

establishment of the Congested Districts Board in 1891, R.I.C. district inspectors acted as paymasters, and the rank and file as timekeepers, at the various public works begun under its auspices. In addition, the R.I.C. helped the Board by getting documents signed, or witnessing the arrival of animals and goods in localities where it had no resident officials.(40) The end of our period also, of course, saw the advent of the motor car in Ireland, and this added familiar tasks to the already manifold duties expected of R.I.C. and D.M.P. men. The 1896 Motor Car Act (59&60 Vic., c.36) involved the police in checking that cars had a light and horn and did not exceed the speed limit of 14 miles an hour; the 1903 Act (3 Ed. vii, c.36) increased the speed limit to 20 miles an hour, but also required every vehicle to be registered and every driver to have a driving licence.(41)

The constabulary and D.M.P. were also expected to use vigorous efforts to trace and destroy rabid dogs.(42) It might well have been their competence at this task which prompted the authorities to rely on the services of the constabulary in combating various virulent diseases in farm animals, from at least the early 1870s onwards. Mr T.P. Gill, the secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in 1914, claimed that the R.I.C., due partly to their familiarity with livestock as a result of collecting the annual agricultural statistics, were excellent instruments for helping local authorities prevent the spread of animal

disease:

There is the fact that they are nearly all drawn from the agricultural classes, and they know every goat and sheep and dog and bullock in the country round their districts; they take an interest in what is going on, and they can tell almost from walking about the extent of any man's crop and the amount of manure he puts down, so they have got a sort of latent knowledge.....which is of immense assistance to them in that work. That very same quality has immensely enhanced the value of their work in connection with foot-and-mouth disease, because they are all accustomed to handling live stock, and know all about their management and movement, and the habits of the men who are dealing with them.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, R.I.C. men were used to establish a cordon sanitaire around farms infected with foot and mouth and mouth disease, swine fever or sheep scab. They prevented unauthorized people from entering or leaving infected farms, and ensured that everybody leaving them was disinfected. They paid labourers to slaughter diseased cattle, checked on the movement of dogs, hay and straw in the area, reported suspected cases of disease to veterinary surgeons, and supervised the work of slaughtering, burying, disinfecting and valuing suspect animals. While attending at fairs they kept an eye open for possibly infected calves, checked that farmers dipped their sheep to prevent disease spreading to England after export, and the D.M.P. and R.I.C. alike ensured that places where swine fever occurred were properly cleaned and disinfected. A testimony to their effectiveness is that Ireland before World War I had a much lower rate of foot and mouth disease in cattle than France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland and Russia, despite its

higher density of cattle per acre. In addition to practising veterinary skills, the Irish police ensured that animals at fairs were not cruelly treated.(43)

The Irish Constabulary received an important addition to their duties in the 1850s when they became responsible for the suppression of illegal distillation. Before this, the task of catching poteen makers was the responsibility of a separate force, the Revenue Police. They were supported by the constabulary at first only in the escort of prisoners, but in the early 1840s Inspector-general McGregor ordered his men to pass on to the other force whatever information they had about illegal distillation operations.(44) The Revenue Police was originally an ill-trained, indisciplined body, but this changed in 1836 after a Colonel Brereton was placed in command. He dismissed about two thirds of the force, and insisted that all recruits should be unmarried, under 25 years of age, be literate and of good character. He established a force about 1,000 strong in 72 parties, each commanded by an officer. The men were trained in a Dublin depot along the lines of a light infantry corps, and a strict system of discipline was kept up, with members liable for dismissal even for marrying without permission.(45) The Revenue Police grew from a corps of 143 officers and 902 men in 1836 to one of 151 officers and 947 men in 1852, with stations in 17 counties. According to Colonel Alexander Maclachlan, its inspector-general in 1852, the officers were "Always the sons of

dissolved the Revenue Police, the constabulary would be well able to take over its role:

Our men are engaged annually in taking the statistical returns of the crops; we know every man who raises an acre or half an acre of oats or barley, and he is aware that our people could discover how he disposed of those oats or barley, and having that universal information, it is thought that it would deter many people from running the risk of illicit distillation altogether.(50)

In early 1855 the constabulary of counties Cavan and Donegal were given, on an experimental basis, the powers of seizure of revenue officers in combating illegal distillation. Between March and November 1855 they made almost 300 seizures of illicit stills, most of them in Donegal.(51)

As a result of their success, the entire constabulary force was given the powers of revenue officers for three years, starting in November 1855, but they proved so effective that in 1857 the government went ahead with its plans of disbanding the Revenue Police and permanently transferred its duties to the Irish Constabulary.(52) Twenty eight lieutenants of the Revenue Police, and 518 of the rank and file who were not entitled to pensions, were absorbed into the constabulary, and these were conspicuous to later recruits on account of their noticeably smaller stature than other constabulary men.(53) The task of still-hunting provided an interesting extra dimension to the constabulary's work. Illicit distillation usually increased when the excise on spirits did - one such time was in September 1860, when Inspector-general Brownrigg warned his men, especially those stationed in larger

towns, to "keep a discreet eye on the workers of tin, and upon coopers, or upon strolling tinkers, as such persons must necessarily be employed in the construction of illicit stills and vessels."(54) Because of the nature of the terrain in which illicit distillation was carried out, revenue duty was usually quite exhausting: in February 1860 a party of six policemen from Spiddal, who set out on a still hunt in the nearby mountains, became so fatigued that they were unable to return to their barrack. The constable in charge fell "dangerously ill" due to exhaustion, while one sub-constable died.(55) Indeed, in 1888 the Cork Examiner published a fictional but astutely-observed story entitled "The perils of illicit distillation," in which a Donegal sergeant was greatly disliked by his men because of his zeal in requiring them to go out still-hunting.(56)

Although revenue duties were quite arduous, and every member of the constabulary was empowered to make seizures of distilling equipment and poteen, this often exhausting work did not fall to the lot of every policeman. Even in the days of the Revenue Police, illicit distillation was a regional phenomenon, and their vigilance in harassing the illegal trade had made it a risky and even more localized venture. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the trade was compressed even further by the Irish Constabulary in those areas where it was most common.(57) In April 1858 the county inspectors of Tyrone and Mayo claimed that illegal distillation had been almost

entirely suppressed in their areas, and Inspector-general Brownrigg felt that "The same may be said, tho[ugh] not to so great an extent, even in Donegal."(58) However, such claims about the constabulary's success in combating the trade proved premature, as it remained a feature of life in parts of the country until the early twentieth century. The police were aided in their work by the fact that illicit distillers usually enjoyed popular support in the areas where they carried on their trade. The area around Toome, Co. Antrim, in 1860 was stated to be one such "notorious" district.(59) Micheal Mac Gabhann, born in the townland of Pollnaranny, a few miles west of Gortahork, in 1865, records the popularity of the trade in his native parish of Cloghaneely. The local people established still-houses at streams and rivers near their homes. Their houses were unsanitary dwellings, and adjacent dung heaps did not materially improve matters. Not surprisingly, "fever" was common in the area, and the popular cure was to drink poteen.(60)

An unusual example of the sympathy enjoyed by poteen makers is given by A.B.R. Young, a Monaghan Church of Ireland minister. Reverend Young records that in the early 1870s Pat Smith, an old man from near Drumavale, was so poor that he had to run a poteen still to make up his rent. According to Young, my sympathies were entirely with him, and over and over again I was able to help him by giving him warning when the police were coming to visit him." Young was able to do this as the

officer in charge of the raiding party always invited himself to dinner at the minister's house, giving several days' notice. Smith was not ungrateful for the clergyman's help, and would reward him with a bottle of "the stuff," which he subsequently enjoyed with his friends.(61) In general, the poteen trade was confined to parts of Connacht and Ulster. In the 1870s the islanders of Owey, Co. Donegal, lived a fairly comfortable existence from tillage farming, fishing and illicit distillation. The latter was practised in stormy weather in full view of the local R.I.C.- the islanders were aware that the police could approach no nearer than a hundred yards of the island in boats in inclement weather, and by the time the storm subsided the poteen and stills were always hidden safely away, and the liquor was sold later to mainland publicans to mix in with their stock of duty-paid whiskey.(62)

According to Garrow Green, Mayo in the 1870s was a centre of the illegal trade. He claimed that despite the stiff penalties for possession of poteen in one's dwelling house, "there are few gentlemen in this part of Connaught who are not well supplied with the contraband liquor." The first time he tasted poteen was at a magistrate's table.(63) In northern Mayo, the area from Belmullet to Ballycastle provided ideal opportunities for poteen makers "on account of its mountainous terrain, and the facilities afforded by its remoteness and inaccessibility," and the detection and suppression of the illegal trade formed the main part of R.I.C. duties in the

district.(64) A visitor to the Inishowen peninsula in 1884 recorded that

The illicit business of the hill stills has been decaying like the grouse-shooting and the sea-fishing; but it is still, perhaps, the most important industry north of the linen manufactures of Londonderry. Here, as in northern Donegal and in Antrim, not a few of the peasants have made a hereditary profession of it. With the wild coast lines, and the innumerable creeks, they can easily land the raw material and ship the manufactured article.....Certain districts have a monopoly, because families are born and bred to the business. The children lounging on the hillsides form a cordon of keen-eyed watchers round the still, which is set up in some secluded ravine where the smoke is most likely to avoid detection.....It is the business of the police in the first place to hunt up the stills; when necessary, they may call in the assistance of the coastguard. Cases of detection are comparatively rare; when they do occur they are generally due to information given, presumably out of personal malice.(65)

In Dunfanaghy, Co. Donegal, in 1882, revenue duty was stated to be the principal occupation of the R.I.C., and in the county as a whole some 220 out of 627 men were primarily engaged at that task. The totals for other counties included 17 in Galway West Riding, 18 in Leitrim, 20 in Derry, 8 in Roscommon, 50 in Mayo, 30 in Sligo and 37 in Tyrone.(66)

Iniskea Island, seven miles from the coast of Mayo, was for decades a haven for poteen makers and virtually outside the control of the R.I.C. A proposal in 1872 to establish a police station there to combat illicit distillation was abandoned, as were those to use a steam launch for that purpose in 1891 and a steam cruiser in 1892. A station was finally erected among the population of approximately 300 inhabitants in 1894, following complaints by the Congested Districts Board in June 1893 that "owing to the presence of

illegal distillation in these islands, the inhabitants could not be induced to cultivate the fishing industry, even if they were afforded the means to do so." In the same year, four R.I.C. men were posted to Inismurray Island, four miles off Sligo, to keep an eye on the 13 families there "whose main source of livelihood for a considerable time past seems to have been illicit distillation, some of the spirit being sold on the mainland."(67) The attempts of the police to suppress poteen making on these islands involved a considerable deal of farce. Jeremiah Mee describes the poteen raids on Inismurray Island by the R.I.C. of Grange, Cliffoney, Magherow and Drumcliffe. The police usually brought groceries, parcels and letters to the islanders on these trips, and Mee learned later that the parcels often contained supplies of treacle, yeast and barm -all necessary ingredients for the manufacture of poteen, while the letters contained orders for the illegal liquor from mainland customers. On his first and inevitable fruitless raid, Mee realized that "Not only was it possible to conceal illicit stills and spirits but even a regiment of soldiers could be hidden on the rocks of this remote island." At the end of the day the police, "having failed to destroy the sole industry of these friendly people," retired to the house of one of the islanders for their tea, where at the end of their meal they were treated to a few glasses of poteen!

(68)

Inspector-general Reed stated in 1898 that poteen

manufacture was carried on in Co. Galway in the R.I.C. districts of Oughterard, Roundstone, Spiddal, and especially Carraroe, "where the inhabitants are most persistent in the making of illicit whiskey," and where the efforts of the police at suppressing the trade were "considerably baffled" due to the "great many islands, which are difficult of access." In Co. Mayo the districts of Belmullet, Ballina and Swinford were the most troublesome moonshining areas, and the substitution there of molasses or sugar for malt, which speeded up the distilling process considerably, made it difficult for the police to surprise stills in operation. In Co. Sligo the districts of Tubbercurry and Easkey were the centres of the illicit trade - large numbers of labourers who had arrived in the area to build a railway had provided a fresh impetus to the distillers. Reed also singled out Fermanagh, Derry and Tyrone as areas where poteen was made. Returned harvestmen were pointed out as principal investors in the plant for illicit distillation in "mountainous localities." (69) The Catholic clergy were credited with the decline of the trade in certain areas. Reed pointed out that until 1890 illegal distillation in Donegal was "extensively" carried out "in almost the entire county," but after Dr O'Connell, bishop of Raphoe, campaigned against it it was "scarcely heard of in his diocese." However, the baronies of Inishowen East and Inishowen West, which were not in his diocese, remained centres of the poteen trade. County

Inspector Leatham of Derry claimed that the ten-year injunction of a Catholic priest in the south of his county against poteen-making had caused a serious decline in the trade, but this had expired in 1896, "and then the seizures [of stills] went up like mercury in 1897." (70)

Revenue duty required a certain amount of specialized knowledge of the R.I.C. personnel involved; indeed, constables or sergeants were not placed in charge of sub-districts in which illegal distillation occurred unless they had prior experience of detecting the trade, and could "distinguish singlings, wash, and malt from any fictitious stuff." (71) Another specialized section of the force was the mounted police. Their numbers varied from some 300 men in 1848 to 382 in 1872 and 261 in 1882. In 1897 the troop was reduced to 138 head and other constables. (72) Candidates for the mounted police had to meet different specifications than their infantry colleagues. Entry was first restricted to men of "superior activity," whose height was between 5'8" and 5'10", and whose weight did not exceed 12 stone (168 lbs). By the early 1870s the regulations stated that recruits had to be less than 24 years old, and were not to be over 5'9" in height or 11 stone (154 lbs) in weight. (73) Until the 1870s, two mounted policemen were assigned to each county inspector, and one to each sub-inspector. Their duties were considerably lighter than those of their infantry colleagues. They were expected to take care of their horses each day, and in the few

cases where there were two mounted men at a station, they were to perform mounted patrols. While they were considered to be of potential use in riot situations, their most important and common task was the delivery of despatches, during which duty they were not to proceed at a quicker rate than four and a half miles per hour.(74)

Fellow policemen did not have a high opinion of the work rate of mounted men. The county inspector for Cork West Riding declared in 1872 that they accompanied sub-inspectors on certain duties, such as when they visited the scene of an outrage, but that this could occur as seldom as 12 days a year. The sub-inspector for Blessington claimed that the mounted policeman in his district had performed duty only twice in the previous two years. He felt that this man was rendered useless in countryside with fences, and that it was almost impossible for him to make an arrest and retain control of his horse at the same time. Even their theoretical knowledge of police duty was sketchy, if the mounted sergeant encountered by Inspector-general Wood was a typical example. When Wood asked the sergeant on parade to whom could publicans sell drink at prohibited hours - the correct answer was to bona fide travellers - he promptly replied to his commanding officer, "to policemen on night duty." It is significant that when Wood defended the retention of a mounted section it was not on the grounds of their competence, but because they afforded protection to the officers they accompanied: "every

officer, if he does his duty well, is not very much liked by the ill-conducted."(75)

The utility of the mounted section became more dubious in the 1870s, with the spread of the telegraph throughout the country. Its role became rather decorative in the late nineteenth century, and came to consist mainly of escorting judges who, according to one R.I.C. officer, liked "to be attended with a great deal of state." Sean O Faolain has left an interesting account of the ceremonial surrounding the Cork assizes:

The British managed these things well. The judge, gowned and bewigged, was always borne in a horse-drawn carriage, open if the weather was clement, through the streets of the city, accompanied by detachments of mounted police and military trotting, tinkling and clanking gallantly, fore and aft. These mounted police, now gone, were a smart body of men, dressed in tight black breeches with knee-high boots of shining leather, the belt worn diagonally across the chest over one shoulder, little black pillbox hats held gaily on the sides of their heads by patent-leather chin straps, their long truncheons dangling from the pommels. I remember that many of them had a way of affecting small waxed moustaches. As for the foreign soldiery, I recall with special pleasure a detachment of cuirassiers with gleaming breastplates, helmets with long red plumes, and drawn swords. The foot police, my father among them, wore full-dress uniform, spiked helmets with silver chin straps, patent-leather belts and gloves. On his arrival at the courthouse the judge would alight from his carriage and in stately grandeur climb the long flight of steps up to the entrance, where a row of officials stood waiting respectfully to receive him - all native-born Irishmen. It was an impressive sight. A political system had been established. We the people had accepted it. Our church blessed it. Our politicians tolerated it. The law of the land was now about to apply it.(76)

Despite the fact that their colleagues felt that they had an easier round of duties, the mounted police at first enjoyed higher wages than the infantry. In the 1860s mounted

constables were paid £2 a year more, and mounted sub-constables £1 and ten shillings more than their infantry counterparts. (77)

The reserve force was another special section of the constabulary establishment. It was formed in August 1839. It was based at the Dublin depot, and whenever the county forces needed reinforcements at elections, evictions, the northern anniversaries; in patrolling disturbed areas, or on other occasions when disturbances were feared, members of the reserve were despatched to serve temporarily in the counties. The reserve consisted at first of two sub-inspectors, four head constables and 200 other ranks, and was increased in the troubled year of 1846 to four sub-inspectors, eight head constables and 400 constables and sub-constables. By July 1854 the non-officer ranks had increased to 600. (78) The reserve, as the trouble-shooting section of the force, was something of an elite unit in the constabulary. Its members tended to experience more exacting duties than other policemen. According to a sub-constable in 1882, the reserve man

always inherits disturbance. He never enjoys the peace which may have been brought about by the good discharge of his own duty. When that peace is brought about he is transferred to the next disturbed county. He is always in a backward station, in a hut, a barn, or some long-disused house.

The unit imposed stricter standards on its men than did the general force. At the end of our period one had to be unmarried, have not less than one or more than eight years' service, and be at least six feet tall to qualify for the

reserve. After two years in the unit one could, if one wished, apply for transfer to a county force; however, the harsh service conditions were compensated somewhat by the fact that promotion in the reserve occurred at an average of from four to six years earlier than in the general R.I.C. force.(79)

The duty of keeping the peace in disturbed areas was not the preserve of the reserve force alone. All members of the R.I.C. were liable to perform detachment duty if the police in a troubled district were unable to cope. The various northern anniversaries proved a particularly heavy strain on the constabulary. For example, between 1872 and 1880 alone there were some 1,730 public processions of all kinds in Ireland, and keeping the peace on such occasions mainly fell to the lot of the R.I.C.(80) Sergeant Michael Brophy claimed in 1886 that policemen serving in counties near to Dublin were especially likely to be sent north for the 12th of July or 15th of August celebrations, but when necessary the constabulary authorities drew on contingents from as far away as Tipperary and Waterford.(81)

Nearer to the scene of the trouble, Constable Patrick Hickson of Rathmullen claimed gloomily in 1914 that the R.I.C. in Donegal "is practically a reserve force for the remainder of the counties in the north of Ireland, and we are very often on detachment duty."(82) In the six months ended June 30, 1880, police protection was given to process-servers in 290 instances, which involved the use of over 6,000 officers and

men. In Galway West Riding alone there were 63 such cases, involving nearly 4,500 policemen. A visitor to Galway in the winter of 1880 recorded that the county was "swamped with constables," and that in the country as a whole some 1,200 to 1,300 men were engaged in either providing constant personal protection to 120 people, or keeping a less rigorous watch over another 800 people.(83) In January 1881, according to Chief Secretary Forster, "no less than 153 persons were attended, day and night, by two constables each, and 1,149 were watched by the police." Indeed, during the Land War so many members of the R.I.C. were employed on protection duty, including the reserve at the depot, that there were not enough men to properly patrol the country, and the authorities had to take the unusual step of operating joint military and police patrols and protection posts in disturbed areas.(84)

Statistics from the turn of the century show that, despite the comparative calm then in the country, an extremely large portion of the R.I.C. was employed on detachment duty. From October 1896 to October 1901 an annual average of 69 district inspectors, 65 head constables and 3,433 men served on detachment duty, while the annual average from October 1901 to October 1906 was 66 district inspectors, 82 head constables and 4,176 men. From 1904 to 1913 the annual average was 91 district inspectors, 108 head constables and 5,490 men. The busiest single year was 1907 - the year of the Belfast police "strike" - when 136 district inspectors, 158 head constables

and 8,296 men served on detachment, which totals represented almost 84% of the force. According to Inspector-general Chamberlain, this was achieved only by stripping barracks to their minimum complement. In 161 sub-districts only two men were retained, one to act as barrack orderly and one to "maintain law and order," while in another 17 sub-districts only one man was retained. The largest single drain on police strength in the period was the 12th of July anniversary in 1906, when 23 district inspectors, 25 head constables and 1,443 men were sent north. 1913, the year of the Dublin Lock-out and other trade disputes, saw another heavy demand for R.I.C. detachments; while the drain was not as severe as in 1907, districts from as far apart as Claremorris and Tralee were heavily drawn upon to provide contingents for detachment duty. (85)

Detachment men were often quartered in small protection posts, or even resided with protected individuals in their homes. In 1844 a protection post was established in Coolfin, King's County, after Thomas and William Shepperd were murdered for taking a farm from which the previous tenants had been evicted. Police protection was afforded to a surviving brother, and the post was still being maintained in 1863! (86) Protection-post duty was not always agreeable to the police, and not merely because they incurred unpopularity for guarding individuals considered obnoxious by the community. Here is the complaint in December 1860 of a Constable McLain, who was in

charge of a party of three sub-constables who were stationed at Glenveagh Castle at the request of the notorious John George Adair:

Since we came here we have endured great hardship.....I spoke to Mr Adair on the 20th instant to provide us with fuel and light, which he declined to give us. He has also refused to allow us to cut timber. It is impossible for us to do without fire; we have to patrol the mountains during the day, and return at night to a damp cold house, with our clothing wet, ourselves fatigued from cold and want of food, having no fire to cook our victuals or dry our clothing. (87)

A visitor to a protection post at Tully in Mayo in 1886 found that the sergeant and three other policemen had been there for three years, guarding an informer. (88) During the Land War the sheer numbers of men established in protection posts - in 1883 there were 477 temporary stations or protection posts in Ireland, with 308 of them in Galway, Mayo, Clare, Roscommon, Kerry, Cork and Limerick, the most disturbed counties - necessitated a systematic attention to their needs. The most important step was the provision of pre-fabricated huts for the comfort of the men, which were sent from Dublin when required. These wooden two-roomed huts were faced with an outer layer of bricks or concrete, were loop-holed for defence, and were considered far more comfortable than the average peasant cottage. (89)

However, when large numbers of men were sent on detachment, the authorities frequently placed them in accommodations which were not to their liking. The most common expedient was to place them in what was known as a "straw

lodge," which was usually an empty building with straw scattered on the floor for the men to sleep upon. There are many indications that the men, already facing what was bound to be hazardous or unpopular duty, were not pleased with the additional problem of unpleasant accommodations. On May 26, 1859, five constables and 22 sub-constables were tried in Longford for "riot and mutiny" following an argument over their sleeping quarters. The policemen, part of a contingent of 60 constabulary sent to Castletowndelvin to perform election duty, refused to sleep in the quarters acquired for them by their sub-inspector, which consisted of the "musty and damp" cellars of an uninhabited house, in which straw had been scattered for the men. The fact that the cellars had an "unwholesome smell" did not make them any more appealing to the discontented men, one of the more violent of whom was dismissed from the force.(90) A policeman complained in March 1881 of having in the previous month been quartered in a straw lodge in Longford town, in which there was "no straw but the bare boards of the house." The accommodation provided in Drumlish was no better:

In a damp house, on very damp straw, we had a fire, but in my opinion the fire only served to cause our bodies to soak the moisture all the quicker. We went one day to Carrigallen, county Leitrim, on eviction duty. We were well drenched by a heavy downpour before we returned back to Drumlish, as we had to come back that evening, again to lie down on damp straw, with our clothes still more damp.(91)

Constable Tilson of Moate complained in 1882 of the shabby treatment of men on detachment duty, and declared that it

should be the duty of the officer in command "to see that they are not put into a place that is not fit for human habitation."(92)

A Fermanagh constable described in the same year his unhappy experience of a straw lodge in Tipperary, in which "the straw was not fit to go under pigs." The temper of the men was not improved by their frequent neglect at the hands of the people whom they were protecting. One of the R.I.C. men protecting Captain Boycott's estate during the Land War informed a visiting Canadian journalist that their accommodation was "very damp - water, in fact, was running on the floor under their bed." According to the policeman, Boycott had refused them coal to light their stove, even though one of the men was sick. Milk and potatoes were provided for the protecting party, but only after they had paid for them and the parsimonious Boycott had carefully weighed the potatoes himself. Describing protected gentlemen in Mayo, the journalist felt that "the most of them would not acknowledge the existence of the Royal Irish protectors with a word or nod, no more than if they were watch dogs." Constable Tilson agreed that a protected gentleman "cares not a farthing" for the welfare of his guardians.(93)

However, it was the quality of the accommodation, rather than the attitude of protected parties, which most concerned detachment police. According to Sergeant Michael Brophy, typical straw houses were "dilapidated and used up factories,

ruined mills, empty and deserted warehouses, schoolhouses, ruined and deserted (except by the rats) tenements." (94) Garrow Green records that men on detachment duty in the north were usually housed in large buildings, such as Protestant Halls, filled with straw, while the officers slept in hotels. He describes one occasion when he arrived with a detachment in Monaghan, where his men were to be housed in a guano store. After seeing their proposed accommodation, the men sent a delegation to protest: " 'There's enough guano, sir,' said the sergeant, 'to manure a barony, and some of the men think they've caught fever from the smell; there's hardly any straw, and there's rats, hundreds of them, lepping(sic) in it as big as rabbits.'" (95) It is no coincidence that in June 1891 Inspector-general Reed complained that "some officers of the force, especially when engaged on public duty, take little or no interest in the comfort of their men." He felt that an officer's first concern on detachment duty should be the welfare of his men: "If he has a proper sense of his responsibility he will look after and provide for their comfort before he provides for his own." (96) The fact that the inspector-general felt it necessary to call attention to this neglect is an indication of how widespread a problem it had become in the force.

Preserving the peace was but one of the duties of the constabulary. Others were, of course, the prevention of crime or the prosecution of those who broke the law. Performing

these important tasks was made no easier by the popular attitude that it was often advisable to be economical with the truth in court cases, and that if the police wanted to secure a conviction they should be made work for it. When Somerville and Ross's Resident Magistrate Yeates described the "inevitable atmosphere of wet frieze and perjury" in Petty Sessions, he was not wide of the mark.(97) A.M. Sullivan declared that "Perjury in the witness-box and in the jury-box was so usual that no shame attached to it. In agrarian and 'patriotic' cases perjury was considered an obligation." Attempting to discredit a witness by suggesting that he was a perjurer was considered a waste of time - suggestions of immorality were more persuasive to a jury.(98)

District Inspector C.P. Crane, who was promoted R.M. for Donegal in 1897, wrote of the Petty Sessions that "The perjury committed in these courts beggared all description. It was flagrant." He astutely records how popular court cases at Petty Sessions were with the people:

The dullness of the everyday life in the country districts was enlivened and rendered more interesting by attempts to outwit the constabulary, and the payment of a small fine was money well spent for the entertainment of an hour's 'law;' hearing the solicitor for the defence browbeating the sergeant of police and making an impassioned appeal to the Bench on behalf of his client.....It was to these little court-houses that the people flocked once a month to hear the law, and where they became at times so excited and eager to that they would lean over the table and spill the ink.

A popular means of avoiding giving truthful testimony was to kiss one's thumb rather than the Bible: "the essence of the

oath in many cases was thought to consist in the kissing of the book more than in the words exhorting telling of 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.'"(99)

A.M. Sullivan records the problems faced by the R.I.C. at assizes:

At assizes the defence would probably be an alibi. It was the duty of the constabulary to be able to foretell with regard to each potential criminal what would be his defence when he had accomplished his crime. Intelligent anticipation of the possible inventions of minds trained to deception, and genius to defeat them, were developed in the force to an uncanny point.....Before the offender's friends had constructed the alibi, indeed before he arrested or charged anybody, the sergeant would have reviewed all possible alibis and would have secured signed statements as to their movements at the crucial period from all persons who were liable to become witnesses for the defence. In the same way other defences would be anticipated and blighted by some constable getting unwary persons to tell the truth before other people were ready with suggestions of falsehood. To circumvent this phase of official activity, in the graver conspiracies of agrarian crime, the alibis were prepared and their supporters trained before the event.

So notorious was the false swearing of the witness who sought to establish these defences that a purveyor of false testimony came to be called an 'Aliboy.'(100)

Judge John Adye Curran was at a loss to decide whether Kerry men or those from the midland counties were the greatest perjurers.(101)

If such descriptions were typical of proceedings at Irish courts, and not merely colourful exaggerations by contemporaries, then clearly the police task of bringing offenders to justice was not a straightforward one. Often claims were made as to the sympathy of the people with those brought before the courts. Edward O'Malley, who grew up in Brackloon at the turn of the century, recalls that while most

people were law-abiding they had an "admiration for law-breakers." One of the popular songs in the area was about an Achill schoolteacher "whose only claim to fame seems to have been his ability to escape from, and outwit, the police." (102) J.M. Synge, on his visit to the Aran Islands in 1907, was told by an islander of a Connacht man who had killed his father with a spade and who fled to relatives on the islands, where he was hidden from the police, despite a reward for his capture, until he escaped to America:

This impulse to protect the criminal is universal in the west. It seems partly due to the association between justice and the hated English jurisdiction, but more directly to the primitive feeling of these people, who are never criminals yet always capable of crime, that a man will not do wrong unless he is under the influence of a passion which is as irresponsible as a storm on the sea. If a man has killed his father, and he is already sick and broken with remorse, they can see no reason why he should be dragged away and killed by the law. (103)

Often such claims of sympathy between the people and criminals need to be treated cautiously - after all, the newspaper reports are replete with examples of witnesses testifying in criminal cases - but certainly there can be little doubt that the perpetrators of agrarian crimes often enjoyed the sympathy and support of the community, and indeed were perceived as upholders of an unwritten system of popular justice.

Often such support went beyond a mere disavowal of knowledge useful to the police. In October 1847, Resident Magistrate Tracy of Castleconnell complained that "the hospitality and sympathy which evil-doers receive has a most pernicious effect." William "Puck" Ryan, a suspect in a case

of agrarian murder and attempted murder, had been arrested, after an exhaustive police hunt, in a house at Gardenhill. The owners of the house sheltered Ryan despite the nearby placards offering rewards for his capture, and according to Tracy, "many persons in a far higher rank would have given refuge to Ryan Puck under the existing circumstances in the country."(104) In 1862 the Daily Express reported the case of a man who had received shelter from farmers:

He was a harmless hungry vagabond, desirous of establishing himself at free quarters in the houses of peasant farmers. He was a swindler, who gained their hospitality on false pretences- the false pretence being a murder which he had not the courage to commit.(105)

C.P. Crane recalls that one of his duties in Dingle in the early 1880s was searching for a Pat Ryan, who was wanted by the R.I.C. in the case of a murdered Tipperary land agent: "Ryan was ubiquitous. Every tramp wanting a night's lodging free would personate him and, whispering the magic name, was sure of a sanctuary in the home of the Kerry peasant."(106)

The sympathy accorded to perpetrators of agrarian crime can also be inferred by the odium in which the informer was held. In June 1882 a Drogheda family, all able-bodied persons, applied to the corporation for outdoor relief; they had been "reduced to destitution in consequence of their not being able to obtain employment owing to one of the family having figured lately as a police spy and informer." Even in non-agrarian cases the epithet "informer" was considered an insult. In a Cork city assault case in May 1888, Michael Holland summoned

Fleming Gaffney for beating him without provocation in Old George's Street and calling him "a spy and informer, and he thought more of that than he had of the assault."(107) Distaste at the prospect of being labelled an informer did not fully account for police difficulties in investigating crimes. Chief Constable George Dickson wrote in 1837 of his district, Swanlinbar, that

The great majority of the inhabitants cannot speak English, and make a point of running away whenever they observe a policeman. Anxious to make light of their quarrels, they seldom have recourse to litigation, but those of them who do come forward generally turn out great liars, and their statements can rarely be depended on. They evince a great disinclination to inform the constabulary of any outrage, preferring silence either in the hope of getting money, to accommodate their quarrel, or from a dislike to appear publickly (sic) as prosecutors.....(108)

District Inspector Regan wrote of Clare at the end of our period that "the vendetta spirit was very rife" there, and that "if an injury was done to any person or his property, he and his friends preferred to punish the culprit themselves rather than to avail of the law to do it for them. There were many crimes in which we had to go back years to find the motive."(109)

Another, and probably more compelling motive for the frequent lack of police progress was the fear of witnesses to give evidence, or of juries to convict, in case of violent retribution by "midnight legislators." This was stated bluntly by an M.P. in 1862: "In disturbed times, if a tenant farmer were seen coming out of a police barrack it would be as much

as his life was worth." In 1864 Echlin Molyneux, chairman of Meath Quarter Sessions, wrote to the under-secretary for Ireland that in cases of agrarian crime "silence is safety - revelation is death." C.P. Crane told the 1888 Parnell Commission that during his service in Killarney in the Land War, "The terrorism in the district, the fear of being seen speaking to a policeman.....absolutely stopped the getting of evidence."(110) Even the people injured were cowed into silence for fear of reprisals. According to the sub-inspector for Castlepollard in 1870, "The people seem to be in such terror, that it is almost impossible for the police to get any authentic information, even the persons on whom the outrages are committed are afraid to tell whom they suspect, and will render no assistance" to the police.(111)

It would appear to the modern reader that the obvious step to have taken was to organize a detective section for the investigation of serious crime. However, as Lord Lieutenant Carlisle explained in 1864, when the Irish Constabulary was reformed in 1836 detectives were "studiously excluded from it, as the apprehension then was that any approach to the system of espionage would revolt the public, & endanger the existence of the force itself." (112) Indeed, a considerable body of opinion in the United Kingdom felt that the maintenance of regular, uniformed police smacked of "Bourbon" despotism; the creation of a detective force would undoubtedly have appeared to have sinister overtones of the European secret police

forces.(113) However, during the first winter of the Famine, the government came to see the need for employing detectives in combating crime, and in January 1847 the lord lieutenant approved the formation in each county of "a limited number of experienced policemen" for this purpose. Significantly, the term "detective" was avoided - these men were described as "disposable" men. According to Inspector-general McGregor, a maximum of six disposables should be selected in each county "on account of their respectability, intelligence and tact in the detection of crime." In "ordinary circumstances" these detectives were to perform the usual duties of the force in uniform, but whenever "any grave offence" was committed, a county inspector could order at least two disposables, dressed in plain clothes, "to proceed to the scene of outrage, there to remain as long as may be deemed necessary to trace criminals."

The inspector-general, no doubt mindful of public prejudice against detective police, stressed that

it cannot be too deeply impressed upon them that however anxious the government are for the conviction of criminals the greatest delinquents even are not to be brought to justice by unjustifiable means. Should any disposable policeman therefore be convicted of practises in the discharge of his duties, whatever may be the amount of his success, that are inconsistent with the course to be fairly expected of every honest man, he will be dismissed with disgrace from the police service.(114)

The inspector-general's caution was perhaps understandable, as opponents of the detective system could easily have used a scandalous instance of detective abuse of powers to inflame

public opinion against it. One of the early critics was the influential Freeman's Journal. In April 1848 it carried a report of a Repeal meeting in Kilkenny, at which a speaker stated that several detectives had been in the area in the past three weeks, but were easily recognizable: "these detectives were well dressed - good hats, and coats, etc - in fact they looked as much like gentlemen as any well dressed monkeys could be expected to resemble that class of individuals."(115) In June 1848, commenting on the murder of a man near Kilbeggan, it warned that the murderer "may be some idle, 'well dressed ruffian,' who, prowling about for something to detect and report, makes the crime he cannot find."(116)

Inspector-general Brownrigg wrote in 1859 that the disposables were "always ready to mount the frieze, to assume the short pipe, to converse - many of them - in the Irish language - and to employ other devices, as an Irishman knows how, to come at the knowledge they are in quest of."(117) Their success, however, was limited in agrarian cases, and the constabulary in the early 1860s was widely criticized as being so obsessed with military discipline that it was useless for solving the spate of outrages which occurred at that period.(118) Brownrigg was ambiguous about the role of his detectives, stating that when first introduced they had "very doubtful success," but by 1864 "wherever this class of men have been applied for by private persons, for the purpose of

tracing out cases of crime, they have given satisfaction." The latter claim is certainly surprising, given the widespread criticism by magistrates and grand juries of the numerous unsolved agrarian crimes in the country. Brownrigg, like his predecessor McGregor, remained wary about the use of a detective system:

it can never become really acceptable to the taste and temper of these countries - never be free from great liability to abuse or from degenerating into a system of espionage, possibly even into the affairs of private life.....Whether, if the constabulary disposable were encouraged and instructed to employ disingenuous devices, a larger number of offenders might be detected, I will not say; but it is pretty certain that such practices meet with general reprehension. A share of the odium which hangs over the 'private enquiry office,' and the 'spy system,' would inevitably fall upon the police detective who adopted them, however notorious the offender, or much to be desired his apprehension. We have, therefore, to administer this system with caution; the general approval of the public, not the cry of the moment, is to be our guide in doing so.(119)

Contemporaries felt, with some justification, that detectives were more effective in towns and cities than in rural areas, where the sudden appearance of strangers after an outrage was bound to give rise to suspicions as to their identity.(120) Indeed, the success of detectives against the largely urban-based Fenian conspiracy rather illustrates the point.

The euphoria of the defeat of the Fenians momentarily silenced the constabulary's detractors. As Sir Thomas Larcom noted, "The parrot cry 'too military' at its loudest cackle changed suddenly in 1866 and '67 and was succeeded by 'hurrah for the brave force!'"(121) But the outbreak of agrarian outrages in the midlands, especially Westmeath, in the late

1860s, and the apparent inability of the police to bring the perpetrators to justice, again brought the detective abilities of the R.I.C. in cases of serious crime into doubt. A Mayo resident magistrate even questioned their ability to keep tabs on Fenian suspects:

No magistrate in Ireland has a higher opinion of the Irish constabulary than I have; but as a detective force, I have no hesitation in saying they are utterly worthless; they are positively laughed at by the people. They are not detectives; they are, more properly and correctly speaking, detectees. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they are at once recognised by the quick-witted people of the locality to which they are sent, and when, by some miraculous piece of good fortune, a detective escapes detection, he learns just nothing. The Irish constabulary, morally and physically, are no good for detectives. What we require in Ireland is a distinct class of mouchards, unconnected with and unknown to the constabulary. Returned Americans, musicians, dealers in small wares - men who look like dealers - bona fide dealers - not well fed and grown drilled men, of five feet ten and six feet two, playing at hawking small stationary, tapes, pins, and needles. A cripple, having a manifest reason for being a hawker of such articles, would be worth a dozen of our 'disposable' men. During the Fenian excitement I have seen a disposable of the constabulary, elaborately dressed as a returned American, to invite the confidence of the disaffected, on a racecourse, within two English miles of the town in which he has been stationed for the last dozen years!(122)

Another resident magistrate opined that the constabulary were well suited to preserving the peace, but useless as detectives, due to their "drilled appearance," even in plain clothes.(123) According to Inspector-general Wood in March 1871, "a detective is very well in large towns, but in country districts in Ireland, whenever a stranger goes into the country, the children of eight or ten years will say, 'Bedad, that's a paler,' and he is put in Coventry." Not surprisingly,

Wood admitted "ignorance of Ribbonism, which is about the only thing I find I cannot master."(124)

The R.I.C. detective system was reformed somewhat in June 1872. A permanent detective director with sub-inspector's rank, along with a small team of assistants, was established at the Dublin depot. They concentrated on "special" crimes, which largely consisted of keeping tabs on nationalist secret societies or suspects, and on the more shadowy problem of "Ribbonism." While the latter remained as difficult a problem to tackle as ever, the Crime Branch Special files in the State Paper Office are a testimony to their labours against the former.(125) However, most R.I.C. detectives or disposables remained part-time sleuths, performing the regular duties of the force until sent to investigate a crime by their county inspector or the detective director. In Belfast, where six to eight disposables were employed at first, the detectives were the responsibility of a sub-inspector, and these men were replaced at intervals, "in order that the most intelligent men of the Belfast force may be practised in detective duties."(126) By 1886 the number of detectives in Belfast had increased to ten, all of whom were volunteers. Only four concentrated on investigating crimes, for, as District Inspector Lionel Townshend pointed out, "there is not much crime in Belfast in the ordinary acceptance of the term." The others performed such duty as "attending on trains, and so on - moving about amongst the people," presumably to keep an eye

open for pickpockets.(127)

Following the Belfast riots of 1886, the number of detectives in the city was increased to 20, and their role as intelligence gatherers was stressed - "nothing in the slightest degree affecting the peace of the town should escape their observation," explained the 1888 Belfast R.I.C. code. Their local knowledge "should be perfect.....and when rioting does take place, they should act as scouts to the men in uniform." In 1888 the officers in Belfast, and in the R.I.C. as a whole, were issued with guidelines on how to choose men for detective duty:

Mere cunning and ability to prepare a good report do not of themselves form sufficient qualifications for a good detective; there ought, if possible, to be, along with respectability, intelligence, and tact, an aptitude by practice to gain an influence over others, cleverness, shrewdness, self-reliance, self-control, good judgment, indomitable patience and courage, and strict integrity.
(128)

It is impossible to judge to what extent R.I.C. detectives measured up to these subjective standards. The first detective director, James Ellis French, who became embroiled in a buggery scandal in the mid-1880s, would not have.(129) The evidence suggests that at least town-based detectives justified their superiors' confidence. One of these was a Sergeant Byrne, who by 1913 had served for 18 years as a detective in Queenstown, making over 300 arrests of suspects. In 1911 he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal by the king, because he had displayed "exceptional ability in the detection and prevention of crime," and many criminals "who

managed to elude the vigilance of the police authorities on the continent, in Great Britain, and in America fell into the hands of Sergeant Byrne at this port when fleeing from justice."(130)

Detectives or disposable men were not the only members of the constabulary to wear plain clothes on duty. There were numerous occasions on which non-detective policemen were required to wear "coloured clothes," the frequent police expression for plain clothes. In 1835 the rules concerning their use by members of the County Constabulary in Ulster were tightened up as "great abuse and irregularity has been produced by their so appearing." In future, policemen could use plain clothes only on the written orders of an officer or magistrate, with the necessity for the disguise and the nature of the duty for which it was required to be clearly specified.(131)

In the Irish Constabulary, a suit of plain clothes was considered as indispensable a part of a policeman's equipment as his baton or uniform. A newspaper report in April 1842 suggested that disguises were not limited to a mere suit of clothes, when it claimed that the police were "prowling through the country in all sorts of Protean disguises, attired in the various costumes of tinkers, ballad singers, beggar-women, and quack doctors."(132) Plain-clothes policemen were mainly used for catching publicans in breach of the Sunday drinking laws, or shadowing suspects. Some of the prejudice

against detectives attached to plain-clothes policemen. In August 1862, a Cork magistrate dismissed a case against a Toormore shebeen keeper brought by a plain-clothes sub-constable. Despite Sub-constable Tracy's protest that it was frequent police practice to wear plain clothes in such cases, Magistrate Davys denounced this "act of low chicanery" which was likely to cause bad feeling between the people and the police. According to Davys, "Such proceedings would be perfectly justifiable in cases of murder, or in detecting culprits charged with serious crimes; but here I say it was wrong, and I will not countenance such acts of low cunning." Nevertheless, this remained a common R.I.C. and, later, Garda Siochana ruse to fool publicans on the watch for policemen on Sundays or after legal drinking hours; so much so, in fact, that one man complained in his memoirs that "Most people think I am a policeman. I could never get a back door pint on a Sunday, I am so like a snooping civic guard in plain clothes." (133)

In Cork city in the late 1870s six to ten men were usually ordered to wear plain clothes "to watch public houses and shebeens," while a Belfast officer stated that the plain-clothes men employed to watch shebeens "are changed so often, that most of the steady men in the force get their turn at it from time to time." (134) According to Sub-constable Martin Lewis of Schull in 1882, he was usually sent out in plain clothes "more than fifty times" a year to prevent people from

playing road bowls.(135) In Belfast in the 1880s plain-clothes men were also used to "go about and meet desperadoes, swell mobs-men, and others of that sort who come into the town to rob." In 1888 they were ordered, whenever riots broke out, to

disguise themselves and repair immediately to the scene of disorder, to act in support of the police there. These men should precede, follow, flank, and mix with crowds, when it will soon be known that a rioter may have an observant policeman standing beside him - a circumstance that cannot fail to inspire apprehension, and to deter many rioters from throwing stones and committing other outrages.(136)

The R.I.C. in the rest of the country were ordered that whenever "any suspicious stranger" appeared in their sub-district, one of their number was to "immediately" change into plain clothes, engage him in conversation, and with "tact and caution" try to find out where he came from, and his destination, at the same time making a mental note of his description, which was to be sent to the sergeant of the next district "that his movements may be watched."(137)

Perhaps the most ludicrous example of plain clothes duty performed by the R.I.C. occurred on the occasion of King Edward VII's visit to Ireland in the early twentieth century. Sir Henry Robinson, who accompanied the monarch on his tour through the west, records Inspector-general Chamberlain's security measures:

It would never have done to have had an enormous display of force, still less would it have done to have allowed the king to be molested, so he had collected an enormous force of constabulary from all over the country. He spread them all along the roads disguised as tourists, under the

impression that as the king's visit might be expected to attract tourists this guard would not be noticed. But what rather spoiled this precaution was that every man dressed alike; straw hat, Norfolk jacket, watch-chain from breast pocket to buttonhole, knickerbockers and bicycle. Every man was exactly the same distance apart, 100 yards or so, and all were lying in a carefully rehearsed loose and careless attitude beside the road in the character of the weary cyclist. But what rather spoilt the effect was that when the king's car was passing each man sprang to 'attention,' clicked his heels and saluted smartly, and then resumed his full length attitude until the king was out of sight, when the bikes were mounted and the procession of straw-hatted tourists wended their way to Westport. I was travelling in the motor car with the king and queen, and he asked me who these men were who kept jumping up. I was saved from having to make an explanation, as at that moment we suddenly turned a corner and the village of Tully came into view, where an enormous crowd had assembled.(138)

It was fortunate that there were no would-be assassins along the king's route, as they certainly would have had no difficulty in spotting his police minders.

When assessing the constabulary's measures for investigating crime one should bear in mind the primitive state of forensic procedure. This was obscured by the over-elaborate instructions of the constabulary code. The following example from 1888, on how to proceed in investigating a burglary, is a case in point. The code recommended that a sergeant should go to the scene of the crime with an "assistant," always bringing along a pencil, paper and scissors, which

should be handed over to his assistant; and the sergeant should direct him to proceed at once to the door or window where the burglars or thieves entered to discover their tracks or marks, cautioning him to be careful not to obliterate them, and to cut the paper to the exact impression of the foot, marking down the number of nail prints, and the tip and heel of the shoe.(139)

Fingerprints were not "discovered," for police purposes, until the early twentieth century. Before 1850 blood stains could not be positively identified as such, and it was not until 1895 that human blood could be distinguished from animal blood.(140) Obviously, in such circumstances, progress in investigations usually depended on factors such as a policeman's familiarity with the people of his area, his intuition or ability to "read" a suspect's face, his skill at making enquiries. According to District Inspector John Regan, "The usual procedure when making enquiries was to talk about any mortal thing but the matter you wanted to discuss and try to sense whether it was any good mentioning the subject of your errand."(141)

Given the poor state of forensic techniques, it is perhaps understandable that in times of widespread agrarian outrages, as for instance during the Land War, when the pressure on the R.I.C. to secure convictions or prisoners was intense, the police frequently considered their duty done in crime cases when they merely reported those whom they suspected of the offences, thus leaving them open to arrest under the "Coercion" laws.(142) The police authorities tried to compensate for the virtual absence of forensic science by a strict training of the men in the knowledge of their duties. Every policeman was expected to be familiar with his powers and obligations under the various Acts of parliament, and to closely read the police gazette, the Hue and Cry, for

particulars of wanted persons or stolen property, and were periodically tested in them by their officers. County and district inspectors were urged, when inspecting their men, to present them with "subjects of crime," and to quiz them on their following visit as to their suggestions for tracing the imaginary culprits. (143)

One's experiences as a policeman were largely determined by where one was stationed. Some postings were considered more desirable than others. Small, rural stations had the advantage of a light work-load in peaceful times, whereas large towns presented opportunities for crime detection and possible subsequent promotion, more varied daily duties, and better opportunities for educating one's children. In 1866 a Presbyterian sub-constable serving in Myshall, Co. Carlow, wrote to a Bray clergyman describing his lot there: "It is a very wild place and the people seem to me to be very uncultivated." He claimed that at the local church there was "no religion," and begged the clergyman, "if you can do any thing to get me out of this horrible (sic) place do for I am wretched." (144) Constable Edward Magill told the 1882 R.I.C. committee of enquiry: "Men should not be kept in wild stations without getting a chance. In Donegal, for instance, they never get out of a back station. They get like the natives in a short time, and some of them are wild enough." Examples of "wild stations" included those of Glen Gesh, Co. Donegal, "which must be about the least desirable quarter in Ireland,"

and Maam Bridge in Co. Mayo, "a singularly bleak situation," and unspecified "bog-stations" in Westmeath.(145) The constabulary authorities were careful not to retain the R.I.C. party on the remote island of Iniskea "out of humanity's reach" for lengthy periods.(146) In 1914 an R.I.C. man complained of the miseries of serving in Co. Clare:

Surely we are not going to be ground down for a lifetime in this backward and almost uncivilized place without any hope whatever of getting a transfer.....I have never seen a decent horse race, coursing match, football match, or athletic sports. I have had very little leave.(147)

David Neligan pointed out that one of the disadvantages of serving in one of the small barracks was the likelihood of friction amongst the men living in it: "Three or four men cooped up in a little cross-roads station were.....bound to get on one's nerves eventually."(148) Of course, not all constabulary stations were considered unattractive postings. Competition was keen to serve in the temporary barrack at the Gap of Dunloe, which was established annually from May 1 to October 31 to ensure that "no annoyance be caused to the tourists passing through the celebrated Gap." According to the Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine in 1913, "The station is naturally popular, as it commands a splendid view of the Killarney scenery, and the duties to be performed are pleasant. Hence it is that volunteers are numerous." Portstewart, a "favourite watering place" in Ulster, was also considered a "choice police station."(149)

The lot of policemen serving in these rural or small

town stations was naturally very different to that of the R.I.C. serving in Belfast. The constabulary took over the policing of that city following the disbandment of the Belfast Borough Police on September 1, 1865. The first Belfast contingent consisted of 450 men, compared to the 160 of the old Belfast police; however, unhappy experiences with large-scale sectarian riots caused a gradual increase in the Belfast constabulary. The Belfast Borough Police had had to try and cope with riots in 1813, 1832, 1835, 1841, 1843, 1852, 1857 and 1864; its constabulary successor was confronted with those of 1872, 1880, 1884, 1886, 1907 and 1909. The regular R.I.C. presence in the city consisted of 462 men in 1869, 518 in 1882, 571 in 1886, 816 in 1895, and 1,070 in 1908 - almost one ninth of the entire R.I.C. force.(150) In 1914 the regular Belfast force consisted of 1,261 men in the rank and file, as well as seven district inspectors and the town commissioner. One of its main tasks was to keep Belfast's warring factions apart at times of heightened sectarian tension, and as the city's population grew, so did the need for a larger police presence. The population of the Belfast police district increased from 174,394 in 1871 to 385,492 in 1912. In 1897, by Act of parliament, Belfast was increased in size from 6,000 acres to 16,500 acres; as the Belfast town commissioner commented, "the city simply took wings and extended out." At first, Belfast was divided into four police districts; these were increased to five in 1897, and a sixth was added between

1906 and 1914.(151)

It was not pleasant to be serving in Belfast during the various civil disturbances of the period, particularly as some of the opposing mobs were armed with firearms and were not slow to turn them on the police. The danger of confrontation with armed adversaries was especially heightened by the government's decision to allow the Arms Act to expire in 1906, against the advice of the R.I.C. inspector-general. After that, firearms circulated so freely in Belfast that football fans were given to discharging them into the air at half-time. (152) The commander of the British army in Ireland stated that during the Belfast riots of August 1872, the regular force in the city, before sufficient reinforcements arrived from the rest of the country,

were so worn out with fatigue and never-ceasing duty that a great exertion on their part had become almost impossible...the whole body was kept perpetually on duty, numbers of them not having left their post, as I am told, for 60 hours, and this in the midst of highly irritated and hostile crowds.(153)

Seventy three R.I.C. men were wounded during the nine days of rioting, and one was killed.(154)

Suppressing the series of riots which occurred in Belfast from June to October 1886 represented one of the most difficult tasks undertaken in the history of the police in Ireland. The catalyst for the riots was an attack on June 4 on Catholic workers at the Alexandria Dock, one of whom drowned while attempting to escape. The inevitable further disturbances which followed mainly took the form of Protestant

attacks on the R.I.C., whom they seem to have believed were mainly Catholics brought in from outside the city to kill Protestants as a prelude to Home Rule being introduced in Ulster and Ireland. As the chief secretary pointed out, such fears were absurd, as they would have involved a conspiracy including himself and the lord lieutenant, under-secretary, inspector-general, and most of the officers of the police - "all of them Protestants of declared and undeniable orthodoxy." The Protestant crowds were also at first mistaken in their assumption that the police they were attacking were "outsiders," although this was accurate as the riots continued, with at one point almost 2,000 R.I.C. men involved in preserving the peace. The police found out the hard way that Belfast's paving stones, or "kidneys," made excellent missiles - once one was loosened with a poker or other implement, the rest of the footpath was easily broken up to provide ammunition for the crowds. Protestant fury towards the R.I.C. became so intense that on August 8 they were withdrawn from duty from the Shankill Road and adjacent areas, and the army sent in in their stead for six weeks. Towards the end of the disturbances the police also found themselves in conflict with Catholic mobs, who felt that the R.I.C. had on occasion stood idly by and allowed Protestant crowds to attack Catholic areas with impunity. The final death toll during the riots was 32, including one R.I.C. head constable and one soldier; a further 371 policemen were injured. Thirty one public houses

were wrecked, and 442 people were arrested for rioting.(155)

Police duty in Belfast was arduous even without the periodic rioting which occurred, and of course this could have been said of service in most cities of the United Kingdom. It is interesting to note that Mountpottinger R.I.C. station, near the shipyards, was considered in 1913 to be the most difficult posting for a sergeant, not on account of the likelihood of sectarian conflict, but because the numerous fatal accidents in the shipyards necessitated enquiries by the police, and in almost every case an inquest.(156) An indication of the severity of duty in the city is the fact that policemen's boots wore out twice as quickly as in country districts, due to Belfast's rough pavements. Boots suitable for wear elsewhere were considered unsuitable for the northern city - one policeman even claimed that gentlemen's boots were "not so shapely" as in other Irish towns, as their heels and toes were worn down.(157) Unlike his rural counterpart, the Belfast R.I.C. man regularly performed night duty. A sub-constable's typical year consisted of four months each at day duty, evening duty and night duty. The fact that evening and night duty was performed in pairs, as contrasted with the single-man day beat, shows that the streets of Belfast were not the safest place for a policeman after the onset of darkness. Regular night duty was also a permanent feature of R.I.C. life in the cities of Derry, Cork and Limerick, although in the latter two it was of shorter duration than in

the two northern cities.(158)

In 1858 the Irish Constabulary still shared responsibility at night with night watchmen in Galway, Limerick, Sligo and Waterford, but only those of Limerick seem to have been maintained into the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were a doubtful addition to the policing of the city. One Limerick alderman pointed out in 1877 that they were in the habit of warning publicans selling drink after hours of the approach of the police, and the town council, many of whom were publicans, favoured their retention.(159) The sub-inspector for Limerick commented in 1882 that the watchmen occasionally aided the R.I.C. by arresting a drunken prostitute, but "when there is a disturbance they get away out of the streets as fast as they can." He said that "many of them are feeble old men, quite incapable of combating disorder," while two years later a corporation member described them as "the disbanded, the reduced, and rejected of the English army." In December 1894 the R.I.C. reported that the "respectable" Limerick people wanted the watch abolished and replaced by the constabulary, but that the "great bulk" of the population favoured its retention, as did most of the corporation. The night watch had influential backing from people who needed to be called early in the morning, including "the pig buyers and their friends." (160)

To return to the discussion of the policing of Belfast,

another sign of its relatively demanding nature is the statement of District Inspector Grene that the beat men seldom performed a day's duty that did not necessitate his appearance as a prosecutor in court the next day, which meant on average about two or three hours' extra duty daily. In 1872 a constable stationed in Cork city made a similar statement about the busy life of the city policeman: "in Cork there is not a night but we have calls made on us, such as for persons fighting in the streets, persons drowning, or accidents of one kind or another." In Belfast, if a policeman made an arrest, he usually had to go a long distance out of his way, as the only "lock-ups" were at the town hall or Ballynafeigh R.I.C. station. Some policemen were not above arresting somebody simply to get away from beat duty for an hour and a half while bringing in their prisoner.(161) Some people made a startlingly high number of visits to the police cells of Belfast and other Irish cities. One of the most regular visitors was a Limerick man who in September 1873 was brought before the Limerick city police court for the 500th time on a charge of drunkenness!(162)

The Belfast R.I.C. "inherited" several regulars from the days of the Belfast Borough Police. One of these was a man in his 60s named Owen Christie, who by December 1866 had been arrested 260 times for being drunk and disorderly or assaulting policemen, and had paid over 200 in fines for his escapades.(163) Others included a "notorious" man named

Gardiner, a "well known frequenter of the dock," who was regularly arrested in the 1860s for being drunk and disorderly, assaulting policemen and using sectarian expressions - the latter being a common offence in Belfast, and a woman named McCance, whose appearances in the dock for offences similar to Gardiner's were greeted with the newspaper headlines of "Mrs McCance again!" On one occasion she attempted to stab the editor of the newspaper responsible for her "fame." According to Resident Magistrate Orme in May 1866, McCance was "in the habit of carrying stones, and extracting teeth with them." (164)

Sarah Cochrane was another woman who caused problems for the police. According to Head Constable Lamb in June 1866, "She is hardly ever out of jail. She is the worst woman we have in Belfast." Jane Feeney, "a well known offender" arrested in November 1866 for disorderly conduct, was, according to Sub-constable Ryan, a "regular pest in the town" with over 70 offences against her name. Jane Lavery, "one of the most notorious Belfast offenders," made over 150 court appearances for being drunk and disorderly and assaulting policemen; Mary Donaghy had been arrested over 200 times by the time of her August 1866 appearance in court for being drunk and disorderly and using obscene language. Mary Tierney, charged with "having been drunk and disorderly, also with being a drunkard, a vagabond, and a disturber of the peace," made her 100th appearance in the dock in April 1880. (165) One

of the saddest examples of prisoners frequently arrested by the Belfast police was a woman named Mary Hamilton, who was charged in August 1866 with attempting to commit suicide by throwing herself into the river at Donegal Quay. According to the police, she was "before the court repeatedly, and they had always great trouble to keep her from strangling herself."

(166) The preceding examples help one to understand why "fixed point" duties were "very much sought for by the men." These involved nothing more arduous than directing traffic for a month. (167)

The 1866 constabulary committee of enquiry recommended granting the police in Belfast one shilling per week (2 12 shillings a year) more than their counterparts in the rest of the force, in recognition of the extra duties they performed and the high cost of living in the city. This proposal was acted upon, and extended to the R.I.C. serving in Derry, when they took over the policing of that city in 1870. These bonuses were doubled in 1874, and in addition the police of Derry, Cork and Belfast were paid an extra sixpence for each night's duty performed. The extra pay made Belfast an attractive posting for R.I.C. men - when there were 40 vacancies in the city's force early in 1886, 810 men from the rest of Ireland volunteered to be transferred there at their own expense. (168) However, by the end of the century the increments offered to Belfast policemen seemed unsatisfactory, and were to be partly the cause of the police "mutiny" of

1907. As we have already seen, the 1901 R.I.C. committee of enquiry had recommended that the men receive their increases in salary at earlier periods, but these proposals, which required parliamentary legislation, were not acted upon. This led to resentment in the force, and especially in Belfast, where the cost of living was higher than in most other police districts. The Belfast men were particularly angry that the sixpence for night duty did not cover the cost of their meals. Their anger was combined with what Inspector-general Chamberlain considered a decline in discipline due to the enquiry into the grievances of the Belfast police in June 1906, at which the representatives of the men gave vent to their feelings of frustration at the slow rate of promotion in the city. The minutes of evidence and findings of this committee were suppressed following protests by Chamberlain.

According to Deputy Inspector-general Considine, it was the prolonged dock strike in Belfast in 1907 which finally brought matters to a head. He felt that

This long fought struggle.....has no doubt impressed the Belfast force with what combination can effect; and the doctrines so constantly preached as to the right and the power of labour found a receptive soil amongst men who have long thought themselves unfairly treated.

The Belfast R.I.C. had to work for weeks at the arduous task of protecting "blackleg" cart drivers from the docks to various parts of the city. Police regulations provided for extra pay to be granted for the performance of eight consecutive hours duty away from barracks; however, the

Belfast men found that they had to regularly perform 16 to 18 hours' duty daily, but were denied the extra allowance by the unpopular expedient of a relief of half an hour before the eighth hour had expired. This innovation was attributed to a clerk in the constabulary's budget-conscious financial department. An indication of the dissatisfaction in the force was the meeting of representatives of the men in Musgrave Street barrack on the night of July 24, despite orders from Acting Town Commissioner Morell forbidding the assembly.

Estimates for the attendance vary. Sources hostile to the men put it at 60, while others suggested as many as 200 or 300. When Morell heard that they were going ahead with their meeting he rushed into the barrack and tried to put a stop to it; in the ensuing confusion he was either pushed to the ground or fell, and left the barrack, having failed to stop the proceedings. The leader of the protesting policemen was a Constable Barrett, who had been suspended from duty a few days earlier for refusing to sit beside a "blackleg" driver on a police-protected motor wagon. Barrett and four other constables sent a petition to the chief secretary, Augustine Birrell, outlining the demands of the Belfast "mutineers." It included the demand that the R.I.C. should receive a pay rise of a shilling a day (over £18 a year), three quarters of their pay as pension, and the right for policemen to meet periodically to discuss matters affecting their interests and to make appropriate recommendations to

R.I.C. headquarters at these meetings.

Birrell made the mistake of playing down the Musgrave Street meeting as unrepresentative of the feelings of the Belfast force. On July 27, as if to give the lie to his claim, another meeting was organized at Musgrave Street in spite of the acting commissioner's prohibition. More than 600 of the Belfast force attended. At this meeting the men threatened that unless they received a favourable answer from the government to their petition within a week, they would go on strike on Saturday, August 3. Telegrams of support arrived from "country stations from Malin Head to Cape Clear." The government, feeling that they could not grant demands presented to them in the form of an ultimatum, drafted in four extra regiments of troops by August 1 to reinforce the two regiments of the regular garrison, intending to use them to police the streets in the event of an R.I.C. strike. These precautions proved unnecessary, as by this time a reaction against the agitation had set in amongst the men. Assistant Inspector-general Gamble felt that the leading movers of the proposed strike were around 100 "young constables who do not care about dismissal," although all members with less than 15 years' service - significantly the minimum period at which one normally qualified for a pension - were considered "unreliable." Those who disapproved of the movement were "afraid to stand aloof," but they were a dubious addition to the strength of the agitators. By August 1 most men reportedly

felt that the threat to strike had been a precipitous move. When the police authorities decided to defuse the situation by dismissing Constable Barrett and ten others, suspending several more and transferring 208 of the 600 policemen involved in the second Musgrave Street meeting, the Belfast force accepted the measures quietly. By August 3, the date of the proposed strike, the movement had completely collapsed. (169) Although it achieved nothing immediate, the Belfast agitation may well have prompted the government to implement the proposals of the 1901 committee of enquiry as to the intervals at which R.I.C. men received pay increases. (170)

When reviewing the recent agitation, the police authorities came to the conclusion that an organized movement had been possible because for many years policemen serving in Belfast, to mollify its municipal leaders, were not transferred out of the city unless they committed "some special breach of discipline." Inspector-general Chamberlain claimed that the Belfast force "regard themselves as specially privileged in respect of transfers," while the under-secretary for Ireland complained that it was "too much of a local force," thereby making "want of discipline" inevitable. (171)

The Belfast force had long been subject to special regulations regarding transfers. Before September 1885 it was a mixture of recruits from the Dublin depot and experienced volunteers from the counties, often attracted by the higher

rates of pay enjoyed by the city force; in September 1885 Inspector-general Reed restricted the intake to volunteers with at least three years' service. A Belfast policeman was removed when he married a Belfast woman, or if he was "not sufficiently steady." The latter type was removed to the countryside where "he would not have the same temptation," but otherwise the Belfast R.I.C. was a "stationary force." (172)

From 1888 onwards, whenever a policeman was locally connected, whether through marriage or otherwise, he would not necessarily have been transferred out of the city. The town commissioner usually removed a man who married a Belfast woman only if his in-laws were "undesirable," and especially if they were involved in the liquor trade. This relaxation of the rule necessitating transfer on marriage was unique in the R.I.C. (173)

The authorities were obviously reluctant to send raw recruits onto Belfast's streets, or to remove experienced policemen who had a good knowledge of police work in the city. Following the 1907 agitation, Belfast policemen were transferred more frequently to the counties than had been the case earlier- county Down received a particularly high proportion of Belfast men _ but the policy of choosing experienced policemen for service in the city was maintained. In the years before World War I one had to have at least two years' service before a transfer to the Ulster city, with the actual average service of those transferred being around six years. (174)

As the police force of a major city, the Belfast R.I.C. had a daily routine which had more in common with that of the D.M.P. than with the rural-based constabulary. Police duty in Dublin, as in Belfast, was considered to be especially exacting - indeed, recruits on their enrollment were warned that their duties would be "arduous and unremitting." (175) David Neligan records that beat duty "jaded" the sturdy members of the D.M.P., and that those who did not take regular exercise inevitably suffered from bad health.(176)

When the D.M.P. first took to the streets of Dublin, a contemporary newspaper outlined some of the street nuisances which the new force was expected to curb:

The scandalous state of all the public thoroughfares after night-fall, when no decent female can venture to walk from one shop or house to another.

The 'lobbing' of car men, and particularly in the evenings, when it is utterly impossible to drive any vehicle with safety through Dame Street, Grafton Street, Nassau Street, &c.

The flying of paper kites, by which many horses have been frightened, and frequent loss of life occurred.

The rolling of sugar hogsheads and barrels, without the slightest regard by the persons employed in such occupations against whom or what they may strike.

The wheeling of trucks are liable to the same complaint, from the extremely heedless and careless manner in which they are propelled by porters.

The singing of obscene and rebellious ballads in the streets.

The obstruction of the bridges and footways by fruit stalls and other encroachments most inconvenient to passengers.

The importunity of sturdy and insolent beggars - who, under the pretence of being distressed weavers from the Liberties - a gross and false representation - watch and annoy ladies by the most violent threats and audacious language.

The exposure of naked and apparently famishing children - the display of loathsome and unsightly wounds, &c, &c, all with a view of extorting money from the unwary.

The driving of 'breaks' through the streets, with young, untrained, and frequently vicious and unstable horses. The playing at 'golfe' and 'hurling' by boys, along the quays and less frequented streets, whereby the least injury that the passengers can count upon is the destruction of his(sic) clothes by mud.

The groups of clamorous and impertinent beggars, by no means objects of charity, who throng around the doors of the keepers of fashionable shops, and besiege and assail ladies descending from and passing to their carriages.(177)

The D.M.P.'s regulations enjoined on the beat constables a wide variety of street duties, many of them anticipated in the newspaper extract cited above.

The Dublin police were expected to seize unmuzzled dogs or pigs found roaming through the streets, to secure open coal holes and cellars, prevent people from rolling casks, tubs, hoops or wheels or carrying ladders, planks, poles or placards on the pavements (unless they were unloading carts); prevent the sale of rotten fruit and meat, arrest graffiti scrawlers, tear down posters which were offensive to people of any religious persuasion, and to direct that carts containing meat were covered with a tarpaulin. Grocers and other shopkeepers who placed tubs on the footpath were to be told to remove them, and butchers were to be prevented from placing meat where it was likely to damage the clothes of passers-by.

Owners of flower pots which the beat men considered were likely to fall were to be ordered to remove them. The police were ordered to arrest people seen "committing nuisance in an indecent manner against walls, doors, &c, in the public thoroughfares," but were to take no action against those who

"withdraw to private places." They were also told to report when public urinals were in a dirty condition, and to observe that corporation water carts gave an adequate supply of water when cleaning the streets.(178) One of the most common "street nuisances" complained of by Dublin residents was begging, and the D.M.P. were directed that if they could not catch beggars in the act, they were at least to make life as difficult as possible for them by frequently ordering them to move along the streets.(179) The D.M.P.'s workload was inevitably heavier than that of rural policemen. The 1882 committee of enquiry into the D.M.P. was told that Dublin constables "seldom -even in the most peaceable times - perform a tour of duty without having to arrest a prisoner, whom they must escort to and prosecute at the police courts, or without having a summons case."(180)

Another nuisance which the D.M.P. had to combat was "knocker wrenching" or "cracking nuts and peeling oranges," the latter being a Dublin slang term for knocking at hall doors and then running away. Usually it was young gentlemen or Trinity College students returning from a night on the town who engaged in these activities.(181) A far more dangerous nuisance which they were expected to suppress was that of reckless or "furious" driving in the streets. Dublin had an unenviable reputation for its high incidence of people killed or injured by speeding traffic, despite the efforts of the D.M.P. to curb the drivers. At the Commission of Oyer and

Terminer in Dublin in 1872, Justice Fitzgerald claimed that "there was scarcely a city anywhere in which there was greater danger to the street passengers - unless they were young, vigorous, and quick in getting out of the way - than the city of Dublin." He singled out such "street Arabs" as the drivers of hackney cars and bakers', grocers' and butchers' vans as the main culprits. Some days later, Police Magistrate Barton told the Southern Division Court that "not a single day passes without some person being run over and seriously injured on the public highways of the city." In October 1880 the Freeman's Journal, commenting on the "furious driving" menace, stated that "giddy youngsters and timid old ladies" were especially vulnerable to Dublin's speeding car men. Police Magistrate O'Donel contrasted in 1888 the attitude of Dublin drivers towards the police with those of London:

Here, where the streets were comparatively desert[ed], they had accidents occurring every day owing to the manner in which the vehicles were driven; while along Piccadilly and other crowded thoroughfares in London, police stationed at different places regulated the traffic, and no matter what rank or position the driver of the vehicle may be in, the policeman had merely to put up his hand and the driver stopped; consequently, the enormous traffic went on, while very few cases of furious or careless driving were heard of; but here in Dublin the drivers will not condescend to take the slightest notice of the police. (182)

It was not just the working classes who disregarded D.M.P. attempts to regulate traffic. In May 1838 a Dublin constable complained that "gentlemen" were "in the habit of driving their horses, &c, at full gallop through the streets," while in 1914 a constable claimed that if a D.M.P. man had cause to

speak to speeding gentlemen "many of them will tell you that you are a 'cad of a policeman' or use some other offensive expression."(183)

A more serious problem on Dublin's streets was that of prostitution. In a city which had some of the worst slums in the United Kingdom, where employment for women was scarce and not well paid, it is not surprising that prostitution was a major social problem. The Victorian upper classes - from whose ranks most legislators came - had an ambivalent attitude towards prostitution. While undoubtedly viewing it as a moral and social evil, they often also saw it as a necessary or inevitable phenomenon, and the police approach to the problem reflected this attitude. The D.M.P. arrested prostitutes for openly or riotously soliciting, or prosecuted publicans who allowed prostitutes to gather in their shops, but they did not wage an all-out campaign to suppress all known brothels. Consequently, police statistics do not give a complete picture of the extent of prostitution in the city - the 2,849, 2,888, 3,556, 3,733 and 3,979 arrested from 1838 to 1842 hardly represented the sum total of Dublin prostitutes in those years.(184) While individual prostitutes were arrested, brothels were often allowed to remain in operation. Only 77 of 149 known brothels were suppressed by the D.M.P. in 1855, while 12 out of 142 in 1856, 50 out of 95 in 1857 and 12 out of 108 in 1858 suffered the same fate.(185)

Usually larcenies committed on customers prompted police

visits to brothels, while the decision to close a premises was often prompted by complaints from "respectable" citizens about disorderly houses of ill fame in their area.(186) In June 1857 the Freeman's Journal published an account of a case in which the D.M.P., rather than closing down a brothel known to be located above a cigar shop in Duke Street, simply warned "respectable persons" of the nature of the establishment, and presumably this was common police procedure with orderly brothels.(187) Influential figures felt that a concerted police campaign against brothels would have the effect of driving prostitutes from known haunts, where the D.M.P. could at least keep an eye on them, to other parts of Dublin. In July 1855 Police Magistrate Bourke commented on the police attempt to intimidate prostitutes from the notorious "red light" area of French Street: "Speaking morally, the nuisance was one he would wish to see abated, but if these women were compelled to leave French Street they would take up their abode in respectable locales throughout the city."(188) In May 1880 the Freeman's Journal pointed out that the D division's suppression of 17 brothels in "notorious" Bull Lane had lead to their "re-establishment in other parts of the city where their presence had hitherto been unknown - a practice the wisdom of which may be open to question." (189) Protests by Catholic clergymen had prompted the D.M.P. to disperse the "upper class" prostitutes of Clarendon Street in the 1870s, but it was not until the mid-1880s, with the passing of the

1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act and the activities of the Dublin branch of the White Cross Association, that a concerted and relatively successful police offensive was opened up against Dublin's brothels. By the end of the nineteenth century, although prostitution had not been stamped out, it had certainly become less of a problem in Dublin than it was in other major cities of the United Kingdom. (190)

The D.M.P., like the constabulary in the cities of Cork, Derry, Limerick and Belfast, had to perform regular tours of night duty. Dublin's dark streets, which could be perilous enough for members of the public, were especially dangerous for D.M.P. men on their beat. (191) Apart from encounters with Dublin's drunks or with people hostile to the police, the night constable had also to be wary of eccentrics who were wont to wander the city streets in the dark. The following dialogue between an eccentric poet named Wilson and a policeman, taken from a newspaper account of a court case in November 1842, shows what happened to Constable 280B on the night of November 18:

Prisoner: He ought to be kicked through flood and field, from the equator to the pole. On Friday last, when night was at the zenith of her dark domain - when the rain was falling in everlasting bucketfuls from the skies - I saw him walking up and down the streets alone, forlorn, disconsolate- a thing for all men's pity and contempt. I knew how pitiable must be the condition, under such circumstances, of a man who had no resources of mind or education to beguile the weary hours withal. I resolved to do something to relieve him from his intolerable ennui, and walking up to him as he was standing under the lamp post at the corner of Hawkins Street, I looked with ineffable tenderness into his face, and exclaimed, 'How is it with you, sweet? (loud

laughter).

Magistrate: I really can't see what business you had in addressing the constable at all.

Prisoner: Why, your worship, it was the exuberance of my philanthropy which urged me to do so; I wanted to get into an intellectual conversation with him, and to make him understand how great a solace it would be for his solitary hours to get off by heart some passages from the poets, and recite them as he was parading the streets by night-

Magistrate: What did he reply, when you asked him, 'How is it with you, sweet?'

Prisoner: Pretty well, I thank you, said he; I want only two things to make me completely happy. I asked him what were these two things - and what do you imagine was his answer?

Magistrate: I am sure I can't tell.

Prisoner: I'll tell you, then - 'a pull at the pipe, and a slice of an inying.' He meant to say an onion, I suppose.

Magistrate: Well, what did you say when you heard that?

Prisoner: My soul sickened within me. I asked him had he ever read Young's 'Night's Thoughts.' Will you believe it, he answered in the negative? I pulled out the sublime work, and offered to spend the night in walking up and down and reading it to him. With scorn and disdain he scouted my benevolent offer; I naturally became incensed at such ingratitude, and charged him with being a mere clod of the valley. He told me to keep a civil tongue in my head. I said that my indignation forbade me to keep silent, and declared that it was a sickening sight to see man born for eternity walking up and down in the puddle[s] of a winter night, numbered and lettered, as if he were a hackney car, and having upon his head a glazed hat, more like an inverted coal-box than anything else sublunary. On hearing these words, he became infuriated like an insane bull, and insisted upon bringing me to the station house. I am free to confess that my Ebenezer was also raised a trifle, and on my way to the police office I admit having him a thump in the face.

Constable: You gave me such a blow as I will never get the better of.

Prisoner: Don't believe it. You're a deluded individual; you'll be well before you form a second matrimonial alliance.

Constable: You're a madman; that's my opinion of you.

Prisoner: Avaunt! you poor benighted animal. Did you ever read Milton's 'Paradise Lost?'

Constable: No, I did not.

Prisoner: Nor Shakespeare - nor Young's 'Night Thoughts?'

Constable: Neither one nor the other.

Prisoner: Can you play the flute?

Constable: No, I can't.

Prisoner: Nor the fiddle?

Constable: No.

Prisoner: Well, then, if you can do none of these things, you're unfit to live. I had rather be a caterpillar than such a man. (192)

While day or night beat duty occupied most of the time of the D.M.P. men, the varied nature of the Dublin police's responsibilities meant that a considerable minority of the force was regularly involved in activities other than the beat. An examination of the deployment of the D.M.P. in 1872 found that over a quarter of the men were regularly assigned to other duties. (193) The small mounted section of the force was included in this number. This consisted of 28 men in 1882. It was attached to the A division, whose superintendent was in charge of it. As in the R.I.C., the duties of the mounted police were often ceremonial in nature, such as escorting the lord mayor to court sessions, but from 1849 to 1862 they were also responsible for the D.M.P.'s fire brigade, assisted by 20 recruits who manned the pumps. This latter duty was rendered unnecessary by the establishment of a regular municipal fire brigade in 1862. (194) Service in the mounted police was restricted to unmarried men who had at least one year's experience of street duty. Their routine was generally lighter than that of the foot police. Their duties included taking care of their horses, attending at society levees, dinner parties, concerts, regattas and other functions, escorting prisoners for trial, and night patrols in the D.M.P. district south of Rathmines, and in the Phoenix Park and

Glasnevin. (195)

A number of D.M.P. men were employed as gaolers in each station. This duty was usually confined to "an old constable unfit for beat duty." As well as checking on prisoners every hour - and on drunken prisoners every half hour - the gaolers were required, from the 1870s onward, to make coffee for the night constables. (196) While the gaoler's lot was much less strenuous than that of the beat constable, it was not without its exacting aspects. Gaolers had to be particularly alert to prevent suicide attempts by prisoners. Records of the number of attempted suicides in police cells from 1843 to 1853 show that there were 21 in both 1843 and 1844, 24 in 1845, 19 in 1846, 23 in 1847, 30 in 1848, 25 in 1849, 17 in 1850, 36 in 1852 and 47 in 1853. (197) Some prisoners proved especially determined in their attempts at self-destruction, thus demanding even greater than usual vigilance by the gaoler. In July 1858 a woman arrested for being drunk and disorderly tried to commit suicide three times in Irishtown station house, and was stopped on each occasion by the cell constable; a woman arrested for drunkenness twice tried to hang herself early in October 1858. In the same month Mary Robinson, a prostitute given to drink, was described as "constantly in the habit of attempting to shorten the term of her mortal existence by throwing herself into the river, or by attempting to strangle herself in the cells of the station house." A woman arrested for drunkenness in December 1861 tried to

strangle herself on three occasions in one night in Bridewell Lane station. (198)

Usually it was drunken "unfortunate women" - the usual newspaper description for prostitutes - who attempted to commit suicide when in police custody. However, three of the four successful efforts uncovered by the author involved men; the exception was that of a woman charged with stealing a watch, who hung herself with her handkerchief in Chancery Lane station on September 30, 1838. In March 1847 a man arrested for being drunk, disorderly and assaulting a police sergeant hung himself with his belt in the cells of Sackville Place station house. In January 1852 a "sturdy beggar" arrested for drunkenness hung himself in Bridewell Lane station. The case of Edward Fagan, a coachpainter arrested on the night of June 21, 1854, for drunkenness, illustrates the difficulty sometimes posed in protecting prisoners from themselves. When he was lodged in Chancery Lane station house Fagan was "so drunk as to be unable to stand," yet he managed to hang himself 15 minutes after his incarceration. (199)

In comparison, the duty of messman in each station, after the introduction of a messing system in the 1860s, was a more desirable duty. This post was held for six months to a year, and the messman were elected by each station party. It was an attractive situation, as messmen were excused from all other duties and hence were guaranteed a regular spell of sleep at nights, they could make profits from selling alcohol

in the canteen and, according to David Neligan, it was rumoured that they received a "rake-off" from traders who supplied them with food and drink. Canvassing for the post was rife near election time, with men from the respective provinces combining to elect one of their own to the post. The messing system was certainly not run on very economical lines - the chairman of the 1901 D.M.P. committee of enquiry found that soldiers were fed "twice as well for half the money."(200)

An unusual feature of police work in Dublin was that a number of D.M.P. men were detailed for sanitary duties, for whose services Dublin Corporation paid. D.M.P. sanitary officers played an important role in preventing the spread of disease in Dublin's slums, although their endeavours were not always appreciated by the people affected by their duty. The strange nature of their work can be gauged by the April 1847 case in which Inspector Campbell summonsed two inhabitants of Drury Lane under the prevention of nuisance and disease laws. The pair shared an apartment with seven large pigs!(201)

In the following month Campbell summonsed 15 inhabitants of Tucker's Alley for "allowing pools of slop water and manure to accumulate in front of their dwellings.(202) From October 18 to December 11, 1848, a D division sergeant and constable issued 653 documents for the "removal of nuisance" in the parishes of St Michan and St Paul. The yards and privies of 246 houses, occupied by 7,380 people, were made clean and

usable as a result of their action. (203) The D.M.P.'s annual statistics first detailed the particulars of the sanitary duty performed by the force in 1853:

Table 5: Sanitary duty performed by the D.M.P. in 1853.

Description	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Privies/ash-pits cleaned	1812	1703	286	1211	981	989	6982
Ditto, constructed	66	62	232	80	15	40	495
Ditto, reconstructed	166	107	83	116	36	14	522
Unfinished privies completed	28	50	36	73		8	195
Sewers constructed	77	53	32	46	18	108	334
Do., cleaned	1102	97	30	104	124	115	1572
Slaughter houses cleansed	43	83	47	34	9	46	262
Dung removed yards/filthy pigsties abated	1625	908	215	893	825	1281	5747
Houses white-1509	1911	1628		1303	328	2160	8839
Filthy/crowded lodging houses suppressed	347	29	8	145	19	19	567
Totals	6881	5098	2649	4126	2456	4851	26061

Source: Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1853 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1854), p.52.

Such duty was obviously disagreeable for the men involved. Not only were they expected to enforce Acts of parliament and Dublin Corporation bye-laws concerning sanitary conditions of buildings, but they also had to intervene in cases where people died of infectious diseases such as typhus, to ensure that they were buried immediately, rather than being waked by their friends. In 1854 each sergeant on sanitary duty was

issued with packets of "astringent powder" to distribute to the sanitary men. According to the D.M.P. surgeon, the powder prevented the "premonitory diarrhoea" suffered by many of the police from developing into full cases of cholera.(204) sanitary men were somewhat compensated by being the only D.M.P. men allowed freedom from duty on Sundays.(205)

Like their constabulary counterparts, the men of the D.M.P. had to have a suit of plain clothes in their possession and often had to don them in the course of their duties. Some went beyond the wearing of mere plain clothes. For instance, in December 1841 two constables disguised themselves as women and secured a conviction against a grocer in North Earl Street for illegally selling porter and whiskey.(206) Opinions varied as to the desirability of policemen operating in disguise. In February 1842 the Freeman's Journal, in an article on "The spy system," claimed that they had "on more than one occasion worn disguises, that none but a spy would even in sport put on, to cozen and cajole the unsuspecting into admissions against their own liberties and lives."(207) In July 1843 it referred to Constable 114D, sent on plain-clothes duty to catch publicans in breach of the Sunday drinking laws, as "a wolf in sheep's clothing."(208)

Dublin's magistrates appear to have been divided in their attitude towards the activities of plain-clothesmen in the first two decades of the D.M.P.'s existence. In April 1843 Constable 174A successfully prosecuted Nathan Dutch, owner of

a "cigar divan" in Dame Street, after he entered his premises in plain clothes and ordered, and was given, a bottle of porter. He was also successful against Henry Page, after he entered his South Great George's Street "harmonica saloon" in plain clothes and bought coffee from him after legal selling hours. However, three weeks later, a number of similar cases brought against shebeeners by plain-clothesmen were thrown out by Police Magistrate Kelly, after the police admitted that they had first ordered drink on the premises. Kelly said that he "would never convict persons offending under such circumstances," as the police "created the offences themselves, and then seek to punish the parties whom they had induced to violate the law. He would not sanction such conduct; and every case of that nature coming before him he would dismiss."(209)

Early in 1847 Kelly refused to convict a shebeener after a policeman admitted that, when in plain clothes, he had ordered two glasses of whiskey in order to build up his case. Superintendent McCarthy pleaded in vain that the police had "no other means" of catching shebeen owners. Two weeks later, Kelly dismissed a similar case brought by two plain-clothesmen against a grocer for selling whiskey without a license. He felt that policemen who ordered drink to secure convictions were "guilty of solicitation to commit crime."(210) Magistrates appear to have looked on the plain-clothes tactic more favourably in the late 1850s. In February 1858 Police

Magistrate Porter, on hearing Constable 83B admit that he had borrowed a car man's clothes and ordered whiskey for consumption on the premises of a spirit grocer in Johnson's Court, remarked that the evidence had been "obtained by unworthy means," but nevertheless convicted the grocer.(211)

Plain-clothesmen were not used merely to police erring drink traders. They were also employed to catch beggars, to disperse "unfortunate women" who congregated in the streets, or to prevent boys from playing hurling and other street games which were "annoying and dangerous to the public."(212) In September 1858 the Freeman's Journal published a sarcastic account of how Constable 61D had walked through Great Britain Street "attired in the garb of an unsophisticated countryman." It stated that he was

highly successful in making sudden descents on any of the unsuspecting juveniles of the locality who happened to be engaged in the laudable undertaking of flying a kite, which said kite the said constable would forthwith demolish with an air of grave authority, eminently calculated to create in the mind, even in the luckless owner of the kite, a high respect for the law, of which 61D was a distinguished upholder.(213)

In addition to plain-clothes police, who were no more than ordinary constables clad in mufti, the D.M.P. had a section of permanent, non-uniformed detectives from November 1842 onwards. This was the famous G division, based at the Exchange Court near Dublin Castle. The 31 officers and men in the division in 1865 had increased to 44 by 1890. Promotion was slower in this division than in the rest of the force, and the D.M.P. authorities were reluctant to lose experienced

detectives by letting them opt for promotion to a higher rank in the uniformed force. Detectives were encouraged to remain in the G division by receiving a higher rate of pay than uniformed men - on its formation, detective constables were paid over four shillings per week (11 a year) more than their uniformed counterparts. (214)

In addition, because of the opportunities they had of detecting crimes or recovering lost or stolen property, detectives were more likely than uniformed men to receive rewards to supplement their salary. A Dublin magistrate records a mid-century example of how a detective sergeant was rewarded with 20 for tracing the life savings of a man who died in a Bishop Street lodging house. (215) Detective Inspector John Mallon stated in 1872 that "G men" received, on average, an extra 2 10 shillings simply in recognition of the praise of magistrates or judges for their handling of cases. (216) David Neligan describes one detective of his acquaintance, Sergeant Johnny Barton:

Cadaverous, immensely tall with weird clothes and farmer's boots he looked like a rustic from an Abbey play. Anyone would take him for a simpleton but it would be a major error. He was easily the best detective in these islands, had plenty of touts working for him and was known to be well-off financially.

Contributors to his prosperity included shopkeepers who paid him to check that their wives were faithful to them! (217)

Detective police were, as stated earlier, viewed with suspicion by many in the United Kingdom when they were first employed. One of the most influential critics of the G

division was the Nation newspaper. In September 1844 it attacked what it termed the "detective scoundrels" of the D.M.P., stating that

If there be anything that would tempt us to break from our discipline and redress ourselves with bludgeon and pistol, it would be the interference of one of this frightful gang. It is amazing to us that they dare rot this pure air of ours with their presence. (218)

This was rather mild compared to its leading article in the next month:

[T]here is no man, however high, virtuous, and honorable, that is not liable to have a frightful crew of harpies sliming his steps, following him into every corner, noting down his doings, eaves-dropping in his path, malignantly constructing his words and actions, and, like loaded bees, returning to a certain hive of iniquity every night with their thighs full of malicious conjecture, perverted fact, and lying conclusions. A wealthy man, a firm man, can defy the machinations of the detective villains. Such a man can awe the rascals into silence and humility. But the poor man.....is crushed at once by the leech, the blood-sucker, the vampire policeman. The poor man may have no home - the detective spy is authorized to drag him to one of those dens that are every day swelling their proportions to meet the demands of constructive crime; the poor man may have been guilty of some petty theft, some sixpenny larceny - the detective spy is authorized to dog his steps, to arrest him whenever sunset sees him without a shelter, and to remit him to gaol. Then comes the rural manufacturer of crime, who finds the poor man a fit subject for his experiment. He will transport or hang well.....It is bad enough to be torn by the lion or to be gnawed by the wolf; but to be destroyed by vermin - to be crawled to death -to be infested with these base and obnoxious creatures, is what no man of honor or spirit will or ought to endure. (219)

Such fears and hostility were fuelled by the novelty of the detective police - they do not appear to have persisted into the 1860s. Nevertheless, in 1865 the D.M.P. authorities remained wary of the possibility that the activities of the G division could be identified with the espionage of European

secret police. They insisted that their detectives were "not to be used as spies, nor to employ persons for that purpose." plain clothes only were to be worn in normal circumstances; however, if detectives felt that such means would be insufficient to detect parties or prevent a crime of which they had received advance information, they could apply to the superintendent of the G division for permission to use a disguise.(220)

It was only in exceptional periods, for instance during the Fenian years, that detectives were used as "spies" in the political sense, and even in the 1860s the "G-men" did not always evade the notice of I.R.B. members in Dublin.(221) Their activities normally involved more routine police work. The G division was responsible for enforcing the carriage byelaws of Dublin Corporation, it investigated serious crimes such as murder or burglary, and executed warrants issued in the Dublin courts for the arrest of persons suspected of larceny, embezzlement or bigamy, as well as all warrants from the R.I.C. and other police forces. It was also primarily responsible for the supervision of ticket-of-leave convicts. (222)

One of its most important duties - indeed, in 1890 it was stated to be its single most important task - was visiting the various pawn shops in the city. There were some 54 pawn shops in the D.M.P. district in 1890, exclusive of the suburbs of Blackrock and Kingstown. These were not merely

establishments to which Dublin's poor resorted in times of need. As in Britain, they were also used by thieves, pickpockets and other professional criminals as a means of getting ready cash for their variously-acquired property. Amongst those who went to pawn shops to get rid of their illegally acquired goods were Dublin's child-strippers - these were individuals who specialized in enticing young children to secluded areas and divesting them of their boots or clothes, which they pawned. (223) The pawn shops were also regularly visited by Dublin's pickpockets. For at least the first 40 years of the D.M.P.'s, existence Dublin was infested by what were referred to as the "light-fingered gentry." Most indictable crime committed in the city consisted of larcenies, and probably most of these were committed by pickpockets. As in England, gentlemen's silk handkerchiefs or "wipes" were popular targets of the "gentry," probably because they could be easily disposed of in pawn shops. (224)

While the G division in particular were expected to combat Dublin's pickpockets, the duty was also shared by beat constables, and more commonly plain-clothesmen were also employed to track them down. Indeed, a member of the uniformed force, Sergeant Ward (20C), was stated in June 1857 to have "done more to rid the streets of pickpockets within the last two years than all the policemen at the north side of the Liffey put together." (225) The task confronting the police was formidable, especially before the 1880s. Not even the Four

Courts were free from pickpockets - in 1836 the Freeman's Journal stated that litigants and members of the public attending the courts

complain of the depredations daily committed on their purses, watches, hats, handkerchiefs, &c, by the light fingered gentry, numerous gangs of whom ply, with the most perfect impunity, their trade of spoliation, not only in the purlieus and passages of the courts, but even under the very benches of justice.(226)

Even congregations at worship provided targets for pickpockets.(227) There are some accounts of audacious attempts by pickpockets to ply their craft on policemen on the beat, or who had their hands full with a prisoner in the midst of a crowd, or even inside police stations.(228) In July 1855 even a woman who went to the aid of a boy who had fallen into the Liffey at Church Street did not escape the attentions of a pickpocket. As she reached into the river a young boy attempted to pick her pocket, so startling her that she abandoned her rescue attempt. The boy in the river drowned.(229) Dublin's theatres were favourite haunts of the "gentry." In August 1858 the chief secretary, Lord Naas, had his pocket picked in the Theatre Royal.(230)

Police efforts at clearing the streets of pickpockets in the late 1840s were hampered by the activities of Terence Smyth of Parkgate Street, who was the keeper of "an improper house." According to Sergeant Kennedy, Smyth was "in the habit of attending the police courts as 'stag bail' for all the pickpockets of the town." This meant that he would pretend to be a man of means and offered bail for the "gentry," in return

for a payment from them.(231) In March 1858 Police Magistrate McDermott stated gloomily that pocket-picking in Dublin was "all but reduced to a science."(232) There is plenty of evidence of the ingenuity with which Dublin's street robbers practised their craft. One experienced youngster specialized in picking people's pockets while they looked in shop windows. For this purpose he wore a jacket which had no pockets, but merely holes through which he could put his hands to relieve window-shoppers of their valuables. A woman named Bridget Curdet, "one of the most dexterous pickpockets in the city," usually "borrowed" a child from her neighbours when following her profession. She pretended to mind the child or to show it articles in shop windows, thus evading the suspicions of the police and giving herself "fine opportunities of making a haul." (233) In May 1858 Constable 154C arrested a boy and girl, "members of a notorious gang of thieves that have been infesting the streets and crowded thoroughfares for some time past." According to the policeman, they and about 20 others

were in the habit of meeting every morning in Sackville Street for the purpose of making arrangements as to how they were to carry out their operations during the day, to ascertain what was stirring in the town, and to arrange where they were to meet in the evening. Having made the necessary arrangements they would disperse on their several beats, and although closely watched by the police they contrived to make a number of prizes.(234)

They were not the only organized gang of young pickpockets in the city. According to the D.M.P. in March 1858, there was a

large number of young female thieves infesting the streets where large crowds assemble. These children were trained by their parents and sent to plunder unsuspecting persons,

and are rewarded if they succeed in making a good harvest, and punished if they return empty-handed.(235)

The newspaper columns of the period are filled with accounts of young juvenile delinquents, both boys and girls, arrested for picking pockets.(236)

How did the D.M.P. cope with the problem posed by pickpockets? Their task was made easier by the fact that the "light-fingered gentry" were notoriously creatures of habit. Pickpockets, burglars, thieves, and army deserters frequently sought shelter for the night in lime kilns in the city, and thus sometimes fell easily into the hands of the police.(237) A more important and effective method of thwarting pickpockets was to observe them in action and catch them red-handed. This was made possible given a knowledge of the "gentry's" accustomed mode and places of operation. They were frequently arrested when engaging in a favourite tactic of dipping into people's pockets when they were busy in shops, or when their attention was diverted when looking at displays in shop windows.(238) Observant policemen proved effective discoverers of pickpockets in fashionable streets such as Grafton Street, Nassau Street, Dame Street and Sackville Street, or other areas frequented by the well-to-do, such as Stephens Green or the zoo.(239)

When the D.M.P. was first organized, recruits were reminded to be extra vigilant whenever a fire broke out on their beat, as thieves and pickpockets usually preyed on crowds of on-lookers.(240) Throughout our period, crowds

attracted the "gentry" as jam attracts bees, and a considerable part of the D.M.P.'s haul of arrested pickpockets occurred at the various crowded meetings of the Dublin social or business cycle. Crowds watching the relieving of the guard at Dublin Castle, the processions of the lords lieutenant or lord mayors, or who turned out to greet visiting royalty, proved irresistible targets for pickpockets. So too did the farmers at Dublin's Smithfield Market, or the crowds at elections, auctions, exhibitions, circuses, regattas and sports meetings.(241) The Phoenix Park races and, while it lasted, Donnybrook fair, also provided the D.M.P. with significant catches of pickpockets.(242) Others attempted to despoil the passengers at the North Wall ferry or at the railway stations. These often turned out to be unfortunate choices for pickpockets, as there was always a uniformed and detective detachment present, keeping an eye open not only for those who plundered the passengers, but also for people from the city or from country districts whose description appeared in the Hue and Cry, and who might be attempting to flee the country.(243)

Some pickpockets were so well known to the D.M.P. that their movements were routinely watched and, when they applied their talents, they were arrested. One of these was a man named John Hughes, who was arrested in November 1848 by Constable 150C, a plain-clothesman, after he picked a pocket at Eden Quay and assaulted the policeman. The D.M.P. claimed

that Hughes, known to his colleagues as "Jack the Warrior," could be considered the "Jack Sheppard of Dublin," as he was one of the "most notorious robbers, burglars, and pickpockets" in the city. (244) One woman, convicted of her 97th offence in November 1851, was sentenced to seven years' transportation for picking a man's pocket on Aston's Quay earlier that month. (245) Another woman, arrested for picking pockets in July 1855, got four years' transportation, as she had already been to prison on 89 previous occasions. (246)

The Freeman's Journal gives the following description of Mary Condron, a 20 year old pickpocket arrested in Nassau Street in February 1858:

She was elegantly attired, and it seems that she has been so much admired by the detectives that they used to stare her out of countenance whenever they met her in the streets, and were constantly in the habit of following her, and in some instances they carried their liberties so far as to insist on escorting her to see some of their acquaintances who used to keep very late hours, and stop up all night writing.

She was just one of Dublin's many well-known pickpockets. (247)

There were several juveniles who were well-known to the police for their persistent pocket-picking activities. (248) A boy of "tender years" was described in December 1854:

He had for many years been engaged on town as a "general practitioner" - that is to say, he would pick your pocket with the ease of the most experienced of the craft, hold your horse for a copper, stand on his head for an inconceivable length of time, or entertain with a comic song for a like consideration. He was a walking city directory - he knew every one and every place, and the shortest road that led to them. Almost every member of the police force had the honour of detecting him in the fact (sic), and it was computed that one third of his existence had been spent in solitary confinement, which....he

seemed rather to like.(249)

A 15 year old boy, John Crosby, who had been imprisoned 69 times for vagrancy, was arrested in May 1857 for trying to pick pockets in Stephens Green.(250) Two young pickpockets, Thomas McCabe and Denis Tynan, were familiar to the D.M.P. in the late 1850s. During their leisure time or "when business was dull," they used to keep their hand in by practising at stealing pieces of paper from each other's pockets. Tynan was reputed to be "the nimblest in the pins of all the fraternity, and possesses extraordinary facilities for running under horses' legs when hotly pursued, or for doubling round a hay cart or in by the front door of a shop, and out through the back." Another young boy named Peter Finn was described as being "as knowing as a pet fox, and it would be very hard to find his match at picking a pocket or doubling round a corner when pursued by a policeman. He is well known as an accomplished street robber."(251)

Not all pickpockets active in Dublin were natives of the city. Some were English members of the "swell mob," who came to Ireland when the British police pressed them too closely, or when their accustomed targets went to the sister country on tour. Dublin was their favourite place of operation in Ireland, although they also travelled through the country to popular tourist areas, or to gatherings such as markets, horse races or political meetings. The swell mob were distinguished by their elegant taste in clothes and jewellery, and were

easily mistaken for gentlemen and ladies.(252)

In February 1860 the Freeman's Journal printed a warning that members of the swell mob were on a "predatory visit" to Ireland:

The 'gentlemen' are said to be well-looking fellows, always respectably dressed, and the 'ladies' are invariably robed in silks and other expensive material, crinolined and beplumed to the very extreme of supposed fashion. These parties think nothing of starting on an impromptu railway journey of a hundred miles, provided there happens to turn up a lucky chance in the shape of an unprotected lady or inexperienced youth about to travel alone, and having money and valuables on their persons, or stowed away amongst their luggage. Such parties are the natural prey of this accomplished class of plunderers and are too frequently victimized by means of the daring assurance and cool address of the swell mobbites.(253)

The D.M.P. detectives had a regular mode of procedure when they received information that members of the swell mob were in Dublin:

Immediately that their arrival is known two or more of the lynx-eyed force are appointed to the duty of discovering, first, their whereabouts, and then of watching the locality until some of them come forth; their duty then is to follow them through street and square, to concert, theatre, and saloon, never to lose sight of them - to pick them up on every possible occasion, and have them searched thoroughly; until at length literally hunted down, their occupation gone, and their hopes blighted, they are obliged to take their departure to some other locality. In the present instance the 'professors,' five in number, took up their residence in Mabbot Street, and previous to being waited on by the police had transacted a little business at Jullien's concerts, of which fact many parties were, no doubt, made painfully aware by the disappearance of purses, brooches, silk handkerchiefs, &c. As soon as their presence in the city was known two of the detective force were appointed to wait on them, which they did most assiduously, doing just as they did, walking when they walked, and driving when they drove, until at length they were forced to admit that they were conscious of being 'spotted,' as one of them expressed it, and, finally, were constrained to take their departure in presence of their indefatigable attendants.(254)

The penchant of the swell mob for elegant attire and display made the job of D.M.P. detectives and plain-clothesmen in identifying and observing them rather easy, especially when they frequented Dublin's railway stations.(255) Pickpockets, who appear to have infested Dublin's streets from the 1830s onwards, do not seem to have been as serious a problem in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1881 the chief commissioner expressed his confidence in his force's ability to handle the visits of English swell mobsmen and other criminals. Such confidence would have been increased by the decision in 1890 that the G division should provide all pawnbrokers in the D.M.P. district with daily lists of articles of property reported stolen or lost, thus making it more difficult for professional criminals to operate.(256)

Although they formed an extremely important part of the D.M.P., G division members did not receive any special instruction in detective duties prior to their appointment. A police magistrate who served from the 1840s to the 1860s wrote that "Activity of body, corporeal strength, general mental intelligence, and moderate educational acquirements," were considered "sufficient qualifications for the discharge of detective duties, and further teaching is left to be acquired by future experience."(257) Their task of acquiring information was made no easier by the hostility shown towards police informers. The magistrate stated that whenever Dubliners wanted to "destroy a man's reputation," they did not

call him a thief, robber, or murderer - they "satisfied all their malignity in calling him an 'informer.'"(258) James Joyce, through his fictional character Leopold Bloom, offers an interesting insight into how detectives got some of their information:

Why those plain clothes men are always courting slaveys. Easily twig a man used to uniform. Squarepushing up against a door. Maul her a bit. Then the next thing on the menu. And who is the gentleman does be visiting here? Was the young master saying anything?.....Barmaids too. Tobacco shopgirls.(259)

In 1882 John Mallon, superintendent of the G division, detailed the qualities looked for in a new detective. It was an "inflexible rule" that no constable reported for intoxication, insubordination or impertinence was eligible to join, and that those who were admitted were "supposed to be more intelligent and better trained than the men employed on ordinary duty." In the G division "the moral character of a man is of infinite importance, because if a man was untruthful he would be a dangerous man to have in the department, or if he was corrupt." Men joined the division by selection only, usually after coming to the superintendent's notice by the manner in which they gave evidence in court cases. Candidates deemed likely to make good detectives were appointed to the G division whenever vacancies arose. At first only second class constables were eligible to join, but by 1882 any man with at least one year's service was accepted. New detectives were first sent on carriage duty. This gave them "the knack of making enquiries," as they were constantly asked by

gentlemen who had lost their luggage in cabs to trace their property. After carriage duty detectives graduated to pawn office duty, and by the time they became masters of that they were considered "pretty well up" in detective work. According to Mallon, "A man would be at least seven or eight years at carriage and pawn-office duties before he would have any case of importance, and even then a junior man is always sent along with a senior man - the two are always sent together." (260) In 1890 admission to the division was made more difficult, with candidates required to have between four and six years' service, and to pass a qualifying examination consisting of arithmetic, writing from dictation, and writing a report "of some occurrence." (261)

The police experience of combating crime varied according to time and place during our period. Generally speaking, most crimes occurred within the D.M.P. district, although there were times when the capital's crime rate was dwarfed by that of the constabulary districts. For example, during the Famine years, when social conditions deteriorated to an unprecedented degree, the numbers of crimes to be investigated by the constabulary were unusually high, but these declined in the post-Famine period. Sir Thomas Larcom contrasted the crime rates of the late 1840s with those of the late 1850s:

Table 6: Crime in Ireland, 1846-49 and 1856-59.

Crime	1846	1847	1848	1849	1856	1857	1858	1859
Homicide	170	212	171	203	126	111	103	88
Firing at	159	264	97	93	6	5	1	1
Crime	1846	1847	1848	1849	1856	1857	1858	1859
person								
Serious	934	510	631	748	679	727	697	777
assault								
Burglary/ housebreak	813	1695	844	404	375	350	265	215
Highway	258	343	192	269	61	53	53	32
robbery								
Cattle/ sheep	3025	10047	6738	8157	697	570	502	408
stealing								
Plundering provisions	416	1191	234	94	0	1	0	2
Incendiary fires*	465	761	750	1066	241	253	262	251
Killing/ maiming cattle*	287	330	259	262	188	149	134	193
Forcible possession*	20	21	8	4	3	7	3	1
Levelling*	50	37	55	63	19	17	20	15
Injury to property*	449	314	250	252	262	259	197	245
Shots into dwellings*	167	257	95	90	25	22	25	22
House attacks*	536	281	173	82	22	48	29	43
Demanding arms*	611	1053	237	113	19	19	13	19
Riots*	121	137	68	39	41	80	56	52
Unlawful oaths*	232	24	30	48	18	34	23	11
Threaten- ing notices*	1783	951	784	645	237	251	265	237

* Designated by Larcom as having arisen from "social causes." It is likely that most cases of plundering provisions and cattle and sheep-stealing, and many of the other categories listed at the head of the table, had their origins in the distress prevailing in the Famine years.

Source: N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7601.

It is clear from the above that the crime rate of the Famine period was exceptionally high. In 1847 alone a total of 20,986 crimes was reported by the constabulary, which was over 1,500 more than the combined totals reported from 1855 to 1859 inclusive.(262) Only the number of serious assaults and cases of injury to property in the later period compared with those of the late 1840s. While the crime statistics for the Famine years were high, certain categories - homicide, serious assault, administering illegal oaths, and house attacks - were lower than they had been in the turbulent years from 1835 to 1838.(263)

The post-Famine years were relatively crime free in comparison with the late 1830s or late 1840s. One policeman suggested in 1857 that the explanation might lie in the effect of "educational influences," and that "the calamities of the Famine years may have operated chasteningly, therefore beneficially, upon the temper of the people." The policeman, in singling out the effects of the Famine, was nearer to the truth than his psychological explanation might suggest. In pre-Famine and Famine Ireland most crimes - which almost invariably consisted of agrarian crimes - were committed by cottiers, small farmers and labourers. These were the very classes hit hardest by the Famine, and afterwards their greatly diminished numbers meant an inevitable decline in the amount of agrarian crimes. The "devotional revolution," the improvement in post-Famine living standards and the spread of

education might also have played an important, if unquantifiable, role in the decline of crime after the late 1840s. This is not to say that there were no sporadic, localized outbreaks of serious crimes - as for instance in Westmeath in the late 1860s and early 1870s - but these were clearly unusual exceptions to the overall downward pattern. Even the spate of outrages during the Land War years, which were the most turbulent in the latter half of the nineteenth century, paled in comparison with those committed during the Famine. In 1881, the worst year of the Land War, there were only 36 murders, 17 of which were agrarian; 28% of all crimes, and 49% of all agrarian outrages, consisted of threatening letters or notices. Of course, the steady decline in Ireland's population after the Famine also inevitably meant a sharp fall in the number of crimes committed. Arguably the increasing numbers of police also played a part in the crime decrease, as Ireland was easily the most heavily policed part of the United Kingdom, although it can also be maintained that Ireland's greater density of police to civilians accounted for the relatively high number of minor offences recorded in the annual Irish crime statistics.(264)

Generally speaking, the post-Famine constabulary did not have much to do in peaceful times beyond routine patrolling duties. In 1882 a Dromahaire head constable admitted that ordinarily the life of the police was a "weary" one, and this was due "to a great extent from its monotony, and their having

little actual work and a great deal of regulation."(265) In 1880 a Galway sub-constable explained how a constable in charge of a quiet sub-district took measures to boost the number of offences detected in his area. Before Petty Sessions he sent the men out "to catch a pig or browsing donkey to have cases in his fines book for his officer's inspection in order to show his vigilance and superior tact in charge of his sub-district."(266) Jeremiah Mee records that periodically the district inspector of Ballymote would note the absence of prosecutions at their station, "after which we would keep an eye out for animals wandering on the roads and would bring the owners to justice." He claims that the owners did not begrudge the R.I.C. these prosecutions: "It was understood.....that an occasional prosecution was necessary to justify the existence of the force."(267)

Chief Secretary George Wyndham complained in November 1900 that the R.I.C. had grown "rusty" with inactivity, and that the local police, "to keep up the appearance of zeal," had "smothered" Dublin Castle with perfectly useless information about suspects in their areas.(268) Despite Wyndham's hopes for a change in this state of affairs, matters did not change much in the years before World War I, if Jeremiah Mee's account of police routine in Kesh, Co. Sligo, was typical of that of the rest of the force. He relates that the police contrived to meet "returned Yanks" in the pretence of keeping them under surveillance. The typical "returned

Yank" was usually fairly brownd off after a week at home, and was only too happy to meet his police shadowers in the local public houses, or to spend his time chatting with them in the barracks. The police sergeant profited by proving his zeal through innocuous reports to Dublin Castle concerning the visitor's movements, while the returned emigrant was less bored, having made some new acquaintances.(269) In Kesh, and indeed in practically every rural police district, there was little work to be done beyond keeping an eye on the local public houses, or catching stray cows or the owners of unlighted carts and bicycles.(270)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries concern was expressed that the R.I.C., due to their light duties, were wont to suffer from boredom. In December 1911 the Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine drew attention to this aspect of police life: "Most of our men are compelled to pass lonely and uninteresting lives, under conditions and amidst surroundings that are not conducive to the development of their mental or physical capabilities and the monotony must at times be keenly felt." One officer encouraged the rural constabulary to take up bee-keeping to add an interest to their lives.(271) The close of our period saw widespread efforts to provide recreational facilities for the R.I.C. In the 1880s District Inspector Crane established a boating club for the Killarney police, and to enliven the "dreary" lot of men in the "out-of-the-way" stations he started a library,

with a large number of books donated by Lady Kenmare.(272) private English donors were also prominent in providing reading material for the R.I.C., especially those in Co. Clare.(273) Cycling and athletic clubs were established in Abbeyfeale, Milltown in Co. Limerick, Swinford, Roscrea, Derry and Cavan, and generally in counties Westmeath, Monaghan, Dublin, Queen's County and Roscommon.(274) Portumna R.I.C. had their own golf club, the Portadown R.I.C. had their own handball alley, and billiard tables were supplied to the police in Monaghan, Clonmel and Tralee. By 1910 there was even a special waltz club in the Belfast R.I.C.(275) Boredom was also held at bay by the institution of tug-of-war and football competitions between neighbouring station parties, or with nearby military teams. In the 1890s the British and Irish police forces held popular tug-of-war competitions, and in the early twentieth century an R.I.C. boxing championship was established.(276)

Service in the D.M.P. was usually more arduous than in the constabulary, and the Dublin police are unlikely to have counted boredom as one of their occupational hazards. The D.M.P. district usually had a much higher crime rate than the rest of the country. An examination of the Irish judicial statistics from 1863 to 1894 bears this out. Dublin and its suburbs, which contained from one fifteenth to one sixteenth of Ireland's population, usually produced most of the crimes (indictable offences) committed in the country. Only in 1880,

1881 and 1882 did Dublin have less than 45% of the total, and obviously the upsurge of rural crime during the Land War accounted for the decrease in those years. Even then Dublin's crime share was 31.3%, 31.6% and 39.1% of the total respectively, and far in excess of its proportion of Ireland's population. Dublin's proportion of non-indictable crime, although smaller than its indictable crime rate, was still considerably in excess of its proportion of the general population.

Dublin's crime rate was considerably higher than that of Ireland's two other major cities, Belfast and Cork. Belfast's indictable crime rate was at its lowest in 1870, when it was just 0.6% of the Irish total; its highest proportion was 5.5% of the total, in 1886. Its share of the non-indictable offences ranged from a low of 4.1% of the total in 1865 to a high of 8.6% in 1880. Cork's share of indictable crime varied from a low of 0.8% in 1881 and 1882 to a high of 2.5% in 1870. Its non-indictable crimes constituted just 2.9% of Ireland's total in 1868, 1890, and 1892 to 1894; its highest proportion of the national total was in 1866, when 5.1% of all minor offences were committed in Cork.(277)

Perhaps the most surprising finding from an examination of nineteenth century crime statistics is the very low incidence of serious or indictable crime in Belfast. Even within that city, crime was largely confined to specific areas. One of these was Anderson Row, which a German tourist,

accompanied by a member of the Belfast Borough Police, visited in the late 1850s:

Anderson Row is a narrow, short cul-de-sac, which sends to meet the intruder the miasma of rotting straw, filthy rags, and rubbish of every description, with which the ground is covered instead of pavement. There are some twelve or fourteen houses - if these dens can be so called - in Anderson Row, and in them dwell about two hundred beggars, thieves, and prostitutes. Often these dens are chokingly full of denizens - often some are empty, because their former inhabitants have migrated to prison. Anderson Row is mainly a nursery for young criminals, and these dozen houses, on an average, supply three fourths of the contingent to the prisons and reformatories. Women, trembling with frost and hunger, dirty and half naked, stood in the doorways, or lay on the stones under the houses. I had seen in the mud hovels of the heath what Ireland had to offer in the shape of want and misery, where human beings and animals pass the night under one straw roof, often on one straw bed. In the dens of Anderson Row, however, in the pestiferous air which crime and unnatural sin breathe, no animal could live.....The young fry I saw here are only partly born on the straw heaps of Anderson Row; another and no small portion is stolen! The policeman showed me an old stout woman, with an unendurably roguish face, who had gained a name in this branch of industry. Her den is subjected to continued examinations, and is constantly under surveillance, and yet it has been impossible hitherto to catch this criminal in the act, although it is known that the majority of the youthful population quartered on her are stolen children of twelve or thirteen years of age. This woman keeps several young women, by whom the boys are corrupted in an unnatural way; they are instructed how to pilfer in the streets and the port, and seduce other boys by representations and promises to Anderson Row. In this way the criminal den is constantly filled afresh; and respectable parents who have lost their son on an errand, and whose traces they have tried in vain to find by advertisements, discover him again, years after, in the criminal, whom the magistrate sentences to lengthened imprisonment.....The last house before which I stopped is the most disgusting and notorious of all. It is called the 'Menagerie,' and one hundred wretches dwell in it, when all the inmates have returned from prison. When any great and extraordinary crime is committed in Belfast, the attention of the police is first turned on the Menagerie, and in nine cases out of ten not in vain.(278)

Another early centre of crime was the area known as Hudson's

Entry. Addressing two women and a man who had committed an assault and robbery, John Hastings Otway, the chairman of Co. Antrim Quarter Sessions, stated in 1867:

You are inhabitants of an abominable locality known as Hudson's Entry in this town, and it has no parallel in the kingdom. Person or property has no protection in it. The owner of this locality should for the sake of public morality and justice take one stone from the top of the other and hurl it to the ground.(279)

While certain areas may have been notorious for their lawlessness, the city as a whole made little impression on the annual statistics of crime. The police recorded less than 200 crimes in Belfast in 25 of the 31 years from 1864 to 1894. A total of 5,207 crimes were committed in the northern city in that period: in stark contrast, Dublin produced 5,361 crimes in 1868 alone, and from 1864 to 1894 the D.M.P. recorded 117,410 crimes in their district!(280) At the turn of the century, Belfast, whose population growth was easily the largest of any Irish city, had an increased proportion of Ireland's crime. Dublin's share fell to around one third of the total, which was still considerably in excess of its proportion of the general population. The incidence of "house breaking" showed a marked rise in Belfast, but there was a certain artificiality about this particular criminal activity. In an article entitled "The penny dreadful and crime," the Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine stated that in the closing months of 1906 Belfast was "startled by a succession of the most daring and extensive house-breakings committed in the very centre of the city." Rumours abounded that a gang of

English or continental safe-crackers or a famous American burglar were responsible. In fact, it was two "respectable" young boys, both under 14 years of age, who committed the crimes. According to the R.I.C., they had been "fed on the doings of Dick Turpin, Charlie Peace, Spring-heeled Jack, and such like clever and daring gentlemen of crooked moral tendencies," and had embarked on a crime spree to emulate their heroes. In 1912 a young man who was arrested after a spate of burglaries admitted his addiction to detective stories and that he "wanted to do Charles Peace" as a result.

The police explained:

That is the root cause of a good deal of crime. Foolish lads of an adventurous disposition read with avidity of the questionable doings of those soiled heroes of criminal history, and, in striving to imitate their exploits, fall themselves into the hands of the police, and go to swell the great army of social outcasts. (281)

In 1914 the Belfast police showed the greatest concern over the potential criminal activities of militant suffragettes, whom they feared might attempt arson attacks on the city's public buildings. This potential threat was taken more seriously than that posed by the Ulster Volunteer Force and the National Volunteers, and is perhaps an apt commentary on the generally crime-free status of the city. (282)

As stated earlier, the D.M.P. usually had to handle more crime cases than the much larger constabulary force. It was pointed out in 1875 that in Ireland the police were actually more numerous than the "criminal classes." The only exception to this rule was the D.M.P. district, where the "criminal

classes" - defined as "known thieves and depredators," receivers of stolen goods, prostitutes and "suspected persons" - were numerous than the police. (283) Although Dublin had the biggest and most regular crime problem, not all parts of the D.M.P. district were affected by crime to the same extent. The two so-called "rural" divisions - the E and F divisions - which covered the townships and suburbs south of the Grand Canal - were relative backwaters of criminal activity. One gains an idea of their comparatively sedate character from police statistics of 1841, which show that only 16 out of the 149 public houses were conducted in an irregular manner, compared with 110 of the 600 public houses in the rest of Dublin. Some 36 of the public houses in the E and F divisions - 24.16% of the total - were frequented by "superior" characters, compared with only 8.83% in the rest of the city. A mere seven of Dublin's 106 unlicensed houses were situated in the rural divisions, and only one of its 242 brothels. (284) The chief commissioners acknowledged in 1865 that the two southern divisions did not "afford the same facilities for display of activity" as the city divisions did. Indeed, service in the E and F divisions was considered to be so relatively undemanding that Chief Commissioner Talbot stated in 1882 that he considered it a "privilege" to serve there, and that the medical officer often recommended men to be transferred to them. (285)

Certain parts of Dublin, especially tenement areas, had

reputations for markedly high crime rates. The Freeman's Journal in February 1860 described a lane leading from Abbey street to Eden Quay, in the C division:

Gangs of juvenile robbers, delinquent bill-stickers and detachments of abandoned females are to be found therein from all hours in the morning to all hours in the night ready to pounce out at any moment for robbery or mischief. This lane is, in fact, the rendezvous of all the male and female vagabonds of the parish of St Thomas.(286)

In 1871 the warren of streets in the vicinity of the Four Courts - Pill Lane, Bull Lane, Greek Street, Fisher's Lane, Mary's Lane, Church Street and Bow Street - had an unenviable reputation for criminal activity. Greek Street and Bull Lane in particular were singled out as "the two great headquarters of crime in the city," which supplied "strong contingents daily to the police courts, and from thence to Grangegorman and Richmond."(287) In 1882 Police Magistrate Woodlock described Stephen Street in the A division as "notorious" for its "rowdyism." In the same year Superintendent Thomas Byrne claimed that the A division was "the home of all the felons and outlaws in Ireland."(288) In 1898 Church Street, according to Police Magistrate Carton, "deserved to be described as the worst street in Dublin," on account of the number of arrests there for drunkenness, disorderly conduct and assault.(289) The 1879 edition of the D.M.P.'s instruction book gives some examples of crimes which were of particular concern to police in different parts of the city. Larcenies of poultry frequently occurred in the outer parts of the police district, so policemen in those areas were

told to be on the look-out for people carrying parcels or bundles at "unseasonable hours," as they might be thieves. Flowers and plants were constantly stolen in the rural divisions for sale in the city. Thieves frequently left Dublin at night or early in the morning to steal and butcher sheep in counties Kildare, Meath and Dublin, and the police in the A, D and E divisions were expected to check suspect vans on the roads leading into the city for animals' carcasses.(290)

Inspector John Doherty claimed in 1882 that the life of constabulary officers was "mere pleasure compared to ours." He stated, with some justification, that the 26 inspectors of the Dublin police had to deal with more crime cases than all the R.I.C. officers had to.(291) Table 7, however, shows that the distribution of crime was uneven in the D.M.P. district. As stated earlier, the rural divisions were comparatively crime free. While around a quarter of the population of the D.M.P. district resided in the E and F divisions, their highest proportion of indictable offences in the nineteenth century was 19.2% in 1874. This was not surpassed until 1907, by which time they could hardly have been described as "rural" in character. Their highest proportion of the non-indictable offences was 19.45% in 1866. The B division declined from the second most populous division in 1861 to the second least populated at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, a large amount of Dublin's crimes were committed there.

From 1864 to 1909 inclusive, the D.M.P. compiled

statistics of crimes committed in each of its divisional areas. These show that from 1865 to 1867 the B division had the highest share of indictable crimes, and in 32 of the following 41 years had the second largest crime totals. Its share of the non-indictable crime figures was not so consistently prominent. Nevertheless, in 13 of the 17 years from 1864 to 1881 the highest proportion of minor offences occurred there, while in 15 years from 1864 to 1912 it had the second largest proportion, and in 15 years the third largest. Its high crime rate was probably due to the fact that it contained many of the most fashionable areas of the city, which offered irresistible opportunities for burglars and pickpockets. The C division, which had the third highest population in 1861, had by 1911 a mere 81 inhabitants less than the A division, the highest populated police district. Its crime statistics reflected the division's population growth. In 37 of the 45 years for which we have data, the C division had the largest number of indictable crimes, including every year from 1875 to 1909, with the exception of 1905. It also had the greatest number of non-indictable offences from 1884 to 1912.(292)

Although Dublin was the setting for a disproportionate amount of Ireland's crime, most offences committed in the city were of a rather trifling nature. The most common involved crimes against property committed without violence, mainly larcenies, while the more serious types of crimes such as

murder, manslaughter, or rape did not figure prominently in the D.M.P. statistics. (293) Practically all offences - whether

Table 7: Crime in the D.M.P. district, 1864 -1912.

Indictable crimes

Year	Division					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1864	20.91	18.87	21.89	21.94	11.83	4.57
1865	19.68	23.18	22.35	17.38	10.78	6.62
1866	22.32	24	16.41	18.79	13.77	4.71
1867	22.22	24.3	21.15	15.34	11.59	5.39
1868	21.86	22.27	23.82	14.77	12.92	4.34
1869	19.37	22.45	25.73	14.73	12.79	4.89
1870	22.86	21.5	22.92	16.67	11.78	4.24
1871	20.2	21.8	23.58	18.79	10.7	4.8
1872	24.3	21.7	21.4	18.4	11	3.3
1873	26.58	19.28	25	12.95	12.61	3.5
1874	21.7	21.66	20.9	16.47	14.2	5
1875	17.9	23.7	24.9	18.3	10.49	4.6
1876	21.1	22.7	24.96	16.1	10.47	4.6
1877	20.5	18.07	29.1	17.4	9.99	4.86
1878	20.5	15.09	27.51	19.19	13.53	4.19
1879	18.66	20.88	27.01	18.39	11.06	3.99
1881	20.8	21.98	23.15	16.78	9.99	7.23
1882	21.85	24.16	25	15.89	7.74	5.3
1883	19.49	25.2	25.5	15.5	9.5	4.7
1884	19.45	23.1	26.87	17.5	9.4	3.6
1885	21.9	22	25.78	18.2	7.6	4.4
1886	19.9	21.8	27.76	15.4	11.49	3.6
1887	16.74	22.4	29.59	16	11.4	3.79
1888	21.71	21.35	25.41	16.54	10.12	4.88
1889	18.58	17.8	27.26	17.02	13.24	6.1
1890	14.56	24.38	27.55	18.62	10.22	4.67
1891	16.51	22.26	25.75	20.65	9.04	5.79
1892	7.13	27.6	32.26	14.22	11.87	6.91
1893	11.9	25.1	32.28	12	10.3	8.3
1894	14.48	19.06	34.6	14.8	10.89	6.07
1895	12.79	26.34	27.05	17.79	10.67	5.34
1896	10.16	24.55	31.4	18.24	9.1	6.5
1897	12.6	22.77	34.67	16.8	9.2	3.87
1898	10.82	24.23	28.16	20.6	12.57	3.59
1899	12.55	26.49	33.19	13.2	11.2	3.3
1900	17.86	21.4	33.4	13.67	11.35	2.27
1901	17.69	16.69	37.09	13.1	13.2	2.15
1902	10.79	24.4	37.79	13.2	11	2.7
1903	15.4	24.18	33.9	12.9	11.46	2.09
1904	15.57	23.98	30.87	14.16	13.26	2.1
1905	19.19	23.89	22.5	15.39	15.76	3.2

1906	14.2	26.3	26.9	14	12.3	6.18
1907	14.66	15.81	36.28	12.08	14.13	7.05
1908	20.08	15.7	30.39	13.42	12.28	8.12
1909	18.19	24	26	15.7	11.68	4.43

Non-indictable crimes

Year	Division					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1864	22.8	29.17	17.98	15.36	7.19	7.48
1865	18.65	29.72	18.18	15.75	9.46	8.2
1866	17.09	26.95	18.38	18.11	10.22	9.23
1867	20.14	28.17	18.85	14.2	9.73	8.88
1868	19.43	28.59	18.91	14.25	9.66	9.15
1869	20.45	27.21	20.8	14.67	8.33	8.51
1870	20.05	29	21.16	16	7.37	6.38
1871	18.2	27.1	21.18	19.19	7.49	6.7
1872	22.26	25.38	20.7	18.5	8.55	6.5
1873	26.9	22.2	19.2	18.6	7.38	5.56
1874	28.4	22.06	17.95	18.16	7.9	5.47
1875	26.3	25	20.25	17.9	5.47	4.99
1876	22.89	24.5	21.78	17.8	6	6.9
1877	21.49	25.88	21.5	18.8	5.9	6.3
1878	23.13	24.08	23.17	18.4	5.69	5.52
1879	25.45	23.58	21.96	17.6	6.11	5.3
1881	23.7	23.95	22.56	19.69	4.99	5.05
1882	24.7	23.9	20.78	19.11	5.58	5.88
1883	25.6	21.49	23.08	18.19	5.3	6.28
1884	22.39	21.5	22.99	20.95	6.46	5.67
1885	22.19	22.6	23.7	19.36	6.9	5.17
1886	21.48	22.67	24.47	19.56	6.4	5.36
1887	20.8	20.99	27.4	18.5	6.95	5.29
1888	20.99	20.08	24.44	19.72	9.29	5.49
1889	20.66	20.69	26.04	18	9.21	5.4
1890	18.81	20.21	29.3	18.33	7.24	6.11
1891	19.31	18.78	31.01	17.93	7.51	5.45
1892	21.29	21.21	24.76	20.27	7.11	5.36
1893	20.7	21.78	25	19.25	7.1	6.08
1894	22.96	21.6	24.05	18.77	6.6	5.98
1895	18.49	20.42	22.94	22.17	8.36	7.58
1896	18.4	18.1	24.56	21.36	9.46	8
1897	17.57	16.4	29.09	19.95	8.2	8.7
1898	16.29	14.65	28.95	22.86	8.1	9.1
1899	17.75	15.89	28.9	21.77	8	7.59
1900	16.99	15.96	35.1	18.77	6.8	6.3
1901	21.9	18.16	29.79	16.7	6.9	6.47
1902	21.1	18.96	29.2	16.49	8	6.19
1903	22.49	18.9	27.6	15	8.08	7.88
1904	19.95	20.3	30	13.97	8.77	6.9
1905	19.8	21.8	24.27	19	8.2	6.87
1906	19.35	20.86	22.97	21.1	9.6	6
1907	16.71	20.1	26.05	20.2	10.09	6.85

1908	19.28	21.46	24.36	18.35	9.5	7.04
1909	22.29	20.56	24.33	16.06	9.91	6.85
1910	21.7	18.6	25.47	17.31	8.83	8.09
1911	20.92	18.16	23.68	21.61	8.84	6.78
1912	19.74	20.05	26.12	21	7.01	6.07

Population of each police district, 1861-1911.

Dist.	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
A	71,301	67,218	77,954	77,786	83,574	87,350
B	63,980	59,603	61,368	56,792	56,745	53,311
C	59,635	60,895	65,322	68,356	73,033	87,269
D	57,765	55,498	59,248	60,445	71,752	80,311
E	52,193	61,656	51,974	56,753	63,970	74,375
F	30,566	32,719	33,782	32,145	33,397	33,488

Source: D.M.P. annual crime statistics, 1864-1912. Data for 1880 not available.

in Britain, the D.M.P. district, or in the constabulary districts- were non-indictable, which were summarily tried before magistrates. In Dublin and the rest of Ireland drunkenness, or drunkenness combined with disorderly conduct, constituted the largest single category of non-indictable offence. From 1838 to 1840 the proportion of prisoners taken into custody by the D.M.P. for drunkenness alone was 43.99%, 42.11% and 39.79% respectively. If one combines these with the numbers apprehended for disorderly conduct (after 1863 both categories were combined in the Irish judicial statistics), then the totals from 1838 to 1840 amounted to 58.69%, 59.49% and 54.28% respectively. An examination of the actual offences committed in Dublin from 1841 to 1863 shows that intoxication and disorderly conduct ranged from an unusual low of 32.4% of the total in 1850, to a more representative high of 53.48% in 1844. In 13 of the 21 years the two categories constituted

over 47% of all offences, indictable and non-indictable, within the D.M.P. area.(294) National crime figures were compiled annually from 1863 onwards, and an examination of the returns for random years shows that they mirrored the earlier D.M.P. statistics. For example, in the years chosen by the author - 1869-70, 1872, 1881-82, 1890-91 and 1900- drunkenness comprised respectively 45.12%, 41.67%, 39.39%, 38.11%, 40.22%, 42.52%, 43.19% and 48.16% of the non-indictable offences.(295)

Throughout our period Dublin was the most heavily policed city in the United Kingdom. In 1861, the first year for which we have precise figures for the population of the D.M.P. district, there was one Dublin policeman for every 310 inhabitants. By 1911 this proportion had fallen to one policeman for every 351 residents. The city with the nearest level of policing to that was Belfast, with one R.I.C. man for every 363 inhabitants.(296) It was inevitable, given its high police: people ratio, that Dublin registered more petty offences per head of population than other cities in the United Kingdom. This does not mean that Dubliners were more prone to crimes of that sort; it simply shows that Dublin's police were more likely to become aware of and to report petty offences than their counterparts in the rest of the kingdom. It is rather meaningless, then, to compare the crime statistics of heavily policed Dublin, or indeed of Ireland, with those of relatively under-policed Britain, and to make statements as to the comparative lead shown by Dublin or

Ireland in certain offences. Some historians have done this and concluded on the basis of the annual judicial statistics that Dublin people were more prone towards drunkenness and were more likely to show cruelty towards children, or that the Irish were more riotous than the British.(297) While this may be true, one should not rely on the statistics of crime to make the case, because of the disparities in the policing levels of both parts of the kingdom.

As early as 1847 an ex-inspector of the D.M.P. claimed that the Dublin police were much more likely to take notice of "petty nuisances" than were their counterparts in the main British cities, with the result that Dublin had the highest proportion of known offenders in the major U.K. cities.(298) In 1865 the Freeman's Journal made the point that the D.M.P. "do not spare themselves in bringing before 'his worship' every offence against person or property out of which a conviction may be screwed."(299) A magistrate who served from the 1840s to the 1860s wrote that the D.M.P. would be ordered periodically to concentrate their efforts on catching unmuzzled dogs in the streets, and that the courts would be inundated for several days with cases against the dogs' owners.(300)

Of course, one cannot fully explain Dublin's large population of offenders simply in terms of police over-officiousness. Some people's behaviour inevitably led to their being regularly hauled up before the courts. For instance, in

November 1842, when a young woman named Eliza Deverill was fined 2s6d for being drunk in the street, she stated that "she was one of the best friends of her majesty's exchequer in the country, for that she had paid since June last no less a sum than £10 in fines for drunkenness."(301) In April 1843 a "well known character" named William Hickey admitted that he was fined "almost every week" for disorderly conduct in the streets.(302) Owen "Oney" Morris, of whom it was stated in March 1858 that he "stands A1 amongst the public street characters in Dublin," was an inveterate beggar well-accustomed to spending periods in police custody. A 20 year old man named Pat Aspell had, according to the police in 1863, "spent nearly half his life in captivity, owing to his love of fighting and drinking."(303) Persistent offenders were not unknown in the early twentieth century. A woman arrested in September 1901 in the city centre for loitering with intent to commit a felony had already been to prison 209 times for larceny.(304) Perhaps the most troublesome character encountered by the police of the U.K., if not the empire, was a Dublin woman named Bridget Laffan. From 1841 to the early 1860s she was committed to prison on more than 2,000 occasions, mainly for such offences as "drunkenness, violence, abusive language, indecent expressions or behaviour, and occasional mendicancy."(305)

The preceding pages illustrate some of the features of the Irish policeman's duties in the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. To encourage the police in their work, both the Irish Constabulary and the D.M.P. had systems of rewarding their members for duties performed, in addition to their pay and promotion. The Act which provided for the establishment of the Irish Constabulary also legislated for a special reward fund for the men and officers. This was funded by a deduction of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ from their salaries, by fines imposed on the police in disciplinary cases, and by a portion of the fines inflicted by magistrates in non-indictable cases. (306) From 1866 $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ was deducted from police salaries for the reward fund. (307) At first the men were paid shortly after the reward board - a special committee of officers at headquarters who decided on the merits of each reward application - had recommended a special grant in return for the duty performed. However, the prospect of obtaining an immediate reward prompted the constabulary to apply to the board after performing quite ordinary duties, much to the annoyance of Inspector-general McGregor. In April 1842 he changed the rules of the reward fund, so that no man was to receive money from it while still serving in the force. Instead, men rewarded for particularly distinguished duty were allowed to wear a special chevron, and after earning five chevrons they were awarded a silver medal. On their discharge from the force head constables received £6 for each chevron and £35 for each medal, and the other men were entitled to £4 for each chevron and £25 for each medal, in addition to their pension or

gratuity.(308)

McGregor's reforms were introduced with the intention of cutting down on the number of frivolous applications for rewards. It is impossible to judge from the documentation whether he was successful in the short term. If he was, the desired results were not permanent. In 1862 Inspector-general Brownrigg complained that "many men expect to be rewarded in some way for the performance of the most ordinary duty," so that headquarters was greatly inconvenienced in sorting out their claims, most of which were unsuccessful.(309) Two years later Brownrigg stated that magistrates also frequently applied to him to recommend men for rewards. These were "held in check with great difficulty." Often the applications were for actions which the magistrates considered exceptionally meritorious, such as exertions at fires or stopping runaway horses, but these were viewed by the inspector-general as rather routine police duties and not particularly meriting pecuniary reward.(310) Under a succession of Fishery Acts from 1842 to 1891, the constabulary became responsible for the enforcement of close seasons and the suppression of poaching on public rivers. An attraction of fishery duty was that the police, on successful prosecution of poachers, were entitled to a portion of the fines imposed by magistrates on offenders. According to Inspector-general Wood in 1871, "When any policeman has a chance of getting a reward, it leads him to look more after the fisheries than after the peace of the

neighbourhood."(311)

The prospect of receiving a reward from the inland revenue commissioners, for the discovery of poteen or illicit stills, made the often arduous duty of still-hunting more palatable to those policemen engaged on revenue duty after 1857. Rewards varied according to the importance of the discoveries, but the constabulary authorities issued regulations as to how these rewards were to be shared out. If an officer were in charge of the successful party he was to get three shares of the reward; head constables in charge were to receive two shares, and any other ranks in charge were to get $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares. Other members of the party who made the seizure were to receive one share apiece.(312) Most records of the revenue commissioners' rewards have unfortunately been lost. However, those for the final six months have survived, and they show that some policemen were quite adept at qualifying for these additions to their pay. A Constable Charles Sawyers and Sub-constable William Callaghan of Co. Donegal received 37 separate awards each, while another 16 policemen in Donegal and Tyrone received more than 15 rewards apiece.(313) In September 1860 Inspector-general Brownrigg felt it necessary to repeat what he had already expressed "on more than one occasion," that all reports of detection of illicit distillation should be "perfectly truthful."(314) Apparently he suspected that some policemen were rather disingenuous in putting forward their claims for revenue rewards.

Such suspicions were widely voiced at the turn of the century, with some justification. Although the problem of illicit distillation at the end of the nineteenth century was much less serious than it had been at its beginning, it still persisted in some parts of the country. Many believed that the system of rewards prevented the R.I.C. from stamping out the trade entirely, and thus killing the goose which laid the golden egg. To qualify for a reward the police had merely to produce still parts or quantities of poteen. In 1900 there were some 1,828 detections, but only 20 prosecutions. The tiny number of prosecutions is striking, and makes the claim of one excise commissioner, that the police did not press moonshiners too hard for fear that they would cease production, less fantastic than it might otherwise appear.(315) In July 1902 the M.P. for South Kilkenny claimed that in one county a still which was discovered by the R.I.C. was repeatedly "planted" to provide the basis for over 200 revenue rewards.(316) Vere Gregory, who joined the R.I.C. as a cadet in the 1890s, records that in Sligo one of the principal manufacturers of poteen stills was a blacksmith who also had skills in tinsmith work. He kept a list of all those for whom he had made stills, and would periodically send them word that they should purchase a new still from him. His clients, afraid to refuse his request, would surrender their old stills to the smith. He planted these on unowned bog and informed the police where they were to be found, thus qualifying for a £1 reward. The

party of police who then found the stills also received a reward from the revenue commissioners for their successful detection and seizure!(317)

More substantial rewards were paid to the constabulary for their role in solving violent crimes. In 1847 Sub-inspector Heard, the officer who arrested the notorious "Puck" Ryan on a murder charge, was rewarded by the lord lieutenant with £52.(318) In November 1863 the magistrates and grand jury at Ballymahon Petty Sessions presented Constable Smyth of Legan with £51 for the arrest of a murderer, who was executed in August 1863.(319) A Constable Supple of Westmeath, who in January 1871 grappled with an armed assailant despite having his face "tattooed" by a revolver blast, received a reward of £50 and a medal from the lord lieutenant, and his name was placed at the top of the promotion list.(320) Several head and other constables received rewards ranging from £5 to £15 each, as well as favourable records and promotions, for their part in investigating murder cases in December 1882.(320) Such large sums were only rarely granted to policemen. Nevertheless, by the end of our period R.I.C. men were so eager to earn rewards that most constables invested in bicycles, believing that the extra mobility they afforded would increase their efficiency as policemen. In some parts of the west in the years before World War I, R.I.C. men were the only people with bicycles.(322) Even if a policeman was not lucky enough to solve a crime as a result of his cycling

activities, he could at least boost his income by the special cycling allowances introduced in the R.I.C. in April 1892.

(323)

It is a testament to the integrity of the constabulary that it was almost unknown for a policeman to act as an agent provocateur or a "manufacturer of crime" in order to qualify for promotion or rewards. It was occasionally rumoured that some policemen committed crimes themselves in their eagerness for rewards, but there is usually no evidence to support these allegations. The earliest example of a constabulary agent provocateur which this writer has come across is that of a Sub-constable Falvey in Co. Kilkenny, who in November 1843 supplied a printer with a seditious ballad, "The Tories' downfall," in order to "get up" a prosecution. However, this was done on the direction of the local resident magistrate, Grey, who was dismissed when the facts of the case emerged.(324) A more celebrated case involved members of the Shinrone constabulary in 1844, who were alleged to have "planted" firearms in a local person's wall, to have conspired to set up an attack on a house, and to have inserted "Ribbon" documents in the pockets of an innocent man. While a lengthy investigation at Dublin Castle failed to substantiate the charges, it was popularly believed that the police were guilty.(325) The Nation, never loathe to attack the government through the police, claimed that "there are registered ruffians at work from January to December in causing

suspicious, and adding stripes to their arms by victimising the people," who "plant the seeds of crime" in peasants' barns or houses "that they may spring up in a plentiful crop of official honors to them in the 'harvest home' of the Assizes or the Sessions." (326) In May 1844 it reported the rumour that 30 people had "during the last few years" been transported for the possession of papers placed in their pockets by police agents. (327)

The image of the policeman as a fabricator of crime may well have entered the public imagination, as the June 1870 cartoon on "The state of Ireland" in the satirical magazine Zozimus suggests. (See appendix xi) Numerous allegations were made during the Land War that the R.I.C. were responsible for committing serious crimes, but these probably arose simply because of the unpopularity of the police at that period. In November 1880 it was the "general belief" of the people in the Castletown-Berehaven district that the constabulary had carried out a number of the malicious crimes which had been committed in the area. (328) In January 1881 Fr Harrington, the president of St Michael's College in Listowel, described the distrust felt by the people of the Gort-Ahabruck area towards the R.I.C. He claimed that around 40 serious crimes, including arson, threatening notices and mutilation of cattle had been committed in the two villages within the previous six months, and that "through the length and breadth of this barony you will not find six men of the people who do not believe that

the recent outrages are the work of the police." In the same month, the "farmers and inhabitants" of the parishes of Eyries and The Mines, near Castletownbere, who did not trust the honesty of the police, adopted their own system of night patrolling. Allegedly as a result of their efforts no more outrages occurred - the obvious inference being that it was the constabulary who were responsible for committing crimes in the area.(329) In March 1881 a judge, commenting to the Tipperary North Assizes on the disturbed state of the county, said that it was a "favourite argument" of the people that "these outrages are all manufactured by the police."(330) A Cork priest reported the belief of the people in October 1881 that a man who was shot dead by unknown assailants at Dooneslea had actually been killed by the R.I.C.(331) Seven years later a Loughrea priest stated that the local people believed that it was the police who had murdered a process-server on the Clanricarde estate in March 1886.(332)

The rumours recorded above should certainly not be taken as proof that policemen "manufactured" crimes when cases were slack. They are more important for the light they throw on the attitudes of the people towards the police in certain parts of the country in those years. This writer knows of only two cases in which R.I.C. men definitely involved themselves in creating serious crimes. The first occurred in August 1887, when a party of police surprised a gang of 'moonlighters" during a house attack in Ballygastel, Co. Clare. The gang

perjury in 1901. Three other accomplices gave evidence against the sergeant on the promise that they would not be punished. One constable was in fact retained in the R.I.C., although he was told that he would never again serve outside the depot or "be used in any position of trust;" another constable and a sergeant resigned from the force, and were respectively given £50 and £200 by the government to help them make a fresh start in life.(334)

Like the constabulary, the D.M.P. had a system of financial rewards for its members. There was no fixed scale of amounts given, as each award depended upon how the chief commissioner viewed the merits of each case.(335) Police in Ireland, unlike their British counterparts, were forbidden to accept tips from members of the public. However, the organizers of public events such as races, cattle shows and theatrical performances frequently requested the D.M.P. to keep order at them, and usually contributed a lump sum for the police guard. This was shared amongst the police contingent, with inspectors receiving three shares and constables one share apiece.(336)

The Crimean War was not entirely unwelcomed by the D.M.P., as it caused a considerable upsurge in the number of army deserters in Dublin, and the police received rewards for their capture. A Sergeant Barnes proved particularly adept at this activity, and earned about £30 by tracing reluctant warriors in the city.(337) By the early 1870s D.M.P. men

earned ten shillings for the arrest of a deserter, prompting the Freeman's Journal to comment that "no child has ever looked with more eagerness for a plum in a currant bun than a policeman looks in a crowd for that cropped head, erect bearing but furtive glance which bespeaks to the captor a certain half-sovereign." (338) There were also unorthodox methods by which policemen could supplement their income. David Neligan records how he and a "senior" D.M.P. man, on their patrols on the south quays, often encountered illegal pitch and toss "schools" in progress in the street. The two policemen would wait until the kitty had reached a "fair sum," and then surprise and scatter the "school." Neligan's partner then pocketed the money. (339)

Some scattered D.M.P. personnel records have survived from the late 1860s onwards. These give details of each man's service record, including the number of punishments and rewards received during his time in the Dublin police. The reward lists make clear that policemen often received monetary awards from the commissioners for quite mundane matters, such as arresting beggars or loiterers. It also appears that rewards were not always in proportion to the service rendered. For instance, one man received a mere 15 shillings in October 1885 for arresting five known thieves and 124 other prisoners for various offences in two months; in contrast, he was given five shillings for killing a rabid dog in August of the previous year. (340) In December 1878 a policeman serving in

College Street station was rewarded with £1 10 shillings for suppressing 15 brothels and "night houses" in the neighbourhood of Burr Lane.(341)

A sergeant who retired in 1908, after 30 years in the force, received 46 monetary rewards during his career. These ranged from five shillings to £6, and amounted in all to more than £44. The following examples from his career record give an idea of the operation of the D.M.P.'s reward system in the late nineteenth century:

Date of reward	Service performed	Amount
May 27, 1881	Arrest of hackney car driver for furious driving.	10s
Mar. 30, 1882	Arrest of five men for loitering (three separate incidents).	£1 10s
Dec. 28, 1882	Bandaging arm of a stabbed man.	£1 10s
Jan. 26, 1892	Arrest of two thieves, one for stealing a coat, the other for snatching a purse.	5s
Aug. 30, 1892	Arrest of a known thief for larceny, who cut his throat and jumped into the Liffey.	7s6d
Sept. 28, 1893	Retaining in custody a powerful "corner boy" who assaulted him.	15s
Sept. 24, 1895	Arrest of two known thieves for larceny of feathers.	7s6d
Aug. 1, 1896	Arrest of a thief, from description, for bag snatching.	£1
Dec. 23, 1897	Special police services.	£5(342)

The following description of rewards granted to a policeman who served from 1877 to 1903 is more instructive, as he was a constable for the entire period, and his record is not untypical of many other constables at that time:

Date of reward	Service performed	Amount
Feb. 21, 1879	"Pluck and determination in retaining a corner boy in custody who violently assaulted him."	£1
Mar. 30, 1880	Arrest and conviction of two "begging impostors."	7s6d
Apr. 4, 1880	Arrest of two disorderly persons who assaulted him.	5s
May 5, 1880	Arrest of a man for attempting to obtain money by means of a "begging letter."	10s
July 29, 1880	Killing a rabid dog with his truncheon.	10s
June 24, 1884	"Tact intelligence in bringing to justice a boy who committed an indecent assault."	15s
Sept. 24, 1884	Tracing and arresting two boys who had broken into a house.	15s
Feb. 24, 1887	Tracing and arresting a man who drove against and damaged a gentleman's carriage.	7s6d
Mar. 31, 1887	Arrest of a convict for begging, who afterwards assaulted him.	5s
June 3, 1890	Retaining in custody a powerful "corner boy" who assaulted him.	7s6d
July 28, 1890	Arrest of a "sturdy beggar."	7s6d
Mar. 19, 1891	Arrest of a known thief for loitering.	5s
Aug. 8, 1893	Arrest, with another constable, or a "notorious thief" for stealing a child's car.	5s
Mar. 4, 1896	Detecting and arresting a coal porter who stole coal from his master and sold it to another person, whom he also arrested.	£1
Oct. 1, 1897	Same as above.	£1
Dec. 13, 1900	Special police services in 1900.	£1(343)

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER SIX.

¹ Blake, "The Irish Police," p.390.

² Nation (Aug.5,1843).

³ Ibid (Nov.26,1842); Freeman's Journal (Nov.21,1842).

⁴ Nation (May 18,1844).

⁵ Sir George Nicholls, A History of the Irish Poor Law, in Connexion With the Condition of the People (London: John Murray, 1856), p.295.

⁶ Resident Magistrate Dopping to Under-secretary Redington (Feb.26,1848) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1848/ A 2385).

⁷ Nation (Jan.6,1843) (Jan.1,1846) (Oct.16,1847) (Nov.13,1847) (Dec.11,18,1847); Freeman's Journal (Aug.6,1843) (Feb.9,1844) (Nov.28,1848) (Apr.3,1849); Bansa police report (Feb.24,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Tipperary 1847/27/638); Memorial of William Reardon, clerk of Tipperary Poor Law Union, to Under-secretary Redington (July 6,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Tipperary 1847/27/1498); Deposition of John Fennell, poor rate collector, Clogheen Poor Law Union (Oct.13,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Tipperary 1847/27/1964); Resident magistrate, Parsonstown, to Under-secretary Redington (Dec.8,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, King's County 1847/15/631); Resident magistrate, Clifden, to Under-secretary Redington (Oct.7,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Galway 1847/11/863).

⁸ Freeman's Journal (Oct.2,16,1846).

⁹ Ibid (Oct.2,1846).

¹⁰ Ibid (Oct.29,30,1846) (Nov.9,1846).

¹¹ Ibid (Dec.23,1846).

¹² Nation (Feb.13,1847) (May 15,1847); Cork Examiner (Jan.6,1847) (Feb.5,1847); Freeman's Journal (Jan.4,1847) (May 11,1847).

¹³ Nation (June 12,1847).

¹⁴ Freeman's Journal (Apr.20, 1848).

¹⁵ Cashel police report (Jan.21,1847)(S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Tipperary 1827/27/358); Nation (Mar.20,1847).

¹⁶ Nation (Jan.9,1847); Freeman's Journal (Jan.9,11,13, 18,1847).

¹⁷ Number of Persons Taken Into Custody by the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and the Results in the Year 1838 (Dublin: Alexander Thom), p.4; Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1847 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1848), p.38; Statistical Returns.....for the Year 1848, p.38; Statistical Returns.....for the Year 1849, p.38; Statistical Returns.....for the Year 1850, p.38.

¹⁸ Charles E.Trevelyan, The Irish Crisis (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), pp 78-79.

¹⁹ Nation (Jan.16,1847), reprinting undated extract from Drogheda Argus.

²⁰ Freeman's Journal (Jan.7,1847), reprinting undated extract from Tipperary Vindicator.

²¹ Thomas P.O'Neill, "The Organisation and Administration of Relief, 1845-52," in R.Dudley Edwards and T.Desmond Williams (eds), The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History 1845-52 (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1956), p.213.

²² Constabulary circular (Nov.11,1845)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

²³ Nation (May 23,1846); Constabulary circular (Dec.11, 1847)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/112); Helen Burke, The People and the Poor Law in 19th Century Ireland (n.p: Women's Education Bureau,1987), p.168.

²⁴ Constabulary circular (Oct.21,1846)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

²⁵ Ibid (May 27,1846)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111); Trevelyan, Irish Crisis, p.47. Constables were strictly forbidden to sell to dealers or retailers.

²⁶ Galway Vindicator (Feb.24,1847); Senior, Journals, 11, p.17.

²⁷ John Forbes, Memorandums Made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1853, 2 vols), i, p.79.

²⁸ Freeman's Journal (Mar.9,1847).

²⁹ Ibid (Oct.19,1846); Nation (Nov.7,1846) (Feb.12, 1847).

³⁰ Nation (Dec.19,1846) (Jan.23,1847) (Apr.10,24,1847); Freeman's Journal (Apr.9,1847) (Apr.26,1849) (May 5,18,1849).

³¹ Freeman's Journal (Apr.3,1847); Nation (Apr.17, 1847).

³² See appendices xvi and xvii.

³³ Townshend, Political Violence, p.70.

³⁴ Return of Agricultural Produce in Ireland, in the Year 1847 H.C. 1847-48 lvii 1; John Nicholas Murphy, Ireland: Industrial, Political, and Social (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1870), p.57; Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.220 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264); Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.25 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160); Mee, Memoirs, pp 23-25.

³⁵ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p.77; Judicial Statistics of Ireland, for 1863 H.C. 1864 [3418] lvii 653, p.viii.

³⁶ Freeman's Journal (Feb.22,1862); Post (Mar.18,1865) in (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7619).

³⁷ Constabulary circular (July 24,1890) (N.L.I.: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

³⁸ Nation (Aug.31,1844); Freeman's Journal (Nov.10, 1854); Regulations for the Use of Royal Irish Constabulary Officers With Respect to Inspectors and the Inspection of Weights, Measures, and Weighing and Measuring Instruments (Dublin: H.M.S.O, 1890); Constabulary circular (July 3, 1891) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); Royal Irish Constabulary List (Jan.1,1898), p.74; R.I.C. Mag. (Nov.1911), p.18.

³⁹ Constabulary circular (July 14,1892) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

⁴⁰ R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1913), p.55; William L.Micks, An Account of the Constitution, Administration, and Dissolution of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland From 1891 to 1923 (Dublin: Eason,1925), pp 199-200.

⁴¹ District Inspector J.C.Milling, The R.I.C. A.B.C; or Police Duties in Relation to Acts of Parliament in Ireland (Belfast: John Adams, 1908), pp 155-56.

⁴² 2&3 Vic., c.78; Crane, Memories of R.M., p.15;

Constabulary circular (Aug.21,1882)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); Rathmines News (May 1,1897); Freeman's Journal (Dec.21,1897).

⁴³ Letter from "A sub-constable" in Freeman's Journal (Mar.5,1872); 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.92; Journal of Swatragh R.I.C. station: entries for (July 17,21,30,31,1907) (Aug.5,16,21,24,31,1907) (Sept.18,1907) (Oct.29,1907) (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7368); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 172,311-12; McDowell, Irish Administration, p.144.

⁴⁴ Inspector-general Stoven to Sub-inspector Taylor, Raphoe (Nov.18,1834)(P.R.O.N.I: T.3711); Norma M.Dawson, "Illicit Distillation and the Revenue Police in Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in The Irish Jurist, vol. xii, new series, part 2 (winter 1977), p.292.

⁴⁵ Nation (Aug.5,1843); McDowell, Irish Administration, pp 138-39; MacDonagh, Early Victorian Government, p.190; Dawson, "Revenue Police," p.291.

⁴⁶ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, pp 180-81, 236. See also Constabulary List (Jan. 1,1857), pp 150-51.

⁴⁷ Nation (Dec.2,1843).

⁴⁸ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, p.150; E.B. McGuire, Irish Whiskey: a History of Distilling, the Spirit Trade and Excise Controls in Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973), p.423.

⁴⁹ Hansard, 3rd series, vol. cxlvii (July 27,1857), col. 415.

⁵⁰ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, p.153.

⁵¹ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Memorandum with reference to revenue duties performed by the constabulary in Ireland" (Apr.26,1858)(N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11021(32)).

⁵² Ibid. In 1860 the D.M.P. was empowered to act as revenue police in their district in cases involving illicit distillation: Freeman's Journal (Feb.15,1860).

⁵³ Thomas Larcom to Chief Secretary Naas (Mar.20,1858) (July 17,1858)(N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11190(1)(12)); Irish Constabulary officers' register 1817-1921, vol. i (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/45); Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/12, pp 47-99); Recollections of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.235 (U.C.D: Dept of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

⁵⁴ Constabulary circular (Sept.20,1860)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO

184/113).

⁵⁵ Freeman's Journal (Feb.16,1860), reprinting recent Mayo Constitution article.

⁵⁶ Cork Examiner (May 5,1888).

⁵⁷ McGuire, Irish Whiskey, pp 400-430.

⁵⁸ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Memorandum with reference to revenue duties performed by the constabulary in Ireland" (Apr.26,1858)(N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11021(32)).

⁵⁹ Freeman's Journal (Feb.11,1860).

⁶⁰ Micheal Mac Gabhann, Rotha Mor an tSaoil (Dublin: Foilseachain Naisiunta, 1959), 99 19-21.

⁶¹ Reverend A.B.R.Young, Reminiscences of an Irish Priest 1845-1920 (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, n.d.), pp 109-111.

⁶² McCarron, Life in Donegal, pp 92-93.

⁶³ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., p.92.

⁶⁴ Reminiscences of Michael Corduff, R.I.C., p.194 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1243).

⁶⁵ Alexander Innes Shand, Letters From the West of Ireland 1884 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1885), pp 14-15.

⁶⁶ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 169,462,470.

⁶⁷ Colonial Office: Ireland: Confidential print: Reports of criminal and political activities in Ireland, 1885-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 903/4, no. 19, p.35; CO 903/4, no. 23, p.40).

⁶⁸ Mee, Memoirs, pp 57-59.

⁶⁹ 1898 Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, pp 30-31.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp 30,66.

⁷¹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.277.

⁷² Breathnach, Irish Police, p.41; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.125; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.121; Constabulary circular (Jan.4,1897)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

⁷³ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.94; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.204.

⁷⁴ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.95; Curtis, History of R.I.C., p.89; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.204; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.125.

⁷⁵ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 78,100,139; R.I.C. Mag. (Jan.1913), p.99. See also Inspector-general Wood to under-secretary for Ireland (Feb.2,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2703).

⁷⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 63,70-71,75; O Faolain, Vive Moi!, pp 30-31.

⁷⁷ 1866 Constabulary Report, p.6.

⁷⁸ Breathnach, Irish Police, pp 39-40; Curtis, History of R.I.C., p.55; Irish Constabulary numerical returns of personnel 1841-1919, p.1 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54).

⁷⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.107; Constabulary circular (May 9,1883) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1901 R.I.C. Commission- Evidence, pp 146,149; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p.192; Mee, Memoirs, p.12.

⁸⁰ David N.Haire, "In Aid of the Civil Power, 1868-90" in F.S.L.Lyons and R.A.J.Hawkins (eds), Ireland Under the Union: Varieties of Tension: Essays in Honour of T.W.Moody (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.145.

⁸¹ List of counties from which police contingents were sent to keep the peace in the north, during the July 12 celebrations (July 9,1858) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11021(35)); Return Showing the Number of Extra Police Stations in Waterford County and City, and the Number of Police Who Have Been Sent Out of the County to Attend at Other places at Various Times During the Year, and the Number of Days They Have Been Absent; Also, the Number of Police Over and Above the Extra Force That Have Been Drafted Into Waterford, and the Number of Days They Remained in County or City H.C. 1887 lxvii 485; Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p.31.

⁸² 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.163.

⁸³ Bernard H.Becker, Disturbed Ireland: Being the Letters Written During the Winter of 1880-81 (London: Macmillan, 1881), p.331; Norman Dunbar Palmer, The Irish Land League Crisis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.150.

⁸⁴ Cant-Wall, Ireland Under Land Act, pp 192-93; G.Shaw Lefevre, Gladstone and Ireland - the Irish Policy of Parliament From 1850-1894 (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1971 reprint; first published 1912), p.137; Clifford Lloyd,

Ireland Under Land League, p.233; R.A.J.Hawkins, "An Army on Police Work, 1881-2: Ross of Bladensburg's Memorandum," in Irish Sword, vol. xi (1973), pp 75-117. In 1870 some 30 people received continual police protection, and 154 had regular patrols near their residences:(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/3151).

⁸⁵ Irish News (Aug.3,1907); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 15,194; R.I.C. Mag. (Oct.1913), pp 408, 414-15.

⁸⁶ Inspector-general Brownrigg, "Report on the state of Ireland in the year 1863" (N.L.I: MS 915, p.197).

⁸⁷ Liam Dolan, Land War and Eviction in Derryveagh 1840-65 (Dundalk: Annaverna Press, 1980), p.93, quoting unnumbered C.S.O.R.P. report of Constable McLain to Sub-inspector Corr (Dec.24,1860).

⁸⁸ H.Spencer Wilkinson, The Eve of Home Rule : Impressions of Ireland in 1886 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1886), pp 60-61.

⁸⁹ Report on the Reorganization of the Police and Criminal Administration of Ireland (Foreign Office [?]:1883). (N.L.I. pamphlet IR 32341 p 49); Crane, Memories of R.M., p.70; Cant-Wall, Ireland Under Land Act, p.192; Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, pp 232,240-41.

⁹⁰ Packet (May 28,1859) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7620).

⁹¹ Letter from "One who has suffered" in Freeman's Journal (Mar.3,1881).

⁹² 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.69.

⁹³ Ibid, pp 69,245; The Letters of "Norah" on her Tour Through Ireland. Being a Series of Letters to the Montreal "Witness" as Special Correspondent to Ireland (Montreal: publisher not stated, 1882), pp 171, 200-202; Joyce Marlow, Captain Boycott and the Irish (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973), p.171.

⁹⁴ Brophy, Tales of R.I.C., p.25.

⁹⁵ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., pp 131-32. Sometimes the officers' hotel accommodation also left a lot to be desired. Garrow Green records one occasion when he was sent up north for anniversary duty at "Kilbatterem," and spent the night in Cookstown, "where having incautiously sought to recruit exhausted nature with a steak which might have been cut from a cab-horse, I vainly contended with indigestion - and fleas - till morning." Ibid, p.138.

- ⁹⁶ Constabulary circular (June 6, 1891) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).
- ⁹⁷ Edith Somerville and Martin Ross (pseudonym of Violet Florence Martin), Experiences of an Irish R.M. (London: Dent, 1964 edition), p.6.
- ⁹⁸ A.M.Sullivan, The Last Serjeant: the Memoirs of Serjeant A.M.Sullivan Q.C. (London: Macdonald, 1952), pp 65-66, 72.
- ⁹⁹ Crane, Memories of R.M., pp 193-95.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sullivan, Last Serjeant, p.109.
- ¹⁰¹ John Adye Curran, Reminiscences of John Adye Curran K.C., Late County Court Judge and Chairman of Quarter Sessions (London: Edward Arnold, 1915), p.228.
- ¹⁰² Edward O'Malley, Memories of a Mayoman (Dublin: Foilseachain Naisiunta, 1981), pp 11-12.
- ¹⁰³ J.M.Synge, The Aran Islands (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979 edition), p.62. The story of the man killing his father obviously gave Synge the idea of the plot for The Playboy of the Western World.
- ¹⁰⁴ Resident Magistrate Tracy to Under-secretary Redington (Oct.26, 1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Limerick 1847/17/1764).
- ¹⁰⁵ Daily Express (July 25, 1862) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).
- ¹⁰⁶ Crane, Memories of R.M., p.38.
- ¹⁰⁷ Report of Resident Percy, Portumna (Feb.2, 1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2757); Freeman's Journal (June 9, 1882); Cork Examiner (May 23, 1888); Andrew Dunlop, Fifty Years of Irish Journalism (Dublin: Hanna and Neale, 1911), pp 208-9.
- ¹⁰⁸ Report of Chief Constable Dickson, Swanlinbar (Feb. 3, 1837) (P.R.O.N.I: D.2526/1).
- ¹⁰⁹ Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, pp 42-43 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).
- ¹¹⁰ Daily Express (June 2, 1862) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7618); Echlin Molyneux to Thomas Larcom (Mar.28, 1864) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7619); Report of Castlebar resident

magistrate (Feb.7,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2757); Crane, Memories of R.M., p.59; Special Commission Act, 1888. Reprint of the Shorthand Notes of the Speeches, Proceedings, and Evidence Taken Before the Commissioners Appointed Under the Above-named Act (London: H.M.S.O., 1890), ii, p.518. Hereafter cited as Special Commission Act, 1888.

¹¹¹ Report of Sub-inspector Hickson (Jan.19,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/1283 on 2808).

¹¹² Lord Lieutenant Carlisle to Earl Grey (Mar.26, 1864) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7619).

¹¹³ Denis Knight (ed), Cobbett in Ireland: a Warning to England (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1984), pp 154,241,262, 269-70; Richard Hawkins, "Government Versus Secret Societies: the Parnell Era" in Secret Societies in Ireland, p.104; Fulham, "James-Shaw Kennedy," p.105; Palmer, Police and Protest, passim.

¹¹⁴ Constabulary circular (Jan.29,1847) (P.R.O.N.I: D.2526/1).

¹¹⁵ Freeman's Journal (Apr.4,1848).

¹¹⁶ Ibid (June 20,1848). Italics as in original.

¹¹⁷ Extract from "Report of Sir Henry John Brownrigg, C.B., inspector-general of constabulary, for the year 1859" (N.L.I: MS 7618).

¹¹⁸ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, passim.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, pp 28-29.

¹²⁰ Daily Express (June 10,1862); T.W.Moody and Richard Hawkins (eds), Florence Arnold-Forster's Irish Journal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.32.

¹²¹ Townshend, Political Violence, p.77.

¹²² Report of Resident Magistrate Stritch, Castlebar (Feb.2,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2757).

¹²³ Resident Magistrate Joseph Rutherford, *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Report From the Select Committee on Westmeath, & (Unlawful Combinations); Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix H.C. 1871 (147) 111 547, pp 141,143. Hereafter cited as Westmeath Select Committee.

¹²⁵ Hawkins, "Government Versus Secret Societies," p.101.

¹²⁶ Belfast Newsletter (Sept.4,1865); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 135-36,138.

¹²⁷ Belfast Riots Commission, 1886. Report of the Belfast Riots Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix H.C. 1887 [c.4925] xviii 1, p.60.

¹²⁸ Belfast Police Manual. Compiled for the Use of the Royal Irish Constabulary Serving in the Town of Belfast (Belfast: W.& G. Baird, 1888), pp 6,21,23 (hereafter cited as 1888 Belfast Police Manual); Andrew Reed, The Constabulary Manual; or, Guide to the Discharge of Police Duties (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1888, 4th edition), p.19. Hereafter cited as 1888 R.I.C. Manual.

¹²⁹ O Broin, Prime Informer, pp 26-28.

¹³⁰ Irish Times (Jan.4,1911); Constabulary Gazette (July 12,1913).

¹³¹ Inspector-general Stoven to Chief Constable Irwin, Carndonagh (Apr.1,1835) (P.R.O.N.I: T.3711).

¹³² Nation (Apr.22,1842), quoting recent Waterford Chronicle article.

¹³³ Freeman's Journal (Aug.16,1862); 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.218; O'Connor, Hostage to Fortune, p.258.

¹³⁴ 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, pp 215,249.

¹³⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.338.

¹³⁶ Belfast Riots Commission, 1886, p.238; 1888 Belfast Police Manual, p.24.

¹³⁷ 1888 R.I.C. Manual, pp 17-18.

¹³⁸ Sir Henry A.Robinson, Memories : Wise and Otherwise (London: Cassell, 1923), p.153.

¹³⁹ 1888 R.I.C. Manual, p.21.

¹⁴⁰ Palmer, Police and Protest, p.533; Freeman's Journal (May 26,1911).

¹⁴¹ Freeman's Journal (Jan.28,1852); Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.50 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).

¹⁴² Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, p.226; Robinson, Memories: Wise and Otherwise, pp 31-33.

¹⁴³ Inspection book of Stewartstown police station, 1862-85 : series of entries from (Feb.17,1871) onwards (P.R.O.N.I: D.548/19); 1888 R.I.C. Manual, pp 15, 24; Inspection book of Timoney R.I.C. station, 1893-1900 (MS in possession of Dr David Fitzpatrick, T.C.D.); Inspection book of Dromore R.I.C. station, 1903-1913 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7369); Inspection book of Killylea R.I.C. station, 1910-1921 (T.C.D: Goulden papers, MS 7370).

¹⁴⁴ Sub-constable Thomas Budger, Myshall, to Rev. J. Patterson (Jan.15,1866) (S.P.O: 'F' Papers, F 557).

¹⁴⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.314; Shand, West of Ireland, pp 52,133; R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1913), p.57.

¹⁴⁶ R.I.C. Mag. (Sept.1914), p.323.

¹⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, Politics and Irish Life, p.2.

¹⁴⁸ Neligan, Spy, p.52.

¹⁴⁹ R.I.C. Mag. (May 1913), pp 231,235.

¹⁵⁰ Belfast Newsletter (Sept.1,1865); Irish Judicial Statistics, 1869, p.79; 1864 Belfast Police Enquiry - Evidence, p.359; Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary, Belfast: Approach to Crisis: a Study of Belfast Politics 1613-1970 (London: Macmillan, 1973), p.89; Townshend, Political Violence, p.87; Belfast Police Commission, 1906 - Evidence, p.116; Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, pp 196-97, 202.

¹⁵¹ Irish Judicial Statistics, 1871, p.113; 1888 Belfast Police Manual, p.7; Belfast Police Commission, 1906 - Evidence, pp 4,10-11; Irish Judicial Statistics, 1912, p.39; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 87,93.

¹⁵² 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.96; Hawkins, "Dublin Castle and R.I.C.," p.168; Sybil E.Baker, "Orange and Green: Belfast, 1832-1912" in H.J.Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), The Victorian City: Images and Realities (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973, 2 vols), ii, p.807.

¹⁵³ Lord Sandhurst, Minute by the Right Honorable Lord Sandhurst, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Commander of the Forces: Belfast Riots - Means for Suppression, &c (Dublin: publisher not stated, 1872), p.3 (N.L.I. pamphlet IR 32341 p 49).

¹⁵⁴ Townshend, Political Violence, p.87.

¹⁵⁵ 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, passim; Morley, What I Have Seen and Heard, i, pp 223-24.

¹⁵⁶ Constabulary Gazette (July 12,1913).

¹⁵⁷ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.29; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.10.

¹⁵⁸ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 150,259; 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, pp 52-53; O Faolain, Vive Moi!, p.33.

¹⁵⁹ (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7621); 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, pp 269-70.

¹⁶⁰ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 444-45; Times (Sept.15, 1884); (P.R.O. (Kew): CO 903/4, no. 33, p.60).

¹⁶¹ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.22; 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, pp 59-60,103,310.

¹⁶² Cork Examiner (Sept.17,1873).

¹⁶³ Belfast Newsletter (Aug.4,17,18,1865) (Jan.30,1866) (Feb. 12,1866) (Apr.17,1866) (June 11,1866) (Aug.6,8,9,1866) (Dec. 3,10,1866).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid (July 4,8,1865) (Jan.3,11,1866) (Feb.8,1866) (Mar. 3,1866) (Apr.4,1866) (May 9,25,1866) (June 18,1866) (July 21,1866) (Aug.21,1866) (Sept.5,9,1866) (Jan.11,30,1867).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid (June 8,1866) (July 31,1866) (Aug.14,1866) (Oct. 10,1866) (Nov.30,1866) (Jan.7,1876) (Apr.15,1880).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid (Aug.15,1866).

¹⁶⁷ 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, p.53.

¹⁶⁸ 1866 Constabulary Report, pp 16-17; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.389; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 6,150; 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, p.54.

¹⁶⁹ Details from Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Report, p.9; Irish News (July 9 to Aug.3,1907); District Inspector E.M.C.Clayton, "Belfast labour strikes and riots 1907" (Oct.5,1907), Town Commissioner Hill to Inspector-general Chamberlain (Nov.20,1907), Inspector-general Chamberlain, "The recent indiscipline of certain members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast" (Sept.14,1907), Town Commissioner Hill to Assistant Inspector-general Gambell (Oct. 5,1907), Deputy Inspector-general Considine to Inspector-general Chamberlain (Sept.29,1907), and Under-secretary McDonnell to Chief Secretary Birrell (Oct.8,1907) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P.

1908/20333); Budding, Polizei in Grossbritannien, p.204; Harding, Plea for Reform, pp 6-7; R.M.Fox, Jim Larkin -the Rise of the Underman (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957), pp 45,47-49; John Gray, City in Revolt: James Larkin and the Belfast Dock Strike in 1907 (Belfast: Blackstaff Press,1985), pp 111-32.

170 See above, p.139.

171 Inspector-general Chamberlain, "The recent indiscipline of certain members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast" (Sept.14,1907); Under-secretary McDonnell to Chief Secretary Birrell (Oct.8,1907) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1908/20333).

172 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, pp 230,232,551.

173 1888 Belfast Police Manual, p.27; Belfast Police Commission, 1906. Evidence, p.7.

174 Inspector-general Chamberlain, "The recent indiscipline of certain members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast" (Sept.14,1907); Under-secretary McDonnell to Chief Secretary Birrell (Oct.8,1907)(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1908/20333); R.I.C. Mag. (Mar.1912), p.161; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 130,187.

175 Cochrane, "Policeman's Lot," p.94.

176 Neligan, Spy, pp 48,51.

177 Saunders Newsletter (Jan.1,1838).

178 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 62-63; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 15-17,20,157,161-63,171; 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries' Book, pp 12-14,17,27; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 10-11.

179 Freeman's Journal (May 27,1847); 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 148-49; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 30-32.

180 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.221.

181 Freeman's Journal (Dec.6,1838) (Oct.9,1850) (June 19, 1858) (Dec.16,1861) (Mar.15,1862) (Apr.22,1862) (Oct.30,1862) (Nov. 24,1864) (Oct.23,1871) (Feb.2,1880) (June 7,1882) (Jan.10,1883).

182 Quotations and other examples from *ibid* (Jan.26, 1838) (Mar.10,1838) (May 26,1838) (Aug.7,22,1838) (Sept.27,1838) (Oct.19,26,1838) (Nov.1,1838) (May 3,1843) (Sept.6,8,1843) (Jan. 1,1848) (Apr.26,1848) (June 6,1849) (Sept.18,1851) (July 10,1854)

(Feb. 23, 1858) (Sept. 14, 27, 1858) (June 10, 1862) (Sept. 19, 20, 1862) (Jan. 19, 1863) (Nov. 19, 1864) (Jan. 26, 1865) (Feb. 23, 1870) (Sept. 30, 1871) (Oct. 5, 28, 31, 1871) (Dec. 5, 9, 1871) (Jan. 8, 9, 1872) (Feb. 2, 7, 14, 19, 27, 1872) (Dec. 16, 1873) (Jan. 3, 10, 1880) (Feb. 2, 10, 26, 1880) (May 6, 1880) (Sept. 9, 17, 25, 29, 1880) (Oct. 1, 1880) (Feb. 1, 1883) (May 4, 1888) (June 12, 1888) (Sept. 7, 1888) (Nov. 2, 3, 1888).

¹⁸³ Ibid (May 3, 1838); O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, p.181.

¹⁸⁴ D.M.P. Annual Statistics 1838-42.

¹⁸⁵ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1858 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1859), p.48.

¹⁸⁶ Chief Commissioner O'Ferrall to Chief Secretary Herbert (Jan. 25, 1858) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1858/11753); Freeman's Journal (June 21, 1858).

¹⁸⁷ Freeman's Journal (June 5, 1857).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid (July 30, 1855).

¹⁸⁹ Ibid (May 5, 1880).

¹⁹⁰ O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, pp 189-95.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.68; Lombe Atthill, Recollections of an Irish Doctor (London: Religious Tract Society, 1911), p.101.

¹⁹² Freeman's Journal (Nov. 21, 1842).

¹⁹³ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p.45.

¹⁹⁴ Freeman's Journal (Mar. 26, 1849); Head, Fortnight, p.105; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.80; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 6-7; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.130; Trevor Whitehead, Dublin Fire Fighters: a History of Fire Fighting, Rescue and Ambulance Work in the City of Dublin (Dublin: Transport Research Associates, 1970), p.13. The constabulary also performed the role of a fire brigade in the towns of Ireland where no such service existed: Crane, Memories of R.M., p.47.

¹⁹⁵ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 77, 79-80; 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, p.23.

¹⁹⁶ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.32; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 98, 138; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.5; Neligan, Spy, pp 38, 56; Andrews, Dublin Made me, p.137.

197 D.M.P. Annual Statistics, 1843-53.

198 Freeman's Journal (July 29, 1858) (Oct. 7, 25, 1858) (Dec. 31, 1861).

199 The examples cited are in ibid (Oct. 3, 1838) (Mar. 49, 1847) (Jan. 1, 1852) (June 23, 1854). Other examples of attempted suicides, frequently by drunken prostitutes, are in ibid (Aug. 8, 1838) (Mar. 30, 1842) (Feb. 2, 1843) (July 24, 1843) (Oct. 8, 1846) (May 31, 1847) (Dec. 8, 1851) (Mar. 27, 1854) (Oct. 8, 1855) (Mar. 31, 1857) (July 31, 1857) (Dec. 23, 1857) (Mar. 31, 1858) (Jan. 9, 1860) (Jan. 21, 22, 1862) (Feb. 4, 1862) (Mar. 31, 1862) (May 31, 1862) (Jan. 7, 1863) (Nov. 4, 18, 1864) (Dec. 7, 1864) (Apr. 4, 11, 24, 1865) (July 6, 1865) (Aug. 18, 1865) (Apr. 4, 1866) (Sept. 14, 1867) (Feb. 24, 1870) (Aug. 1, 14, 1871) (Sept. 2, 1871) (Oct. 18, 1871) (Feb. 8, 1872) (Feb. 23, 1875) (Apr. 10, 1875) (Dec. 24, 1877) (Apr. 29, 1880) (July 2, 16, 1880) (Oct. 4, 11, 26, 1880) (Mar. 7, 1881) (Aug. 15, 1881) (Feb. 28, 1882) (Apr. 18, 1882) (Jan. 12, 1883) (Feb. 4, 1910); Saunders Newsletter (Apr. 7, 1877); Rathmines News (Sept. 4, 1897); Irish Times (Jan. 3, 1911).

200 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 198-99; 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence, p.15; Neligan, Spy, p.37.

201 Freeman's Journal (Apr. 28, 1847).

202 Ibid (May 22, 1847).

203 Ibid (Dec. 28, 1848).

204 Ibid (Apr. 21, 1854) (Oct. 16, 1854) (Dec. 7, 1877); Constable Ernest Cochrane to Katherine Finlay (July 23, 1883) (P.R.O.N.I: T.3504/1/6).

205 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 105-7.

206 Freeman's Journal (Dec. 31, 1841).

207 Ibid (Feb. 2, 1842).

208 Ibid (July 10, 1843).

209 Ibid (Apr. 8, 28, 1843).

210 Ibid (Feb. 11, 20, 1847); Nation (Feb. 13, 1847).

211 Freeman's Journal (Feb. 9, 1858).

212 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.45; Freeman's Journal (Mar. 15, 1880).

213 Freeman's Journal (Sept. 25, 1858).

²¹⁴ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.66; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 53-54; D.M.P. circular (Feb.1,1890), in Reprint of General Orders Issued to the [D.M.P.] Force Since the Publication of the Police Code (1889-1892)(n.p., n.d.), p.21 (N.L.I: I 3522 d 8); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.367.

²¹⁵ Frank Thorpe Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections of an Irish Police Magistrate (Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1880, 8th edition), p.143.

²¹⁶ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.10.

²¹⁷ Neligan, Spy, pp 49-50.

²¹⁸ Nation (Sept.28,1844).

²¹⁹ Ibid (Oct.5,1844).

²²⁰ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.68.

²²¹ Freeman's Journal (Nov.14,1865); Thomas Clarke Luby's recollections of Fenianism, p.52 (N.L.I: MS 333); John Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969), pp 74-75; O Broin, Fenian Fever, p.223.

²²² 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp 22,45; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.52; D.M.P. circular (June 14,1890), in Reprint of General Orders, p.21; O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, p.182.

²²³ Ibid; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.68; J.J Tobias, Urban Crime in Victorian England (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), pp 108-9. For some examples of child-stripping, see Freeman's Journal (Apr.25,1838) (Mar.31,1844) (Sept.23,1846) (Nov.30,1848) (June 12,1849) (May 5,1855) (July 13,1855) (Mar.23,1862) (June 3,1862) (June 3,1865) (Sept.23,29,1871) (May 17,1875) (Dec.27,31,1880) (Oct.15,1881) (May 25,1888) (July 4,1888).

²²⁴ Freeman's Journal (July 24,1838) (Aug.15,1838) (Apr.13,1842) (Feb.26,1847) (Feb.2,1852) (June20,1854) (Jan.3,1856) (Apr.29,1858) (May3,21,1858) (June22,1858) (July6,1858) (Sept.15,30,1858) (Oct.1,23,1858) (June 20,1865); Tobias, Urban Crime, pp 63,112-13.

²²⁵ Freeman's Journal (June 24,1857).

²²⁶ Ibid (June 8,1836). See also ibid (Dec.6,1855) (Aug.30,1858) (Feb.26,1858).

²²⁷ Ibid (July 24,1849) (Feb.19,1850) (Apr.23,1850) (May 28,1850) (Sept.30,1851) (Oct.7,1851) (June 16,1854) (May 5,12,1857)

(Jan. 1, 1858) (Feb. 12, 23, 1858) (Mar. 9, 1858) (May 25, 1858). Instances of pocket-picking in church were also reported in Cork and Kilrush: *ibid* (Mar. 12, 1871) (Mar. 8, 1882). A Belfast lawyer claimed in 1866 that a "great number" attended Mass simply to have an opportunity to pick pockets: Belfast Newsletter (Dec. 25, 1866).

²²⁸ Freeman's Journal (Jan. 1, 1852) (July 7, 1854) (Aug. 8, 25, 1854) (Oct. 15, 1855).

²²⁹ *Ibid* (July 9, 1855).

²³⁰ *Ibid* (June 13, 1849) (Mar. 23, 1850) (July 19, 1851) (Jan. 20, 1858) (Apr. 21, 1858) (Aug. 18, 1858) (Nov. 3, 1858) (Dec. 17, 1858) (Jan. 14, 1860) (Mar. 4, 1862) (Jan. 1, 1863) (Mar. 2, 1872) (Jan. 14, 1875).

²³¹ *Ibid* (June 13, 1849).

²³² *Ibid* (Mar. 26, 1858).

²³³ *Ibid* (May 9, 1857) (Sept. 4, 1858).

²³⁴ *Ibid* (May 7, 1858).

²³⁵ *Ibid* (Mar. 9, 1858).

²³⁶ *Ibid* (Feb. 27, 1844) (Mar. 19, 1847) (Dec. 21, 1848) (Aug. 20, 1849) (Jan. 21, 1850) (Mar. 31, 1851) (Apr. 26, 1851) (May 9, 1851) (June 18, 1851) (July 29, 1851) (Aug. 2, 1851) (Feb. 2, 1852) (Mar. 31, 1852) (Apr. 7, 1852) (June 4, 1852) (Mar. 29, 1853) (Mar. 23, 1854) (June 20, 1854) (Jan. 15, 1855) (Feb. 13, 18, 1857) (Mar. 2, 7, 1857) (Apr. 4, 1857) (June 30, 1858) (July 6, 1858) (Oct. 9, 30, 1858) (Nov. 8, 11, 27, 1858) (Dec. 3, 20, 1858) (Apr. 5, 1862) (July 24, 1880) (Sept. 27, 1880) (Jan. 10, 1882) (May 1, 1882).

²³⁷ *Ibid* (June 12, 1857) (July 10, 1858) (Mar. 13, 1862) (Aug. 25, 1862) (Sept. 1, 1871) (Nov. 22, 1880).

²³⁸ *Ibid* (Jan. 19, 1850) (Nov. 1, 1851) (Jan. 1, 1852) (June 7, 1854) (Sept. 30, 1858) (Mar. 31, 1860) (Feb. 26, 1862) (July 15, 1862) (Mar. 3, 1863) (Aug. 16, 1881) (Jan. 17, 1882) (Apr. 28, 1882) (July 27, 1882).

²³⁹ *Ibid* (July 7, 1854) (Aug. 17, 1854) (Nov. 11, 1854) (May 10, 1855) (Jan. 3, 1856) (Feb. 13, 1857) (Apr. 4, 1857) (May 5, 8, 12, 1857) (Jan. 1, 1858) (Feb. 5, 9, 1858) (Apr. 17, 1858) (May 11, 25, 1858) (Oct. 16, 1858) (Dec. 1, 1859) (Feb. 26, 1862) (June 17, 1862) (Dec. 26, 1862) (Apr. 25, 1865) (Sept. 5, 28, 1865) (Feb. 22, 1866) (Sept. 3, 1867) (Jan. 1, 1875) (Jan. 30, 1880) (Mar. 3, 20, 1880) (July 8, 1880) (Aug. 9, 1881) (Mar. 3, 1882) (May 1, 1882) (Dec. 8, 1898).

²⁴⁰ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.21.

²⁴¹ Freeman's Journal (Mar.21,1838) (Aug.6,1849) (Jan.23,1852) (Apr.12,1855) (Jan.1,1858) (Mar.15,1858) (Apr.13,16,1858) (July 5,30,1862) (June 13,19,1865) (Oct.5,1865) (Aug.4,1880) (June17,1881) (Sept.12,1881) (Aug.19,1882) (Dec.8,1885) (Aug.11,1888) (July 9,1907).

²⁴² *Ibid* (Aug.23,26,28,1843) (Oct.6,7,1843) (July 23,1847) (Aug.24,1849) (Aug.23,27,1851) (Aug.27,1853) (Aug.22,23,26,28,1854) (Aug.31,1855) (June 7,1857) (Aug.25,27,1858).

²⁴³ *Ibid* (Mar.8,1844) (Sept.9,1851) (Oct.10,1851) (Jan.10,14,1852) (June 2,1852) (Mar.13,1857) (May 15,1857) (Oct.2,14,1858) (Feb.13,1860) (Jan.10,1863) (Feb.6,1863) (May 12,1865) (July 27,1871) (Nov.10,24,1871) (Mar.1,1872) (Mar.6,1880) (Apr.9,1880) (Aug.11,1888).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid* (Nov.28,1848).

²⁴⁵ *Ibid* (Nov.15,1851).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid* (Aug.1,1855).

²⁴⁷ *Ibid* (Mar.23,1849) (Sept.20,1853) (Feb.22,1854) (May 5,1854) (Nov.11,1854) (June 11,1855) (Feb.17,1858) (Jan.25,1862) (Apr.5,1875).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid* (Apr.6,27,1849) (May 30,1854) (June 1,2,1854) (Dec.24,1855) (May 12,1857) (Feb.12,23,1858).

²⁴⁹ *Ibid* (Dec.23,1854).

²⁵⁰ *Ibid* (May 13,1857).

²⁵¹ *Ibid* (Mar.6,1858) (Apr.15,1848).

²⁵² *Ibid* (Aug.31,1854) (Dec.26,1871) (Aug.14,1913); Belfast Newsletter (Oct.26,1866); Thomas Clarke Luby's recollections of Fenianism, p.174 (N.L.I: MS 331); Tobias, Urban Crime, pp 64,72,105.

²⁵³ Freeman's Journal (Feb.17,1860).

²⁵⁴ *Ibid* (Mar.9,1855).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid* (May 22,23,1838) (Sept.30,1851) (Feb.23,1854) (Aug.29,1854) (Sept.13,1854) (June 23,1855) (Sept.13,1855) (Oct.25,1855) (Nov.17,1855) (Dec.6,11,1855) (Mar.13,1857) (May 12,1857) (Aug.22,1862) (Apr.1,1865) (May 13,1865) (July 15,1867) (Aug.25,1871) (Feb.3,1880) (July 13,1882).

²⁵⁶ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1881 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1882), p.viii; D.M.P. circular (June 10,1890) in Reprint of General Orders, p.27.

²⁵⁷ Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, p.141.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, pp 91-92.

²⁵⁹ James Joyce, Ulysses (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969 edition), p.163.

²⁶⁰ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 53-55.

²⁶¹ D.M.P. circular (Feb.1,1890) in Reprint of General Orders, p.12.

²⁶² (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7601).

²⁶³ Palmer, Police and Protest, p.371.

²⁶⁴ Report of Chief Superintendent James Monaghan, D.M.P. (Feb.17,1857)(N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7600); Syngé, Aran Islands, p.63; Townshend, Political Violence, p.151; Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-1875" in American Historical Review, vol. 77 (1972), pp 625-652; James W.Hurst, "Disturbed Tipperary: 1831-1860" in Eire-Ireland, vol. ix, no. 3 (autumn 1974), pp 44-59; Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 523-25. Although the amount of crime during the Land War was very much below that of the Famine years, the simultaneous popular agitation pressed the R.I.C. to its limit. In December 1881 the government organized an auxiliary force, designed to ease the burden of maintaining protection posts from the shoulders of the constabulary. Some 440 men joined the auxiliary force, 45% of them from Britain. The auxiliary men, who were greatly disliked by the regular R.I.C. force, were mainly army reservists. They wore the same uniform as the rest of the R.I.C., except that they had a special white rim around the collar. See Freeman's Journal (Dec.21, 1881); Auxiliary force general register, December 1881-November 1882 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/49); Crane, Memories of R.M., p.70; Cant-Wall, Ireland Under Land Act, pp 165-66; Hawkins, "Bladensburg's Memorandum," pp 91, 116n53.

²⁶⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.116.

²⁶⁶ Letter from "A Galway sub" in Freeman's Journal (Sept.13,1880).

²⁶⁷ Mee, Memoirs, p.30.

²⁶⁸ Wyndham to A.J.Balfour (Nov.26,1900) in J.W.Mackail

and Guy Wyndham (eds), Life and Letters of George Wyndham (London: Hutchinson, 1925, 2 vols), ii, p.410.

²⁶⁹ Mee, Memoirs, p.29.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, pp 15,17,31; Comerford, Kilkenny I.R.A. Days, pp 144,147; Journal of Swatragh R.I.C. station, November 1906 -December 1907 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7368).

²⁷¹ R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1911), pp 45,55.

²⁷² Crane, Memories of R.M., pp 97-98; Curran, Reminiscences, p.236; R.I.C. Mag. (Nov.1911), p.21.

²⁷³ Irish Times (Jan.16,1911); R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1911), p.54.

²⁷⁴ R.I.C. Mag. (Nov.1911), p.22 (Jan.1912), p.100 (June 1912), pp 260,263,266 (Dec.1912), p.51 (Jan.1913), p.96 (Mar. 1913), p.163 (June 1913), pp 267,275 (June 1914), p.244.

²⁷⁵ Constabulary Gazette (Jan.1,1910), p.222; R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1911), pp 52,55 (Jan.1912), p.95 (Feb.1913), p.136 (June 1914), p.222.

²⁷⁶ Constabulary Gazette (Jan.1,1910), pp 222,225; R.I.C. Mag. (Jan.1912), pp 75-77; Patrick Shea, Voices and the Sound of Drums - an Irish Autobiography (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1981), p.9.

²⁷⁷ All data taken from Judicial Statistics of Ireland, 1863-1894.

²⁷⁸ Julius Rodenberg, A Pilgrimage Through Ireland, or the Island of the Saints (London: Charles Griffin, 1860), pp 313-15.

²⁷⁹ Belfast Newsletter (Jan.14,1867).

²⁸⁰ Judicial Statistics of Ireland, 1863-1894.

²⁸¹ R.I.C. Mag. (Apr.1912), p.199 (May 1912), p.238; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.91; O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, p.185.

²⁸² R.I.C. Mag. (June 1914), p.232 (July 1914), p.261.

²⁸³ Judicial Statistics of Ireland (1875) H.C. 1876 c.1563 lxxix 273, p.97.

²⁸⁴ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1841 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1842), pp 43-45.

- 285 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.120; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.193.
- 286 Freeman's Journal (Feb.22.1860).
- 287 Ibid (Sept.19,1871).
- 288 Ibid (Feb.18,1882); 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.193.
- 289 Freeman's Journal (Nov.1,1898).
- 290 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 29,141,297.
- 291 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 79,82.
- 292 All data from the published annual statistics of the D.M.P., 1838-1863. Data for 1851 were not available.
- 293 Ibid; O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, p.183; Padraig Patridge, "Crime in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District, 1894-1914" in Retrospect, new series, no. 2 (1982), pp 36-43.
- 294 As in footnote 292 above.
- 295 Judicial Statistics of Ireland, 1869-70, 1872, 1879, 1881-82, 1890-91, 1900.
- 296 D.M.P. Statistical Returns, 1869, 1911; Judicial Statistics of Ireland, (1911), H.C. 1912-12 Cd. 6419 cx 703, p.39.
- 297 O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, p.187; Palmer, Police and Protest, p.526.
- 298 Flint, Dublin Police System, p.24.
- 299 Freeman's Journal (Aug.30,1865).
- 300 Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, p.95. Also Freeman's Journal (Oct.9,1854)(July 16,1855).
- 301 Freeman's Journal (Nov.19,1842).
- 302 Ibid (Apr.25,1843).
- 303 Ibid (Mar.6,1858)(Feb.26,1863).
- 304 Ibid (Sept.14,1901).
- 305 Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, p.104.

³⁰⁶ 6&7 Wm iv, c.13, s.xlix. This reward fund was also used to pay pensions and gratuities.

³⁰⁷ Copy of Treasury Minute, Dated February 1891, on a Deficiency in the Royal Irish Constabulary Force Fund H.C. 1890-91 (118) lxiv 801, p.2.

³⁰⁸ Constabulary circular (Apr.15,1842) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

³⁰⁹ Ibid (Sept.5,1862) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/113).

³¹⁰ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, pp 91-93.

³¹¹ Westmeath Select Committee, p.142; Milling, R.I.C. A.B.C., pp 71-72.

³¹² 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.391; 1913 R.I.C. Financial Department, p.164.

³¹³ Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Dec. 1857 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 280).

³¹⁴ Constabulary circular (Sept.20,1860) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/113).

³¹⁵ McGuire, Irish Whiskey, pp 428-29.

³¹⁶ Hansard, 4th series, vol. 111 (July 15,1902), cols 341-42.

³¹⁷ Gregory, House of Gregory, p.186.

³¹⁸ Dublin Castle memorandum (Oct.21,1847) (S.P.O: Outrage Reports, Limerick 1847/17/1401).

³¹⁹ Daily Express (Nov.23,1863).

³²⁰ Times (Jan.21,1871).

³²¹ Constabulary circulars (Dec.6,22,1882) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

³²² 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 92,102; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 30,32,67,149,192; O'Malley, Memories of a Mayoman, p.10.

³²³ Constabulary circular (Apr.23,1892) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.95; 1913 R.I.C. Financial Department, pp 98-99; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.149.

324 Nation (May 25,1844) (June 22,1844).

325 Ibid (Sept.28,1844) (Oct.5,1844); Freeman's Journal (Sept.24,28,30,1844); Reverend Wallace Clare, A Young Irishman's Diary (1836-1847). Being Extracts From the Early Journal of John Keegan of Moate (n.p: Sharman, 1928), p.102.

326 Nation (Oct.5,1844).

327 Ibid (May 18,1844).

328 Freeman's Journal (Nov.19,1880).

329 Cork Examiner (Jan.11,25,1881).

330 Freeman's Journal (Mar.9,1881).

331 Cork Examiner (Oct.8,1881).

332 Times (Feb.17,1888).

333 O Broin, Prime Informer, p.41. See also remarks of John Dillon, M.P., in Freeman's Journal (Dec.11,1888).

334 (S.P.O: Crime Branch Special: 1901/25413/S - R.I.C. reports on the case of Sergeant Sheridan); Freeman's Journal (Oct.9,1901); Hansard, 4th series (July 22-23,1904), cols 124, 255,1032,1034,1038-39,1075-76; Hugh Sutherland, Ireland Yesterday and Today (Philadelphia: North American,1909), pp 99-100.

335 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.188.

336 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 1,23-24; 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries' Book, p.21; Becker, Disturbed Ireland, p.332.

337 Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, p.153.

338 Freeman's Journal (Sept.1,1871).

339 Neligan, Spy, p.49.

340 Career record of D.M.P. man who joined May 7,1880, and retired on pension May 22, 1907. (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records). Sergeant Gregory Allen, museum curator, graciously allowed me to be the first researcher to have access to these records.

341 Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Dec,8,1868, and retired on pension Sept.1,1898 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).

³⁴² Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Oct.5,1880, and retired on pension Sept.30, 1908 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records). The term "special services" referred to duty at the Dublin courts or magistrates' offices, at society races or regattas, or serving Poor Law Guardian election papers. At first only first class constables were employed at the courts, but in 1865 the commissioners directed that all efficient men of good character and at least five years' service could also attend there, as they felt that the first class constables employed on special duty had become "to a great extent unfitted for the more active street duties:" 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.65; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 303-304.

³⁴³ Career record of man who joined July 13,1877, and retired on pension Dec.1,1903 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).

CHAPTER VII

DISCIPLINE IN THE IRISH POLICE FORCES

Both major Irish police forces did not rely solely upon a system of rewards to influence their members' behaviour. One also needs to examine their disciplinary systems to reach a better understanding of the policeman's life. Constabulary and D.M.P. men were instructed at their respective depots as to the type of behaviour expected of them as policemen, but the depot lessons were reinforced by two rather formidable sets of rules and regulations. Contemporaries frequently commented on the "military" character of the Irish Constabulary, and claimed that the armed and drilled police were so influenced by an alleged rigid adherence to military discipline as to be more like soldiers than policemen.(1) It is easy to see why such claims were made. The constabulary were trained at the Dublin depot along the lines of a light infantry regiment, their ranks were analogous to army ranks and, of course, the Irish Constabulary was an armed force with furniture, clothing and weapons supplied by the War Office.(2)

How accurate was it to complain of the excessively military character of the constabulary? It is true that it was

an armed force, a type of gendarmerie. But were its members obsessed with, or even moderately enthusiastic about, the "military" aspects? The evidence suggests that the rank and file, at any rate, viewed themselves as policemen rather than soldiers, as members of a civil force performing civil functions. Indeed, the constabulary authorities and the government also frequently professed to seeing the force as a civil one, which was armed simply because an unarmed body could not safely operate in the Irish countryside. An armed police force run on military lines was therefore considered a necessary evil.

One of the force's "military" characteristics was that its members were forbidden to serve in their native county, and were transferred from stations when their officers considered that they were too intimate with the local population. In September 1844, Inspector-general McGregor considered it a "mischief" to have policemen with a "protracted residence in one locality." (3) The United Irishman newspaper offered a rather cynical interpretation of the necessity of moving policemen in 1882:

a constable cannot be safely left for any length of time in any one place. Continued residence would mean intimacy and friendship with the class of peasantry from whom he had himself sprung; formation of friendships would mean sympathy with the unmerited sufferings of his friends, and sympathy with unmerited suffering totally incapacitates from the proper performance of the duties of an Irish policeman. So the constable is constantly shifted about, like the knight on a chess board, in spasmodic jumps from one district to another. (4)

Inspector-general Brownrigg outlined in 1864 the essential

differences between the constabulary and the army. The former, despite its regulations and its policy of frequent transfers, remained "remarkably free from a military mania:"

Between the soldier and the civilian there is a distinct line of demarcation; but the constabulary man is decidedly on the civil side of this line. Instead of being possessed of the roving spirit of the soldier, he forms matrimonial connexions and too intimate friendships with the people amongst whom he is stationed, and would fain become, if permitted, fixed as it were to the soil. Generally, nothing is so contrary to his wishes as to be removed - though this step is frequently necessary to the free and independent discharge of his duty.(5)

One of the factors militating against a military spirit was the fact that the men were scattered throughout the country in small station parties. Once they were released from their training at the depot and became engaged in their numerous civil duties, they had little opportunity for keeping up their knowledge of drill, especially when the constable in charge was deficient in this regard. According to Brownrigg, whenever the men were gathered together in large numbers, for example at Assizes, the occasion was used to "brush up" their knowledge of drill.(6) Efforts to recruit constabulary men into the army invariably met with little success, thus backing up Brownrigg's assertion as to the absence of a "military mania" in the force. An attempt to entice policemen to volunteer for the Crimean War, with the inducements of allowing them to bring with them their period of service in the constabulary, as well as a penny a day for beer, was met with scorn by the men. One policeman wrote a satirical ballad entitled "Do you want recruits, your honour?" about the

effort, which song was very popular in the force.(7) Eventually only about 100 men volunteered, all of whom were young and unmarried.(8) The formation of the Irish Papal Brigade in 1860 sparked off a more spontaneous bout of military volunteering in the constabulary. Despite the hardship of sacrificing a steady job for a dangerous and ill-paid one (a penny halfpenny a day) at least 90 constabulary men, and an unknown number from the D.M.P., volunteered for the Papal Brigade.(9) This was the last substantial movement of Irish policemen towards soldiering before World War I, and of course it owed more to religious impulses than a liking for things military.

During the Boer War, hundreds of Scottish policemen volunteered for the British army, in stark contrast with the mere seven R.I.C. volunteers.(10) Constable McKelvey of Lisburn admitted candidly to the 1901 R.I.C. committee of enquiry that he "would not enjoy it a bit" to have somebody shooting at him.(11) There is some evidence, admittedly scattered, that this healthy aversion towards becoming human targets was accompanied by a poor handling of firearms at the end of our period. Each R.I.C. man had to fire 20 practice shots each year, which was hardly enough to maintain marksmanship of a "military" standard. C.P.Crane records that the Dingle police fired off their rounds "with indifferent success."(12) Patrick Shea, the son of an R.I.C. man, recalls that when these annual tests were conducted by the Athlone

police the targets were simply placed on the ground and pierced with the front end of a bullet. The sergeant in charge then duly certified as to the competence of his men's marksmanship!(13) According to John Regan, the R.I.C. men were "nervous" when they handled revolvers, and the very senior men were "rather helpless with the weapon." He claims that when superior officers visited stations to test their revolver skills, it was customary to send the senior men "off somewhere on duty to avoid the inspection."(14) Colonel Chamberlain was startled to find that in 1899, the year before he was appointed inspector-general of the R.I.C., some 180,000 practice shots were fired, 70,000 of which missed the target. (15) It is instructive to note here that in 1914 the inspector-general, the chief secretary and the commander of the army in Ireland all viewed the constabulary as a purely civil body, whose duty should not include armed resistance to an invasion. Their opinion, however, was over-ruled by the War Office in 1915.(16)

It may not be coincidental that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the constabulary's lack of enthusiasm for military matters was very apparent, the R.I.C. had adopted a less rigorous attitude to the question of transfers and postings. From May 1883 men transferred on marriage were, whenever possible, moved merely to a neighbouring county. Under-secretary Ridgeway complained in June 1890 of the lack of mobility of R.I.C. officers: "Every

R.M. or C.I. who does not wish to move pleads his wife - the only exception being C.I. Ross who was a few days ago ordered to Wexford. He pleads his 'old mother.'"(17) In 1890 Inspector-general Reed complained that in some counties policemen were moved about too frequently, to the detriment of police work in local areas. He ordered that men should serve for at least two years at the same station, and that county inspectors should refrain from transferring men as a means of punishment. If it were considered absolutely necessary to transfer a man, he should merely be moved to another station in the same district.(18)

Assistant Inspector-general Singleton explained in 1901 that recruits were generally stationed in their native provinces because

they are more in touch with the people of their own part of the country, and their ways of living, than they would be if I were to send the Northern man to Cork, or the Cork man to the north. There is a natural hostility between the two ends of the country that would militate against us if that were done.

He added that "I try to keep the Ulster man in Ulster - not absolutely, but as near home as may be consistent with advantage to the public service."(19) It is possible to determine, for the year 1911, the precise origins of each county's policemen. An examination of the forces of three counties chosen at random - Wicklow, Clare, and Tyrone - shows that 47.7% of Wicklow's 153 R.I.C. men came from Leinster, and only 17.6% from Ulster; 40.7% of Clare's 467 police came from Munster, and only 9.6% from Ulster, while 57% of Tyrone's 223

police came from Ulster, and only 10.3% from Munster.(20) Judging from the fragments of the Constabulary Gazette which have survived, it was possible for R.I.C. men stationed in counties far from their native area to arrange exchanges with other policemen, simply so that they could be stationed nearer to home.(21)

The preceding paragraphs suggest that it would be a mistake to assume that the R.I.C. men were merely a type of soldier engaged in police duties. Their tastes were more for the life of a civil policeman than a soldier. Nevertheless, the force was regulated, like an army, by a wide-ranging disciplinary code which heightened its similarity to a military body in the eyes of its critics. The first constabulary manual, which detailed the duties of each policeman and the rules and regulations governing the force, was compiled in 1837 and issued to the officers only. They were expected to keep the rank and file informed of its contents. This was a sure recipe for confusion within the force. Recruits in training at the depot were given a grounding in the basic principles of the constabulary code, but they could not be expected to retain an accurate knowledge of them several years later. Limiting the manual to the officers also meant placing an inordinate amount of trust in their ability to instruct their men, or their enthusiasm for the task. Twenty years later, Inspector-general Brownrigg found that the original code was obsolete, due either to the

countermanding of many of the earlier sections, or the addition of new ones since the 1830s. Experienced members of the force had "extreme difficulty" in ascertaining the regulations on any given subject, while for new policemen this was "next to an impossibility." Thus it was that senior men such as constables and even head constables were frequently ignorant of constabulary regulations on many subjects.(23)

The government adopted Brownrigg's sensible proposal to supply a revised edition of the code to each station party, so that it would no longer for men to "plead ignorance" of the force's rules. This obviously had the effect of improving the men's knowledge of the regulations to which they were subject. It also meant that they were required to spend a considerable amount of time in acquainting themselves with the code. To men, most of whom had no more than a National School education, this was no easy task, and sometimes it proved too much for them. In 1872 Sub-constable Doosey, stationed in Cork, described the case of one young policeman "who could not learn it, and who was so afraid of the officer coming round that he got out of his mind, and ran away miles over the country."(24)

Extremely high standards of efficiency, sobriety, cleanliness, morality and general behaviour were expected of policemen under the code. We have already seen some of the regulations in earlier chapters. Card-playing and gambling were prohibited, whether in barracks or elsewhere. In 1841 the

men were forbidden to fish or shoot game, as numerous complaints were made to headquarters that they "habitually" engaged in those pastimes.(25) Ball-playing, especially on sundays, was also frowned upon. In October 1851, a Limerick sub-constable was dismissed for "public desecration of the sabbath, by playing ball during the hours of Divine Service."

(26) In July 1845, a Kilkenny constable, and in May 1854, two Galway sub-constables, were fined for playing ball on Sunday. They received lighter punishment probably because there was no religious service in progress at the time of their games.

(27) In January 1858, Constable James Hamilton was disgraced for allowing his men to ferret.(28) In April 1842, Sub-constable John Wolfe of Down was fined for "Keeping company with persons of bad character," while a similar punishment was visited upon Sub-constable Hugh O'Reilly of Wicklow in June 1842 for "Keeping improper company."(29) Sub-constable James Drought was fined in March 1851 merely for "misapplying his pay."(30) One can understand Jeremiah Mee's assertion that if a policeman complied fully with the stipulations of the R.I.C. code, he would have had "less freedom than a ticket-of-leave suspect."(31)

Constabulary members - and their wives, if they were married - were usually not allowed to engage in trade, to hold land, or own poultry or animals, not even a dog.(However, married county inspectors could hold land up to ten acres, and married sub-inspectors up to four acres, as long as the

produce was for their own family use. Occasionally, station parties which were a "great distance" from markets were allowed to keep a cow, provided that its produce went to all the men at the barrack, without any buying or selling.)(32) Surprisingly, these regulations, which should have been relatively easy to enforce, were often broken in the 1850s. In October 1850, June 1851, October 1853, July, November and December 1854, April, September and December 1855, January, February, August and October 1857 and March 1869, members of the rank and file, mainly constables, were punished in Longford, Cork, Limerick, Clare, Westmeath, Tipperary, Queen's County, Galway and Sligo for breaches of these rules. Most were disgraced, and one was dismissed, for either holding land for growing potatoes, for "trafficking" in potatoes, or owning farm animals and poultry.(33) Constable Michael Courtney of King's County received the surprisingly light punishment of disratment in April 1842 for "Trafficking in fire-arms."(34) Inspector-general McGregor warned his officers in May 1847 that he was aware that some of them were involved in large-scale farming near their stations, and also in building speculations, apparently involving making tenders for houses, in which they had a pecuniary interest, to be used as police barracks.(35)

The most astonishing instance of policemen engaging in trade or agricultural pursuits involved the constabulary of King's County in the 1850s. In 1856, following a tip-off from

a pensioned sub-constable, Inspector-general McGregor ordered a court of enquiry to investigate the police affairs of that county. It found a widespread disregard of police regulations, which was condoned by the county inspector and the sub-inspectors of Edenderry and Frankford districts. Sub-inspector Coe of Frankford was "extensively engaged in agricultural and private pursuits there, employing the men of the force in tilling his farm, and jobbing with the men under his command in money and other transactions." Head Constable Griffith of Frankford had a six-acre tillage farm. So much farming was carried out by the men of the Shinrone area that it was known in police circles as the "agricultural district." Constables in Killeigh, Kilmalogue and Ballycumber, and the Banagher head constable, had either land or cattle, and the latter policeman devoted so much time to non-police matters that he was considered "a sportsman of the first class with dog and fishing tackle." From 1849 to 1853, Constable Dillon of Tullamore had kept a lodging house for crown witnesses attending the Tullamore Assizes. His establishment could hold 30 to 40 witnesses, and around 12 policemen.

County Inspector Reid committed much more serious transgressions against regulations, as he was involved in "jobbing in money and other transactions with the men under his command, the money being now called 'thanks.'" Constable Derinzey, in charge of the Cloneygowan station, admitted having loaned £23 to his county inspector. While it was never

fully explained why he gave the money, the fact that he was a married man living a mere four miles from his in-laws would suggest that it was "thanks" in return for not being transferred. Constable Thomas Leslie, the county inspector's clerk, was even more involved in accepting the "thanks" of his colleagues. Although it was generally rumoured that Leslie could provide important favours in return for bribes, only six head or other constables admitted having given him money. One sub-constable arranged for his brother to be sent to his station from the depot, and also got his name placed on the promotion list after only five years' service. A Tullamore constable secured his brother's transfer to a better station. One sub-constable, who was married to a King's County woman, also gave "thanks" to Leslie, probably to ensure that he would not be transferred. Constable Leslie wisely absconded before the investigation got under way. (36)

Courts of enquiry usually tried cases in which policemen accused of breaches of the regulations denied the allegations. A board of sub-inspectors tried members of the rank and file, and sub-inspectors were tried by county inspectors. All evidence was heard on oath, and sent to the inspector-general for his verdict. If he considered the accused to be guilty, he increased the severity of the punishment, as the defaulter was then considered to have aggravated his guilt by denial of the offence. (37) Perhaps the most dramatic court of enquiry was held at Castleblayney in December 1853. It was called to

investigate events which occurred at the Carrickmacross October races, at which over 30 of the Castleblayney force, under the command of Sub-inspector Barry, attended. The day of the races was "one of the most inclement that had been experienced for the whole year, with heavy and almost continuous rain, sleet, and bitter cold wind, during the whole time the men were on duty." At the end of the day the men asked for permission to provide themselves with refreshments, which was refused, as was their request to be allowed to hire cars back to their barracks. Instead, "they were paraded and marched off, under rain, and through roads deep with mud and slush." The inspector-general ordered a court of enquiry, to be composed of officers from the county, to ascertain the truth of the men's complaints about their treatment. However, for two successive days the men refused to be sworn at the court, considering that a tribunal composed of Monaghan officers could hardly be impartial in the case. One constable and 31 sub-constables who had behaved "in a disrespectful and tumultuous manner before the court" were dismissed by McGregor on December 13, 1853. (38)

The Castleblayney tribunal was not typical of the constabulary's disciplinary process. In fact, most cases were decided without recourse to courts of enquiry. Sub-inspectors usually investigated the circumstances of each case and reported them to the county inspector for his decision (sub-inspectors had no powers of punishment over the men). County

inspectors decided on all cases except those of intoxication and unauthorized absence from barracks, all of which were adjudicated by the inspector-general. County inspectors could not dismiss men, but they could recommend this to headquarters. The Belfast town commissioner, whose rank was equivalent to that of county inspector, had in addition to refer all cases of insubordination or of borrowing money from publicans to headquarters. (39) Fining was the most common form of punishment imposed on offenders. Until May 1883, £5 was the maximum amount inflicted by the inspector-general, after which month it was reduced to £3. (40) Disrating was a severer disciplinary measure, as it involved not merely a lowering of rank but also a significant decrease in pay, especially if the reduction was permanent. Inspector-general Wood recommended in 1872 that men reduced in rank should not be quickly restored, and proposed a period of from four to five years' reduction for men guilty of drunkenness, three to four years for neglect of duty, and an unspecified longer period for "deceitful conduct." (41)

Policemen could also be punished for minor offences by being obliged to perform extra duty at Assizes or Quarter Sessions without pay, or by doing "any extra duty which may not be harassing." (42) They were also liable to receive unfavourable records from the inspector-general, and indeed a single fine from the commanding officer automatically constituted one unfavourable record. These did not immediately

affect one financially, but as they seriously affected chances of promotion they hit policemen's pockets in the long run. Inspector-general Wood, who was in charge of the R.I.C. from 1865 to 1876, introduced the rule that policemen were deducted £1 from their pension for every unfavourable record which they accumulated during their career. As two fines from a county inspector also automatically counted as one unfavourable record, some officers preferred instead to punish infractions by transferring men from stations at their own expense. This had the effect of hitting transgressors financially, but at least it did not damage their long-term prospects, as an unfavourable record would have. A reform in 1883 meant that unfavourable records no longer affected the size of policemen's pensions.(43)

The most drastic disciplinary measure was dismissal from the force. Reasons for dismissals varied from serious financial irregularity, to relatively trivial infringements of regulations. In February 1839, a chief constable was dismissed for concocting details about the arrest of a deserter, while another received the same punishment for withholding his men's pay for over two months. (44) In the same year a Mayo constable was removed from the force for stealing four cows.(45) Sub-constable Finane of Kerry was dismissed in June 1842 for "suppressing Poor Law voting papers and substituting others in their stead."(46) "Cowardice" was another offence which met with dismissal, as happened to a

Limerick sub-constable in September 1845 and an Armagh sub-constable in December 1845. The latter was deemed guilty of "Want of firmness and moral courage, in giving over a prisoner on the demand of a turbulent mob." (47) One could also be dismissed without having broken any regulations, according to the 1872 R.I.C. code. It stated that although a man might obey the rules of the force, he would be dismissed if he were of a "quarrelsome disposition," had no "talent or zeal," or showed "continued apathy in the discharge of duty." (48) Perhaps the most unusual and, for the man concerned, embarrassing case of dismissal occurred in December 1880, when a Cavan recruit was discharged because he was a "heavy stupid man." (49) In times when recruits to their force were scarcer than usual, inspectors-general proved reluctant to dismiss members for breaches of discipline. Inspector-general McGregor stated in 1854 that he was less inclined to remove defaulting policemen, and sometimes only fined or disgraced in cases that would normally have merited dismissal. Inspector-general Wood admitted in 1872 that he imposed the maximum fine of £5 only in cases where the alternative was dismissal, and he was prevented from resorting to the latter punishment more frequently because of the paucity of recruits. (50)

Drinking constituted the most common disciplinary problem. In this regard the Irish Constabulary followed the precedent set by the pre-reform County Constabulary. In 1833 some 33% of dismissals from the latter force were for

drunkenness. In 1836 almost 54% of dismissed men were removed for the same reason.(51) Colonel Shaw-Kennedy, who was inspector-general from the force's centralization in 1836 until March 1838, stated in 1839 that during that period there was "a very considerable number of men dismissed for drunkenness," but he did not specify how many.(52) It is significant that the last verse of the popular satirical song, "The Peeler and the Goat," alluded to the Irish policeman's fondness for alcoholic beverages:

I'm certain if you weren't drunk with whiskey, rum or
brandy, O,
You would not have such gallant spunk or be so bold and
manly,
You readily would let it pass if I'd the sterling handy,
To treat you to a poteen glass - O 'tis then I'd be the
dandy, O.(53)

There are numerous examples throughout the period of policemen indulging in drink to various degrees. In December 1845, a sub-constable in Gort died as a result of "excessive intoxication."(54) Two Fermanagh sub-constables were dismissed in February 1849 after they were discovered by the Revenue Police in a still-house, as were two Tipperary sub-constables the next month for drinking and gambling in an unlicensed public house.(55) A three-man Limerick patrol was dismissed in February 1851 for drinking in a shebeen, as were four Mayo sub-constables in March 1853. In April 1854, two Limerick sub-constables were removed from the force for contracting debts for whiskey and for drinking in shebeens. In February 1857, a Limerick party consisting of a constable and three sub-

constables were disgraced for intoxication and gambling for whiskey on several occasions, as well as permitting the existence of a shebeen house beside their barracks without attempting to suppress it.(56)

Seven Dublin sub-constables were dismissed in July 1862 for "Separating from their detachment when on special duty requiring unusual circumspection, going into the country, [and] drinking in public houses, one of them playing on a fife.(57) An Antrim sub-constable was discharged upon one third gratuity in 1871 "in consequence of intemperate habits, which led to his being placed in a lunatic asylum," while a Belfast sub-constable was discharged without gratuity when "it became necessary to place him in a lunatic asylum, in consequence of insanity produced by intoxication." A Donegal sub-constable was similarly removed for "misconduct and violence, arising either from delirium tremens or assumed unsoundness of mind."(58)

It was an unwritten rule in the constabulary that officers did not visit police stations on inspection in the days immediately before and after Christmas Day, and it was not unusual for station parties to hold a "high carnival" over the festive period. Sub-inspector Thomas Trant of Callan, who played a prominent role in suppressing the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848, was a rather eccentric officer who did not recognize the unofficial Christmas relaxation of discipline. This proved rather unfortunate for one station party which he

visited and found "in a happy state of oblivion." Trant, who was given to writing his reports in rhyme unless they were of special importance, inscribed the following in the barrack inspection book:

Inspected this station at half past ten,
 The sergeant was drunk and so were the men,
 The sergeant's wife was very uncivil -
 In fact, the whole station seems gone to the devil!
 The sergeant must explain if his stripes he'd retain.(59)

Constable Jeremiah Mee records that at Christmas the Kesh lock-up was used to store cases of stout and whiskey given as presents by publican friends, and that duty was "suspended" for the holiday week, and dances and card-playing parties were held, contrary to regulations.(60)

When the government proposed abolishing the Revenue Police in 1857 and allotting its duties to the Irish Constabulary, J. McCann, the M.P. for Drogheda, opposed the move on the grounds that the police, rather than destroying whatever poteen they found, would drink it.(61) Poteen finds were supposed to be destroyed in the presence of an officer, but evidence from later in the century suggests that the M.P.'s claims were not entirely unfounded. One Sligo station party constructed an ingenious device for saving "for home consumption" the poteen which their district inspector poured down the drain of the station yard.(62) Frank Roney, a member of the I.R.B. in the 1860s, provides an interesting example of policemen ignoring the prohibition on drink. Roney and some other Fenians were released from Mountjoy Prison on condition

that they sailed for America. He claimed that

Our last night spent in Ireland at Queenstown was a most boisterous one. I made the six policemen, in whose charge we had been placed, so hilariously drunk that they were singing rebel songs and making rebel speeches with as much abandon as if they were members of our organization...(63)

Pat Gallagher gives a similar example from early in the twentieth century. When he was conveyed to Derry Prison for a month's incarceration, his escort of two R.I.C. men got so drunk in a public house with their prisoner that he actually wanted to go direct to the gaol to safeguard his two friendly companions from discovery and dismissal!(64)

Edward McCarron, who was stationed as a lighthouse keeper on Arranmore in the early 1870s, states that there were two shebeen houses on the island, one within a hundred yards of the R.I.C. barrack. The police were customers of these establishments and did not wish to see them close, especially as their poteen was cheaper than the drink sold in public houses.(65) William Henry Duignan, who made a cycling tour of Ireland in 1881, recorded that he saw R.I.C. men drinking "everywhere." On November 24, 1881, he travelled with seven Limerick policemen at six o'clock in the morning, and was astonished to find that they "began the day with pipes and a bottle of whiskey."(66) Constable Martin Nolan was posted to Belcoo station in Fermanagh in 1880. The sub-constable in charge of the eight-man station party was fairly conscientious about patrol duty, "but not so very strict in other respects. He'd go into a public house and take a pint of porter on his

way out on patrol, and another on his return." On the third day of each month a "very rowdy drunken fair" was held at Dowra, attended by the R.I.C. of Belcoo and adjoining stations. Many of the police "indulged freely" while on duty at the fair, as they received their pay on the previous day. Nolan was transferred later to Arney station, where Acting Sergeant Clinton was placed in charge in 1883:

he used to take some heavy boozes, especially when the county or d[istrict] i[n]spector were not expected on inspection, and on a few occasions he went that far that he was unable to fill the diary in the morning, on which occasions he asked me to the office to assist him. I often had to spell out the words for him, and on one occasion he was that far gone that he forgot [how] to make the letters - I was asked such questions as, 'How do you spell parade?' 'How do you make a P?'

One of the station party periodically presented the acting sergeant with a naggin of whiskey to avoid being reported for various offences.(67)

Nolan was transferred to Omagh in 1886. Despite this being a district headquarters, he found that drinking was even more rife among the R.I.C. there than at his former stations. The district inspector, William Bingham Kelly, was "too fond of the bottle and would have a drink with any person he met in any public house." He was always liable to be found "under the influence," even appearing drunk on one occasion when in command of a guard of honour for a visit by the lord lieutenant. Head Constable Pugh was also a "boozer," according to Nolan, and under his and Kelly's charge Omagh was "in a bad state." Nolan and one other constable were the only temperate

men at the station, so the county inspector gave them the unpopular duty of superintending the public houses on Sundays. District Inspector Kelly "would not prosecute a publican if he sold the whole of a Sunday," according to Nolan.(68)

In 1891 Inspector-general Reed, addressing young constables at the depot, told them that he considered teetotallers to be the "wisest men" in the force, and that officers were ordered never to recommend men for promotion who were "tipplers" or who frequented public houses in their off-duty hours. He stated that

There is hardly ever a case in which a man is dismissed from the service where the cause, immediate or remote, is not that of intemperance. Nine out of every ten men dismissed are the victims of the demon - drink. I have seen some of the most promising, the most popular, the most talented, and, in short, some of the finest men of the service chained to his chariot wheels, and dragged to ruin and often to death.(69)

Reed's exhortation to his men did not take immediate effect. He complained the next year that men frequently excused their drunkenness by claiming that they needed to drink before going out on duty either late at night or early in the morning.(70) Sean O Faolain records that whenever his father was assigned to night duty in Cork, he and his companion brought along small bottles of whiskey to ward off colds and pneumonia.(71) Shortly Before World War I, District Inspector John Regan was transferred from Co. Clare to Lisnaskea. He wrote of one of his fellow officers there, "if he took a drink at all he had to keep at it for some weeks and nearly got the D.T.s." Nevertheless, he remained in the force, mainly by a battle of

wits with his county inspector. On one occasion he even concocted a case of outrage with the collusion of his landlady and her relative, in order to satisfactorily cover up his drunken absence when the county inspector arrived on a visit!

(72)

How significant are these drink-related infractions of the constabulary rules? Are they merely interesting but unrepresentative cases, or are they indications of a wider police liking for drink? The 1837 constabulary code stated that even the "slightest departure from perfect sobriety" would be punished by dismissal. Even assuming, for the sake of argument, that every policeman who was dismissed from the force was removed for drinking, the total dismissals in any one year never reached even 3% of the force, and from 1885 to 1914 never reached even 1%. (See appendix xvii.) How are we to reconcile these astonishingly low figures with the constabulary's reputation as a severely disciplined force? Lord Rosse claimed in October 1852 that "the service is not very much coveted, or very much valued. They are dismissed on very light grounds - for drunkenness, for instance; whereas a soldier may be drunk a hundred times with impunity, if he only keeps sober while on actual duty." (74) The Irish Constabulary had the image of being a closely regulated body, yet its figures for dismissals paled into insignificance when contrasted with those of English police forces. In the Lancashire Constabulary, one quarter of the men were dismissed

from 1845 to 1870.(75) It seems to this writer that one can claim either that the degree of regulation in the constabulary was exaggerated, or that the members of the force were so well-behaved - indeed, were almost entirely teetotallers - that their exemplary conduct is accurately reflected in the extremely low dismissal rate. The latter explanation, while possible, is highly improbable. Given the social role of drink in the society from which they came, it simply defies belief that not even as many as 3% of the men were drunk in any year. Assistant Inspector-general Colomb actually asserted in 1888 that out of a force of more than 13,000 men, cases of drunkenness averaged no more than 14 a week, and that on many days no such cases occurred.(76)

Colomb's claims, and the generally low dismissal rate - whether for drinking or for other infractions of the constabulary code - certainly lead one to ask how accurately police punishment statistics gauge the extent to which regulations were broken. One can safely assume that only a portion of the actual cases of indiscipline came to the knowledge of officers, but it is impossible to quantify the proportion. While all policemen were expected to obey the regulations, the maintenance of discipline was mainly the prerogative of the men in charge of stations and, of course, the officers. As we shall see, many of the former often turned a blind eye to, or were parties to, the misbehaviour of their men. The latter rarely resided in barracks with their charges

- in 1882 only 15 district inspectors lived in police barracks, 12 of whom were serving in Munster, and the other three in Leinster.(77) The remainder lived in lodgings or in their own houses, and were required to visit each station in their district at least once a month to ensure that the regulations were upheld. On their inspections they could only hope to uncover a portion of their men's infractions of the code, and even then they did not always report their men.

For instance, in August 1836, Chief Constable Bracken of Arthurstown, Co. Wexford, remained silent about a mounted sub-constable who got extremely drunk and drew his sword in a Clongeen public house, because "any reports of misconduct coming before Col. Kennedy's inspection would disgrace not only the district but the county establishment generally." (78) As late as October 1875, Inspector-general Wood alluded to "Grave instances of misconduct on the part of sub-inspectors by their having taken it upon themselves to screen men reported for drunkenness and other offences." He added that he had confidence only in some county inspectors when it came to the maintenance of discipline - others overlooked the bad conduct of their officers who were in debt and borrowing money from their subordinates, who lived too far away from their district headquarters, did not attend at fairs and Petty Sessions, and were guilty of "intemperate habits." (79) Martin Nolan records that in the 1880s, Omagh, under the command of District Inspector Kelly, was considered to be "the best

station in the county," as even the most serious breaches of discipline meant only a transfer to another station.(80)

These are examples of officers overlooking the indiscipline of their men, and it is impossible to quantify how often this occurred. There were also times when men could anticipate the visits or absences of their officers and adjust their conduct accordingly. A Sligo justice of the peace complained in 1858 that night visits by officers were of "rare occurrence." Inspector-general Brownrigg was apparently of the same opinion, as in the same year he urged his officers to carry out more night inspections, and at "uncertain hours," presumably to catch the men unawares.(81) Inspector-general Wood discovered in June 1865 that " a system exists amongst the constables of giving information one to the other, by a pass memorandum of the different localities in which an inspecting officer is expected, thereby frustrating the very object of an inspection." He warned that head constables or constables detected in giving such information would be reduced to sub-constable rank, while guilty sub-constables would be dismissed.(82) Two years later he complained that the "frequent practice of sub-inspectors to defer the inspection of a whole or a portion of their sub-districts until the last two or three days of the month, whereby the inspection is regularly expected, and thereby becomes nearly useless."(83)

Officers were forbidden in the early 1870s to inspect barracks on Sundays, so obviously the men could rely on having

the last day of each week free from the scrutiny of their officers. (84) Jeremiah Mee, in his description of the routine of the R.I.C. in Kesh, Co. Sligo, records how "word was received that the county inspector was coming on his quarterly inspection." This information "had the same effect on the barracks staff as the presence of a hawk on a flock of chickens," and sent the party into a frenzy of tidying the barracks and redressing "the neglect of months," by attempting to re-acquaint themselves with the contents of the various Acts of parliament relating to police duty. The sergeant assigned each man different Acts to revise, in the hope that whichever ones the county inspector selected to test them in, one of the party would have a satisfactory answer. After some days of frantic activity the party was reasonably prepared for the expected visit. According to Mee, "we came out of the ordeal with flying colours and got a good entry for our smart turn-out and for our answering in police duties." No sooner had the officer disappeared from view than the men went down to the local public house for a lengthy "post mortem" on the inspection. (85)

The examples above show the probability that only a certain amount of rule-breakers were caught red-handed by officers. Even then, the ostensibly stern disciplinary system allowed for a certain flexibility towards men guilty of serious breaches of discipline. For instance, a Graigue sub-constable with 14 years' service, who was found guilty at

Ballickmoyler Petty Sessions of "intoxication and unfitness for duty" in January 1837, was initially dismissed by the inspector-general. However, he was allowed to re-attest in the force (with the loss of seven years' service) when the magistrates explained that on the day of his offence he had received a letter from his wife, who had eloped from him and abandoned their children, and this "so agonized his feelings that he had not command over himself." (86) The 1837 constabulary code, while stipulating that all men would be dismissed for even the slightest evidence of having taken drink, allowed that those removed for a first off-duty drinking offence could re-join the force after three, six, nine or twelve months, depending on the circumstances of the case. The surviving disciplinary records for 1837 also show that some men who had been drunk on duty, but were not entirely incapacitated, were also allowed to re-attest in the force after their dismissal, as were others who had been unfit for duty after drinking, but were otherwise highly praised by their officers or by magistrates. (87)

The punishment records from the 1840s onward show that dismissal was not always visited upon drunken policemen; in fact, practically every case of fining or disrating involved drink. Examples include Sub-constable James McGrath of Tipperary, who was only fined in May 1848 for "Drinking in unlicensed public houses with bad characters." In June 1848, a Sligo sub-constable who drank with a prisoner and allowed

spirits to be drunk in his barracks was only fined, as were three Tipperary sub-constables in September 1849 for "being engaged in an affray in a public house at New Birmingham." A Wexford sub-constable was fined in November 1851 for his "Propensity to tippling." A pair of sub-constables in both Down and Cavan received a similar punishment in November 1851 and May 1855, for drinking with prisoners in public houses instead of bringing them to their barracks. In March 1852, Sub-constable Henry McDonagh of Armagh, who was found drinking in a public house with the landlord, a suspected Ribbonman, was only fined and transferred to another county at his own expense. Sub-constable Mulloy of Kildare was fined in May 1852 for "Joining in a drinking party, and quitting his duty as barrack-guard," as was Constable Thomas Lorde in February 1853, for attending a wake in a public house with four of his men, drinking with civilians, and "other irregularities."

Sub-constable Thomas Conlon of Wexford was fined for drinking in a shebeen house when on duty in December 1853. On August 3, 1857, five Leitrim sub-constables were fined for "Treating civilians to whiskey in barracks, and behaving in an improper and disorderly manner;" in July 1857 a Limerick sub-constable was fined for being drunk in a public house, having pretended that he was attending Sunday worship. Constable William Lewis of Antrim was fined in January 1860 for "Intoxication and brutal conduct towards his wife." Sub-constable James Connolly was fined £4 in March 1869 for

"Drinking illicit whiskey in a shebeen house, and withholding information as to illicit distillation going on."(88) On January 6, 1882, a Sub-constable Keppel of Gorey arrested a man named Dempsey for drunkenness. On their arrival at the station it became obvious that Dempsey was in fact sober, and the policeman drunk. Nevertheless, he was rather leniently dealt with, as he was only fined £1 because he had a "good character" and had had no unfavourable records for the previous ten years.(89)

The punishment of disrating was also applied for intoxication in this period, rather than the extreme measure of dismissal. For instance, Sub-constable Peter Dalton of Cavan was reduced in rank on November 1, 1850, for having absented himself from barracks without leave and "returning intoxicated and with his eyes blackened," as was another sub-constable of the same county in the next month, when he got drunk in a public house when in charge of a patrol. Other disratings in November 1850 included Sub-constable John O'Brien of Westmeath, for intoxication while on duty at a fair and "becoming involved in a riot in a public house;" a Wicklow constable and acting constable who allowed a prisoner to buy alcohol in a public house and drink it in their barracks; and a Cork sub-constable who assaulted a civilian when drunk. Constable John Danaher of Limerick was reduced in November 1850 for a limited period, for drinking in a public house with a sub-constable when they were returning to their barracks

from duty, and a similar limited reduction was imposed on three sub-constables and a constable in the same county in the following month, for "Drinking and playing cards in a public house on several occasions, until a late hour."

In May 1851, Acting Constable Peter Masterson of Sligo was demoted for drinking in a shebeen with other policemen when on duty, as was a Down sub-constable in August 1853 for intoxication when on duty as barrack orderly, leaving his post, and "improper and outrageous conduct towards his constable's wife." Head Constable Richard Wiley, clerk to the Tyrone county inspector, was merely reduced in July 1853 for accepting money for drink from candidates, in return for placing their names on the list for admission into the force. In October 1853, Constable Armstrong of Kilkenny was disgraced for drinking for an hour in a wake house when he was supposed to be on duty, and a Constable O'Hara of Cork received the same punishment for drinking and smoking in public houses with his men when on patrol duty. A three-man Mayo station party was reduced in July 1857 for having left its barracks without protection: two were drinking and playing cards with civilians, while another was shooting rabbits and drinking. Sub-constable Thomas Phelan of King's County was demoted in March 1860 for his third offence of returning drunk from Sunday worship.(90) In November 1866, Miss Emily Boardman petitioned the constabulary authorities to restore her brother, Henry, to his former rank of head constable. She

stated that he had been reduced because he had "indulged too freely in accursed drink during the Belfast riots." The inspector-general turned down her request, stating that Boardman had "ruined his prospects by repeated acts of intoxication in spite of warnings, and it is impossible for me to do any thing for him." It is interesting to note that the policeman was retained in the force, despite the inspector-general's knowledge of his drink problem.(91)

It is obvious that there was a certain amount of flexibility in the constabulary's system of punishment. Factors as basic as the attitude and temperament of officers could play an important role in the enforcement of discipline. Sergeant Michael Brophy, who retired in the 1880s after 25 years' service, claimed that when headquarters heard of cases of indiscipline the local officers took the men's misbehaviour as a personal affront:

It is.....a well-known phase of the force that when an officer gets a 'knuckling' from headquarters, he, by way of reprisals, knuckles his district or the particular stations that was (sic) the cause of it. This generally takes the shape of great exactness on inspection, frequent visits by night and by day, reports of the slightest infraction of regulations and discipline, extra or 'revenge duty' ordered, etc, etc.(92)

He instanced the case of one sub-inspector who "despised" these "conventional devices," who, rather than "giving himself trouble and annoyance" by following the course of action outlined above, retaliated against his men by breaking the windows, delph or furniture of the offending station, or by tearing the men's plain clothes, thus hitting them in the

pocket for being the cause of complaint from headquarters. Should some "crusty litigant" report the sub-inspector as the culprit behind the damage, the officer made amends, but the complainant "invariably rued the hour in which he put pen to paper on the matter." (93) Brophy gives a further example of this officer's highly individual mode of influencing his men's behaviour:

Thrifty and provident himself, he compelled all under him to follow his example; and for this purpose he instituted a code of bye-laws, one of which was that every man under his command should have an account in the savings bank, and should produce the book containing it at each monthly inspection, where it was duly scrutinized.....Woe betide the individual whose improvident and spend-thrift habits precluded the possibility of an account to his credit, and unremitting woe likewise awaited the individual who could not give a satisfactory account of his expenditure during the month, or the why and wherefore the usual deposit was not made and entered in the book. (94)

The 1856 court of enquiry into the King's County police also gave examples of individual officers' idiosyncracies when it came to disciplining their men. Sub-inspector Coe of the Frankford district admitted that "the chief part of all the reports from his district arises through a spirit of recrimination or revenge." Sub-inspector Hayes of Edenderry was charged with "constantly hurting the feelings of the men under his command by abusing them publicly before civilians." (95) The latter mode of procedure was complained of by two witnesses before the 1872 R.I.C. committee of enquiry. Constable Joseph Merrifield of Galway stated his opinion that "officers should not have the power of abusing men, and hurting their feelings, in the way that is done by some of

them." According to Sub-constable Michael Greene, of the same county, officer's inspections were sometimes a form of entertainment for local people: "I have known a crowd collect around the barracks to hear abuse given to the men when the inspector would come there." Merrifield even alleged that if the day of a county inspector's visit was a wet one, or if he were in "bad humour, from one cause or another," (for example, if he were after coming on a long journey) he would be more inclined to inflict fines on the men than if the day had been a fine one.(96)

Inspector-general Wood commented in May 1868 on apparent discrepancies in the disciplinary system, in that in one northern county 26 men had been fined in three months by their county inspector, while the officer in a neighbouring county did not consider it necessary to fine a single policeman:

there is generally throughout the counties great discrepancy in the number of men fined, and the amount of fines imposed by different officers.

I cannot conceive it possible that there should be so great a difference, either in the knowledge of discipline which the several county inspectors evince in the command of their respective county forces, or in the disposition, temper, and conduct of the men composing them, as could possibly reconcile such discrepancy, even making all allowance for the difference of county strength. I must therefore come to the conclusion that while certain officers are unnecessarily severe, others err in the opposite direction.(97)

Martin Nolan, who joined the R.I.C. over ten years after Wood commented that some officers regulated their counties more severely than others, reports the view of the men that County Inspectors Cruice of Kerry and Cary of Fermanagh were "the

greatest tyrants in Ireland." The latter's "pet hobby" was to try and visit stations unexpectedly. If anybody spotted his approach and warned his colleagues in the barracks, Cary first singled him out for "attack" on his inspection.(98)

Sub-constable Michael Morahan, stationed in Queenstown in 1882, claimed that the "harsh and overbearing conduct" of some officers and even constables was causing "great discontent" in the force:

They should not be permitted to drive some of the best men out of the service merely to gratify their own bad temper. I once heard an officer say, because the men bore themselves respectably, and would not associate with his servant, that there was nothing like fining them a few times to bring them to their senses.(99)

Judge John Adye Curran, who, during his time as a barrister in the late nineteenth century, became familiar with police disciplinary cases, commented upon how factors such as personality often affected their outcome:

I often acted for the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the Dublin force, both officers and men.....My usual advice to officers and men who were in controversy with their superior officers was to 'knuckle under.' My experience of many such disputes showed me that no matter who was right or wrong, the inferior always came to grief badly. A superior will never admit to any error.(100)

District Inspector G.Garrow Green had even stronger comments to make on the issue, after his retirement:

If the real motives that have led to many an officer's downfall in our service and much more in the army could only be laid bare, what meanness, treachery and falsehood would be disclosed. It is so easy for a commanding officer to find a pretext, so difficult for a subordinate to maintain his ground.....[N]othing is worse than a quarrel with one's chief: it is sure to led to disaster and vae victis is the watchword of the weaker party.

County Inspector Allan Cameron was one officer who met with Garrow Green's approval, as "he had none of the vanity, malice or narrow-mindedness which rendered some of his class so difficult to get on with."(101)

It was not only officers' personalities which contributed towards vagaries in the disciplinary system. There is plenty of evidence to show that one was less likely to be reported for breaches of discipline at stations where the men were on good terms with each other. When harmony prevailed at a station, the more restrictive rules were routinely overlooked; the men went about their business in a relaxed atmosphere, secure in the knowledge that they were unlikely to be reported unless their officer paid a surprise visit. Careful doctoring of station journals by the men in charge gave the officers the impression that patrols were scrupulously carried out and the regulations strictly adhered to. Later in the century, "Home Rule" referred to the relaxed daily activities of station parties when officers were absent; while the term was unknown in the earlier decades of our period, the state of affairs to which it referred was not.

One can see glimpses of "Home Rule" in action, before it became a political term, in the few disciplinary lists which have survived. For example, on April 16, 1842, Constable William Auliffe was disrated for "Violating, and allowing his men to violate, the regulations of the force."(102) A Clare constable was reduced on May 25, 1849, for drinking in

barracks with his men, while Constable Stephen Scanlan of Galway was fined in October 1849 for allowing his party to drink whiskey in an unlicensed public house. Sub-constable John Richardson of Cork was fined in January 1851, and also forfeited two years' service, for inducing his men to drink in a public house and "permitting great irregularity on their return to their station." Constable Oliver Hinde of Antrim was demoted for a limited period on January 1, 1852, for "Conniving at gross irregularities in his party," as was a Clare constable two months later for "Breaches of the regulations, and permitting laxity of discipline at his station." Kildare acting constable, Richard May, was demoted in June 1852 for screening the misconduct of a sub-constable, while in May 1852 Constable Michael Burke, of the same county, was fined for "Permitting his party to drink to excess in barracks, and in company with a civilian, and other gross irregularities."(103)

Head Constable Grainger and Constable Smyth of Cavan were fined in August 1852 for allowing civilians to drink in barracks with their men, and for "other irregularities." In April of the following year, Constable Garret Molloy of Limerick was disrated for not reporting the intoxication of two of his men, "and permitting other breaches of the regulations at his post." Head Constable John Barton of Wicklow received a similar punishment in November 1853 for "Want of proper vigilance in upholding the regulations at his

post, and permitting excessive drinking amongst the party under his command."(104) On September 1, 1855, Constable Michael Devitt of Galway was reduced for "Systematic breaches of the barrack regulations, [and] permitting strangers to assemble, drink, and dance, in barracks."(105) Members of a Limerick station party were disgraced, fined or transferred in April 1860 for falsifying reports to cover up the 18-hour drunken absence of a mounted sub-constable, who lost his horse when on despatch duty.(106)

Constable William Moone was demoted on July 1, 1868, for, among other offences, "Frequently allowing too much drink to be brought by his men into his barrack; allowing a civilian to bring spirits and porter into the barrack to drink with the party; [and] neglecting to prosecute said person for drunkenness on the public road." A Cavan constable was disgraced in January 1869 for allowing his men to remain from barracks all night, and also for letting civilians smoke in and frequent his station, while a Donegal constable was also reduced in November 1870 for "Habitual neglect of duty" in not inspecting his men when they returned from patrol.(107) The authorities were not unaware that the daily maintenance of discipline at the local level depended to a large extent on the men in charge of stations. These were consequently ordered not to have "undue familiarity" with their subordinates, but of course it was often impossible to adhere to this regulation in a small station party.(108)

The examples cited above are undoubtedly indications of a much wider relaxed attitude towards police rules in some barracks. Witnesses testified before the 1882 R.I.C. committee of enquiry that official prohibitions on fishing, and more importantly, on drinking in public houses, were regularly ignored. The former rule was easily evaded in "out-of-the-way places," while the latter was practically impossible to enforce. Grocery shops-cum-public houses were the norm in most Irish towns and villages, and it was an easy matter for a policeman, while purchasing groceries, to slip into the tavern part of these establishments for a quick tipple.(109) Sub-constable Nagle of Mullingar claimed that the rule against drinking in public houses was not strictly observed, for "if it is known that a constable would report men for entering public-houses, he would become entirely unpopular; it is considered such an every-day thing and a trivial occurrence; the highest in the land do it."(110) District Inspector Gray of Lucan stated in 1897 that sergeants were reluctant to charge a constable with drunkenness as "it might have the effect of making him insubordinate."(111)

Jeremiah Mee's account of the daily routine at Kesh barracks in the early twentieth century is the best description we have of a "Home Rule" station. He makes it clear that the R.I.C. regulations were constantly broken by the station party, but that they still remained undetected by their superiors. Sergeant Anthony McManamon, the man in charge

at Kesh, was "just one of the boys" and did not ask for, or receive, any special attention over such as inconsequence as his rank. Daily routine began after nine o'clock in the morning with breakfast, the omission of the morning parade being easily covered up by the sergeant by suitable entries in the station diary. The patrolling of the district was "reduced to a fine art." To create an impression of zeal, one of the station party would walk or cycle past the houses of the four local justices of the peace at least once a week. Early morning patrols were ignored; the men simply stayed in bed, and an entry was later made in the diary that they had "found all regular." The sergeant was careful to vary the wording of his reports of fictional patrols, throwing in such innocuous details as the direction of the wind, or spotting a light in a public house but finding "all regular" inside. On one occasion he had a qualm of conscience about his false entries and went to see the local curate about them. The clergyman assured him that his activities were not sinful, "but it will be serious if you are caught at it!" A duty list was hung on the barrack wall each morning, "but nobody took the least notice of it. If an inspector called it proved that we were working to a set programme but beyond that it served no purpose whatsoever." At the bottom of the station's garden there was a shrubbery surrounded by trees, which was "a good hiding place for men too lazy to do the daily patrol." Such a subterfuge hardly seemed necessary, however, with a man like

Sergeant McManamon in charge.(112)

Constable Mee summarized his experiences as an R.I.C. man in Kesh:

In my two and a half years at Kesh I had practically forgotten that I was a policeman and I had learned much that many policemen miss. It was true that our sergeant had broken every regulation of the police code but he substituted instead the finest code of all, a Christian outlook towards his fellow man. In the barracks all were treated as equals and this created a wonderful atmosphere.

Mee was transferred in May 1914 to Geevagh and again, under Sergeant Bernard Drum, "Home Rule" prevailed, and the men were not harassed by an unduly close adherence to the R.I.C. code:

During the day each man went out on patrol at the appointed time but where he went was his own affair and his own responsibility. The sergeant did his patrols, tilled his garden, helped the children with their school-lessons, repaired their shoes and asked no awkward questions.

The morning "parade" consisted of the sergeant's giving the orders of "right turn, dismiss." On inclement nights the "patrol" consisted of a twenty-yard walk from barracks. Both these measures, which had the form, if not the substance, of what the regulations required, eased the sergeant's conscience. The older men at the station usually kept an eye on things while their younger colleagues went off to attend races, sports meetings and dances.(113)

"Home Rule" stations were only one side of the disciplinary coin. The obverse side was represented by the unknown number of stations in which harmony did not prevail among the men, and where the intrusive constabulary code was enforced comparatively strictly. Bad feeling among station

party members was likely to result in lesser or superior ranks informing officers of their colleagues' misdemeanours. Instances of such animosity is obviously difficult to trace, but occasionally members of the public became aware of when policemen at the same station were at loggerheads. Thomas Clarke Luby, the leading Fenian, attributed his escape from the Tralee police in 1862 to

an ill feeling and lack of harmonious cooperation, then notoriously existing between the brisk head constable and his subordinate, the cunning sergeant. The last-named was jealous of the former; and, in return, the 'head' hated and delighted to mortify the sergeant, and pooh-pooh any suggestion of his. (114)

Men who were exasperated by a colleague often sought satisfaction by reporting him to their superiors.

Constable Peter Hamill's December 1838 letter to his chief constable throws interesting light on the state of feeling and discipline at Blacklion barrack:

I am obliged to write to you and let you know the contempt of Constable Donaldson. On last Saturday morning I ordered him on duty at 9 o'clock. He came to my room at 9 o'clock and demanded the key of the government turf, which I gave him. In a few minutes after he threw the key in the hall with great contempt. On Monday I ordered him to help carry in a load of turf for his own use. He carried them in and threw them in the hall, so that I was obliged to lift them myself. This morning he demanded candle-wick. I told him I would give him none for there was some in the lamp. He took the wick out of the lamp and threw it into the fire. I ordered him and Graham to go to church on Sunday. What was Graham's reply to me? He said he would make this station a world's wonder. Now, sir, when I tell Donaldson to clean himself for that his belts are dirty he tells me that I am abusing him. Sir, formerly Donaldson was agreeable and would take instruction but since Graham came here he is totally gone past my orders in every thing, by the advice of Graham. Sir, I wish Graham was with his wife for we will never have peace and contentment in this station while he is in it. I have peace and contentment

with every man in the station but them, and they are working every contradiction their mind can invent against me and keeps(sic) a black book against me. Sir, for God's sake make them let me alone, as, sir, I can carry on this station to your satisfaction and my party's satisfaction if they let me alone, and if they do not I will send in a report against them that you will [have to] forward. It is the last shift with me when I write to you.

Hamill's complaint prompted Sub-constable Donaldson to make counter-charges against his constable. He claimed that Hamill was "habitually under the influence of liquor," and that in May 1837, when on duty in Leitrim, "he was so much under the influence of spirits that he abused his wife because she reproved him for being drunk." On July 16 or 17, 1838, Hamill was allegedly "so much under the influence of liquor that he was unfit for duty" when serving summonses. At Tubber fair he "came staggering along the road" with his men. Donaldson also claimed that his constable's wife read the warrants which were sent to him, "and the consequence is that very little duty can be got done without the persons getting word."(115) Hamill's and Donaldson's accusations are not important for their truth, but for the way in which they show how a report from a disgruntled station party member could spark off bad-tempered counter charges. The gap between the Blacklion constabulary in 1838, and the Kesh and Geevagh R.I.C. in the early twentieth century, was not merely one of years - it was also one of personal relationships.

Constabulary regulations, in recognition of the disruptive influence of argumentative members, stated that it was "of the highest importance" that the men be "on the most

cordial terms with each other." Quarrelsome policemen were to be dismissed as "unfit for the service." (116) However, official exhortation and threats of dismissal were not always sufficient to ensure amicable relations at police stations. On May 18, 1842, Sub-constable William Duncan of Leitrim was removed from the force for "Combining with a civilian to bring forward unfounded charges against his constable." Sub-constable Edward McCormick of Derry was dismissed in December 1842 for writing an insubordinate letter to his constable, but was allowed to re-attest in the force. Two Cavan sub-constables were demoted in October 1842 for "Making use of irritating language to each other," while two Wexford sub-constables received a similar punishment that month for "Annoying their comrade." (117) Five Limerick sub-constables were fined in June 1849 for "Various irregularities, and want of harmony and good feeling towards each other." Sub-constable Cornelius Clancy, who in October 1850 was stationed at the Dublin depot, was disgraced for "Insubordinate, insulting and threatening language to his acting constable," and Constable George Hurst of Roscommon was reduced for a limited period in January 1851 for "Tyrannical and overbearing conduct towards a sub-constable under his charge." (118)

Five months later, five Monaghan sub-constables were fined for "vexatious conduct towards the senior sub-constable in charge of the[ir] station." A Sub-constable Edward McGuinness was fined in March 1853 for "Giving the lie to his

constable," and in October of the same year two Wicklow sub-constables were dismissed for drunkenness and fighting in public, during which they allowed the peasantry to take possession of their firearms for a while. Constable Christopher Agar of Kilkenny was reduced in October 1857 for bringing charges against his men through "vindictive motives." Three Limerick sub-constables were dismissed in December 1869 for being "highly insubordinate towards their constable, and endeavouring to shield a comrade reported for intoxication."
(119)

There are some indications that when men bore a grudge against a colleague, they sometimes tried to land him in trouble by bringing fabricated charges against him. For example, in April 1860 five Tipperary sub-constables were disgraced for "Conspiracy against their constable, and preferring false charges against him." Sub-constable John Molloy of King's County was fined in March 1869 for "Soliciting a civilian to write an anonymous letter against a comrade to procure his removal," and four sub-constables serving in Mooresfort, Co. Tipperary, were removed from the force on February 6, 1870, for conspiracy to destroy their ammunition, thus "involving the constable of the station in censure." (120) Witnesses before the 1872 and 1882 R.I.C. committees claimed that it was an easy matter for a resentful man of a lesser grade to cause reports and punishment against a disliked superior, simply by getting drunk when on patrol

with him. A King's County sub-constable instanced one occasion where a man got drunk as part of a general conspiracy of his colleagues against his constable.(121)

In March 1881 "A Leinster sub" wrote to the Freeman's Journal to complain about the "tyranny of constables in out-stations." He claimed that

there reigns one of these tyrants, who was often heard to boast of the number of men who have left it since he went there, and there was not a single man of them that he could not tell a week before, that he was to go. Woe betide the man who is so [un]lucky as to displease him, or worse still his wife: a wild mountain station is sure to be his portion.(122)

According to Inspector-general Robert Bruce in 1882, the men claimed that the rule restricting policemen to within a quarter of a mile radius of their barracks was generally ignored in practise, but that sometimes "the rule in its strictness is made use of for the purposes of petty malice." A Loughrea sub-constable claimed that in Maam stones were placed a quarter of a mile from the barracks, and a look-out posted to report on men who went beyond the prescribed radius. (123) Bad relations between Sergeant McGowan and Constable Simpson of Walderstown station, in Westmeath, led to tragedy in June 1888. The latter was "addicted to drink," and the sergeant reported him for drunkenness on several occasions, so that as a result the two were constantly at loggerheads. Apparently the sergeant made one report too many against his disgruntled constable, for on June 8, 1888, Simpson shot McGowan dead and then committed suicide.(124)

Inspector-general Reed claimed in 1891 that "there are some constables whose bad behaviour, perverseness, and inefficiency would vex a saint if he were a sergeant."(125) While this was no doubt true, it is also fair to say that the contrary temperament of the policeman in charge of a station could lead to irritation on the part of the men. District Inspector John Regan records his first encounter with a Clare head constable:

He had very long service and was a man with a very bad temper, as, apparently, had my predecessor also. It appears that when one went into the office, the other went out or there would be a row. In addition to his temper, he had a technique entirely his own in dealing with men, and it was not one to be recommended. I had great difficulty in preserving the peace between him and them. He had a dog called Tommy, and it always accompanied him on morning parade. He addressed all his remarks to Tommy. 'You are a respectable dog, Tommy,' he would say. 'You were not half drunk in McInerney's public house last night like one man here we know. Were you, Tommy? No, Tommy. You are not like a tramp tailor, going about with his needle from workhouse to workhouse like some men on the parade, Tommy. Are you?' These and similar remarks used to drive the men frantic and I often wondered one of them did not hit him. He was an old bachelor and took half a cup of whiskey instead of tea for his breakfast, I understand, so perhaps this accounted for his temper and other peculiarities.(126)

Jeremiah Mee records the strict discipline enforced at Collooney R.I.C. station (to which he was transferred in August 1913) as a result of the head constable's temperament:

The head constable at Collooney was well past middle age and resided in the police barracks. He was married but his wife and family resided in Dublin. Enforced isolation from his family probably engendered in him some of the cynicism and bitterness which he generally exhibited. He was particularly severe on the men under his charge. His office was on the ground floor and his bedroom right over the front door. When not inspecting patrols in the town or on country roads his time was devoted to brooding over

the police code or Acts of parliament in his office. It was impossible to enter or leave the barracks without attracting his attention. The men spoke in whispers, and there was a depressing atmosphere in the barracks.

Every morning he paraded the sergeants and men in the back yard for at least half an hour. This would then be followed by at least an hour discussing police duties or Acts of parliament.

The district inspector was a young officer who had only one year's service, and he and the head constable were not on speaking terms. Although senior in rank to the head constable, it was obvious that he was trying to steer clear of trouble with him and to do so he also had to keep his eye on the code of regulations.(127)

In summary, then, enforcement of discipline could depend very much on factors such as officers discovering breaches of the regulations by chance, or on the relations between the men in the police stations. The constabulary authorities were not unaware that some of their regulations were excessively severe. For instance, the 1837 code stipulated dismissal for just one case of drunkenness, but in 1872 Inspector-general Wood stated that he only dismissed men for their third drinking offence.(128) Station parties were left to their own devices in matters such as messing; this was "calculated to teach prudence and economy, and to relieve the life from excessive regulation and supervision."(129) However, barracks were usually characterized as being "cheerless" inside. Men were forbidden to put up "prints or papers of any description" as decorations, or even to drive hooks or nails into the walls or to hang up clothes lines.(130) In 1869 Inspector-general Wood, in order to encourage the men to regard the barracks as their homes, gave them permission to smoke in the day-room, so long as they provided spittoons to keep the floor clean.

(131) Inspector-general Reed urged that stations should be "uniformly clean, bright, cheerful, and calculated to give the men an interest and pride in their homes, in which light they should, by every means possible, be led to regard their barracks." His decision in 1891 to allow policemen to keep dogs as pets probably did more to add a homely touch to barrack life, and by 1913 almost every R.I.C. station boasted of at least one dog.(132) However, the typical barrack never lost its bleak features. As late as 1914 Inspector-general Chamberlain expressed his opposition to "any proposal for putting up shelves or introducing easy chairs or things of that sort."(133)

The rather faltering official steps towards encouraging a more human atmosphere in barracks were accompanied by a less rigorous attitude towards discipline. Indeed, in 1888 the inspector-general even tried a short-lived experiment of ceasing to fine policemen for infringements of the regulations.(134) The ordeal of the monthly district inspectors' visits also probably became less trying, as evidence from the inspection books of Stewartstown, Timoney and Dromore shows that officers often told the men in advance what topics they would be tested in on the next month's inspection.(135) Jeremiah Mee considered that most officers "had sufficient common sense to turn a blind eye on the more degrading sections of the regulations, and, without impairing the efficiency of the force, made it possible for a policeman

to live as an ordinary, self-respecting citizen." He cited the example of the Collooney district inspector, who "did not seek to make life difficult for the police under his charge." (136) Inspector-general Chamberlain told the 1914 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. that he took a comparatively lenient view towards debtors in the force. He stated that he refrained "as far as possible" from giving men unfavourable records for being in debt, and had imposed only 80 records for that offence in five years. This was just one instance of a generally less severe application of discipline in the force in the latter part of our period. A Waterford acting constable with 18 years' service told the commission that "the discipline is not so severe [now], and it never causes men to resign." (137)

The slightly different backgrounds of R.I.C. officers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from those at the beginning of the period also probably accounted for the decreasing severity of discipline. As we have already seen, two fifths of the directly commissioned officers serving in 1836 had previously served in the army, and thus were accustomed to controlling large numbers of men. Almost all the R.I.C. officers in the later period came from a purely civilian background, and they might therefore have been more inclined to take a lenient view of cases of indiscipline. In addition, the fact that a large proportion of district inspectors had risen from the ranks might have increased this

lenient tendency. Table 8, which shows the proportion of the force disgraced or fined from the 1840s to 1914, at least offers statistical evidence that these punishments were rarely inflicted in the latter part of the period.

Constabulary rules did not solely affect policemen. Because they also placed limits on their right to marriage and interfered with married men's lives, the rules affected Irish women who were engaged to wed constabulary members, as well as the wives and children of policemen. On October 5, 1836, Inspector-general Shaw-Kennedy introduced the rule that no county force was to have more than one in five of its policemen married. However, at that time the number of married policemen in most counties was "considerably over that quota," presumably due to the fact that most members of the Irish Constabulary immediately after its centralization were old members of the County Constabulary who were already married at the time of the 1836 police reforms. Shaw-Kennedy introduced a system of limiting the right to marriage according to the number of married policemen already stationed in each county. In counties where more than 25% of the men were already married, permission to wed was to be granted to one bachelor for every three married men who died or were transferred, dismissed, or otherwise removed from the force; in counties where the married proportion was less than 25%, one bachelor was to be allowed to marry for every two

Table 8: Number of constabulary members fined or disrated, 1841-1914.

Year	Number	%	Year	Number	%
1841	670	7.96	1879	715	6.54
1842	692	8.13	1880	723	6.48
1843	673	7.76	1881	799	6.89
1844	753	8.48	1882	981	7.79
1845	845	9.27	1883	1126	7.73
1847	1061	9.81	1884	958	7.68
1848	1551	13.09	1885	744	5.79
1849	1855	14.93	1886	836	6.61
1850	1775	14.26	1887	795	6.29
1851	1836	14.94	1888	593	4.75
1852	1995	16.34	1889	540	4.32
1853	1862	15.31	1890	551	4.41
1854	1715	14.49	1891	481	3.86
1855	1541	13.01	1892	460	3.74
1856	1505	12.79	1893	421	3.49
1857	1261	10.62	1894	410	3.43
1858	1195	10.15	1895	383	3.22
1859	1342	11.08	1896	329	2.8
1860	915	7.49	1897	359	3.09
1861	918	7.57	1898	373	3.37
1862	1076	8.87	1899	348	3.19
1863	1084	9.02	1900	338	3.09
1864	1177	10.1	1901	232	2.12
1865	1113	9.69	1902	227	2.07
1866	1132	9.93	1903	245	2.24
1867	1185	10.15	1904	204	1.94
1868	1220	10.1	1905	191	1.9
1869	1404	11.21	1906	230	2.37
1870	1437	11.43	1907	264	2.72
1871	1536	12.5	1908	300	2.97
1872	1603	13.35	1909	236	2.25
1873	1523	13.36	1910	169	1.61
1874	1246	11.12	1911	147	1.41
1875	1063	9.61	1912	155	1.49
1876	1053	9.63	1913	158	1.52
1877	773	7.1	1914	219	2.13
1878	771	7.05			

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary: Numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54) Data for 1846 not available.

vacancies which occurred amongst the married men. No policeman was to marry without the inspector-general's permission, and this "indulgence" would be granted only to "well conducted

men" with at least two years' service, who could prove to their officers the respectability of their proposed wives. (138)

Shaw-Kennedy's regulation did not effect an immediate decrease in the number of married policemen. Indeed, in December 1838 Inspector-general McGregor stated that many members of the force who had enrolled as single men had actually been married without permission. He proposed an amnesty for all those secretly married before December 1, 1838, and who informed the constabulary authorities within one month. These would not be dismissed for their offence, but all those discovered to have clandestinely married after the expiration of the amnesty would be removed from the force. (139) His threat was not an idle one - in 1839 he stated that "a great number are dismissed for marrying without leave, including some of our best men." (140)

It is interesting that breaches of this rule were the only ones to invariably meet with dismissal in the early decades of the Irish Constabulary's existence. Even men suspected of marrying without leave were removed from the force. On April 14, 1842, Sub-constable Edward Cournane of Antrim was dismissed because it was "strongly suspected" that he was secretly married, especially as he was "followed by the female when transferred to another county." (141) McGregor complained to the D.M.P. chief commissioners in the same month about the "injury inflicted on the discipline" of his force,

due to the Dublin police's policy of accepting recruits from the constabulary who had resigned after marrying without permission. Even men who had been dismissed for that offence were still accepted into the D.M.P., so that "the disregard for the constabulary regulation in question is gradually increasing." McGregor requested, successfully, that the Dublin force should cease accepting recruits from the constabulary who had married without leave, thus cutting down that avenue of evasion of the rule.(142)

Complete constabulary disciplinary returns have survived for only ten years - 1848 to 1854 inclusive and 1869 to 1871 inclusive, and for some months between April 1841 and June 1872. Some 94 men are recorded in these scattered returns as having been dismissed for marrying without leave, some of whom had several children.(143) In not a single instance was the offence punished with anything less than dismissal, and secretly-married policemen were never allowed to re-attest in the force following their removal, as sometimes happened with drunken men. Inspector-general McGregor informed the chief secretary in October 1852 that he always dismissed men who married without permission, "No such transgression of our regulations ever having been passed over."(144) In the following month he pointed out that "great evils arise from an undue proportion of married men being attached to the constabulary," and warned that even men who were married with authorization would be dismissed if it turned out that

"criminal intercourse" had occurred before their marriage - in other words, if a child was born less than nine months later. This regulation was probably introduced as a response to an unsuccessful appeal from a Bushmills widow for her daughter to be allowed to marry the local head constable, whose child she had borne. Her futile request, which was supported by three local clergymen and Sir Edmund Macnaghton, was made so that her daughter could have a chance of "publicly redeeming her character."(145)

Despite the threat of dismissal, many policemen, as the punishment records show, risked expulsion from the force in order to marry secretly. Impatience to be married probably partly accounted for this, but the desire to "do the right thing" by a pregnant girlfriend was also undoubtedly a factor. It is impossible to know exactly how often clandestine marriages occurred, as the policemen concerned could be surprisingly successful at keeping their matrimonial alliances secret. For example, Sub-constable John McLernon of Derry, who was dismissed for an irregular marriage in August 1855, had actually been married in 1849; it is unlikely that he could have kept his marriage a secret for so long without the connivance of his colleagues.(146) An anonymous letter in 1858 from a Meath man who had a daughter married secretly to a policeman claimed that

there are a great many married privately in the constabulary force at present. There is no doubt but their families are living in the greatest destitution. It is a pity to have poor innocent females exposed to the public

in the greatest poverty and their husbands perhaps 50 or 60 miles distant from them.(147)

In the next year a barrister claimed of the constabulary in Tuam that "a large number of them are privately married, contrary to the regulations of the force."(148)

Whatever the truth of these claims, there is no doubt that the attitude of the constabulary authorities towards secret marriages by their men caused a lot of suffering to the policemen concerned. The most tragic incident involving a clandestinely-wedded man was probably that which occurred in Dungannon in December 1859. Constable John Holden, who had served for over 14 years, applied for permission to marry, but on his officer's investigation it transpired that he was already secretly married to the woman in question, and that they had a son. Holden denied that he was married, but admitted that he was the father of the child, and persisted in asking for authorization to wed. Not only was this refused, but he was reduced to the rank of sub-constable and ordered to be transferred to Newtownstewart. Holden considered Constable Robert McClelland responsible for informing their sub-inspector of the details of his case, so on December 5, 1859, he shot and killed McClelland, and tried to murder his officer. He was hanged for murder in August 1860.(149) In December 1898 Constable Prendergast of Cahir, who was secretly married, requested permission from the inspector-general to marry his wife according to police regulations. When this was refused the constable blew his brains out on December 22,

1898. (150)

The harshness with which secretly married policemen, or those who wished to marry pregnant girlfriends, were treated, contrasted sharply with the comparatively lenient punishments sometimes imposed on men who resorted to prostitutes. In November 1844 Inspector-general McGregor ordered that policemen who had to go to hospital suffering from venereal disease would be stopped tenpence a day from their pay until cured, as a result of complaints from some county inspectors that "several individuals who have brought disease upon themselves by their own vice, are thereby imposing additional duties upon their well-behaved comrades." (151) In December 1848 two Clare sub-constables were only fined for being in an unlicensed public house accompanied by two "females of ill-fame;" in April 1849 a Down sub-constable was fined for concealing the fact that he had venereal disease, by which he became temporarily disabled and "thereby threw additional duty on his comrades." A similar rather light measure was imposed on a Tyrone sub-constable in October 1850, for "Concealing venereal, by which his cure was retarded." (152) Sub-constable Patrick McAllen of Cork was only disrated in July 1849 for "Being found in a brothel under the influence of liquor," and in October of the following year Constable James Gibbon of Antrim was similarly punished for "Intoxication, and bringing a prostitute into his bed," and "subsequent rash conduct." (153) In July 1857, when Head Constable Joseph Mitchell of

Meath was sent on temporary duty to Belfast and passed a night in a "house of ill-fame," he was merely fined.(154)

Occasionally policemen, no doubt chafing under the constabulary's marriage regulations, which often imposed a lengthy wait on would-be husbands, startled rural Irish communities by eloping with daughters of gentlemen or comfortable farmers, who took considerable sums of their fathers' money with them.(155) Most men, however, were prepared to wait to contract marriages that accorded with the regulations. Inspector-general McGregor decreed in December 1840 that men who wanted to marry daughters of policemen would be allowed to wed before all other members of the force. This obviously had the effect of further delaying marriage opportunities in the constabulary, so in May 1844 he modified his earlier regulation by deciding to keep two lists of men authorized to marry: one was for those who wished to wed policemen's daughters, and the other was for those who wished to marry other women. Permission was to be granted alternately to a man from each list. However, no policemen were to be allowed to marry until they had at least five years' service completed.(156)

McGregor admitted in November 1852 that "numerous respectable members of the establishment are compelled, under the present system, to wait for several years for the authorized completion of their matrimonial engagements." He therefore decided that all men who applied for permission to

marry after five years in the force could wed two years later, regardless of the number of married policemen already in their county. (157) This remained the officially sanctioned arrangement for policemen's marriages, except that in April 1871 Inspector-general Wood decreed that for each unfavourable record acquired by an R.I.C. man, he had to serve an extra year beyond the seven-year period before he could wed. This rule was abolished by Inspector-general Hillier after he assumed command of the force in 1876, much to the gratification of policemen who wished to become betrothed. (158)

The effect of the constabulary's marriage regulations are well illustrated by an 1864 parliamentary blue book, which shows that the Irish Constabulary had the lowest proportion of married policemen in the United Kingdom, at just 28.69% of the force. In England and Wales most policemen were married. Only 47% of Staffordshire's police were married, but it was the only county or borough force out of 75 in England and Wales which had a majority of bachelors. (159) In 1882 around a quarter of the R.I.C. serving in Belfast, and about 30% of those in Cork city, were married. In the force as a whole in March 1881 some 3,573 men, or 32.94% of the rank and file, were married. However, these figures mask the trend in the R.I.C. towards marrying after several years' service. Almost 78% of the rank and file in March 1881 were sub-constables, and of these, only 1,981, or 23.51%, were married. (Figures for

July 1882 show that 61.61% of sub-constables had less than seven years' service and thus would have been ineligible for marriage anyway). The proportion of married acting constables, constables and head constables was 51.15%, 68.37% and 73.78% respectively.(160) In 1900 46.88% of the rank and file were married; however, if one excludes the 2,896 constables of less than seven years' service, 62.07% of eligible men were married. These included 56.26% of eligible constables, and 68.46%, 74.84% and 83.4% of the acting sergeants, sergeants and head constables respectively.(161) An examination of the constabulary general register shows that the recruits who joined in 1851, and married while in the force, did so after an average of over 13 years' service, while those who joined in 1861 married after almost 13 years in the force on average. In contrast, the men who joined in 1871, 1881 and 1891 and who married served for an average of just over 11 years before ceasing to be bachelors.(162)

There are some signs that the R.I.C. authorities at the turn of the century were less strict in their enforcement of the marriage regulations than their earlier counterparts had been. In 1896 Constable Edward Robinson married without leave after just two and a half years' service. This did not come to the inspector-general's notice until May 1904, when Robinson's wife wrote to him to complain that her husband refused to apply for official permission to marry! Inspector-general Chamberlain, however, did not dismiss the constable,

because of "the excellence of his character for a number of years as testified to by his officers," and punished him instead by giving him an unfavourable record and ordering his transfer.(163) Chamberlain stated in 1914 that the rule requiring clandestinely-married policemen to leave the force had been "relaxed" since 1894, since which year unfavourable records were given to them instead. However, such men were treated as if they were not married at all. Even under those uncongenial conditions, some 28 men who had married without leave remained in the R.I.C. in 1914.(164)

Why did the constabulary authorities go to the trouble of limiting their members' opportunities for marriage? The most important reason was that they considered married policemen a burden, a potentially slow cog in what they hoped would be a highly mobile, easily transferrable force of men. This point was made, among others, by the Leinster provincial inspector as early as 1828:

the excessive number of women and children attached to the constabulary, and every where crowding their barracks, is a very great evil and annoyance, particularly to the single men, as it is impossible for peace, comfort or cleanliness to exist in a house so filled.....I am told the young men almost invariably marry upon getting into the constabulary; and to give the men the (sic) lodging allowance, and let them provide their own lodgings, is liable to this objection, that they would occupy the wretched mud cabins of the country, and wallow in filth like the peasantry, and moreover no longer be a moveable and disposable body as they are upon the present system.
(165)

A correspondent to the Freeman's Journal in December 1877 claimed that the "moral and religious influence of a good and

virtuous wife" steadied potentially unreliable policemen, and that married men were more likely to be "more energetic and determined" than their bachelor colleagues.(166) County inspectors appearing before the 1882 committee of enquiry agreed that marriage improved "unsteady" men, but stated that they nevertheless considered married men an encumbrance in their force. Not only did they have to worry about sending them on certain duties, but married men often "usurped" the beat town stations, as it was often necessary to post them to towns, where opportunities for educating their children and of finding suitable accommodation for their families were better. They were also less likely to be transferred, and spent less time on detachment duty than single men.(167) Constable Martin Nolan records that in the 1880s the Tyrone county inspector refused to allow married men to serve in Omagh if their wives were to accompany them. As a result Nolan, who was only six months married at the time of his transfer to Omagh in December 1886, had to live in barracks apart from his wife until June 1888.(168)

As stated earlier, most men who were eligible to marry did so, regardless of the reservations of some officers. However, married policemen still found that police regulations intruded into their personal lives. They were frequently required to live in barracks, either with or without their families: in 1881, 1,412 out of 3,513 married men lived in barracks.(169) Only one married man's family was allowed to

live in a station, and they had to obey the regulations laid down for them. They were forbidden to use the barrack bedding or furniture, although they were permitted to use the kitchen for their cooking. At first only four children - known as "barrack brats" or, if they misbehaved, "Peelers' pups" - were allowed in barracks with their parents. If a man's wife quarrelled with her husband or with any other of the policeman she was to be removed, "as no individual can be suffered to be in any way connected with the establishment, whose conduct is not perfectly sober, quiet, and respectable." Wives and children had to attend at Sunday worship each week (husbands were not allowed to worship with their families until 1902), and the children had to be "respectably clad," clean, and those between the ages of four and twelve had to attend school daily. Clothes had to be washed on Saturdays, and floors in married quarters to be swept every morning before ten o'clock.

(170)

In 1842 Inspector-general McGregor complained that "a great want of attention to personal appearance, neatness in dress, and general regularity is observable in the wives and children of several of the head and other constables in the force," and reiterated that all those whose "slovenly and irregular habits are calculated to bring discredit to the establishment" would be removed from barracks if they did not mend their ways.(171) Policemen's children, and especially their daughters, were at first obliged to leave their barrack

accommodation when they reached the age of fourteen and a half. McGregor pointed out that this had the effect of

compelling the parents to send their daughters to service or other regular employment, which many of them are reluctant to do, & of guarding the young females themselves against the ruin in which some of them have been involved, by constantly living in a confined barracks, with none but single men as their companions. (172)

In 1883 children were allowed to remain in stations until they were 16 years old (except daughters of widowers, who still had to leave at the earlier regulation age) and by 1914 boys could remain until they were 18. (173)

It is certain, then, that there were many irksome aspects to married policemen's lives when they and their families resided in barracks. Evidence from the latter part of the period shows that the rule about allowing only four children in barracks was not always enforced. As the married policeman's family averaged six children - one constable stated gloomily in 1901 that "We cannot avoid these things sometimes" - and married quarters consisted of one and at most two rooms, conditions must have been rather cramped for many families. In 1892 Sergeant John Rogan and his wife and seven children, ranging in age from one to twelve years, resided in just one room in Ballinadrimna barracks. (174) Head Constable Francis McKenna of New Ross claimed in 1901 that conditions at many stations were "shameful, with single men sleeping opposite married people." Constable Thomas Healy of Ballymena stated in 1914 that married quarters were "in almost all cases

very restricted and unsuitable. In nearly every case the lavatory, which is seldom of a very sanitary nature, is used in common with single men, and prisoners of every class must be allowed access to it when necessary." He condemned the "demoralising and repulsive practice that common tramps, filthy and diseased persons, should have access to the portions of the barrack premises frequented by married families and single men." A constable stationed in Dunmanway stated that prisoners were "confined in the lock-up in the immediate vicinity of married quarters and the language used by corner-boys and prostitutes has a contaminating effect on the minds of children of families in barracks." Patrick Shea, the son of an R.I.C. man, and who lived in several police stations, recalls that "Lying in bed we could hear the angry profanities of prisoners in the cells which were below our bedroom windows; on Saturday nights the entertainment was specially good."(175)

Policemen's families who resided in their own lodgings away from the police barracks had a comparatively normal domestic life, but even they were not entirely free from regulation. At first all married policemen living out of barracks had to reside within a quarter of a mile of their station; this often made suitable accommodation difficult to find, and also left them at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords. In the 1880s married policemen in Belfast were allowed to live up to 660 yards from their station, while

those in the rest of the country could lodge "at any spot approved of and considered within a proper distance of the barrack by the county inspector." Policemen's homes were to be kept as orderly as a barracks, and were to be subject to periodic inspection by officers. In addition, married men living out of barracks were expected to keep the same hours as their unmarried colleagues, and were to be reported for being absent from their homes without leave! Constable Walter Golding, stationed in Galway, was fined in May 1849 for leaving his lodgings "during unseasonable hours."(176)

Where there were several married men stationed at one barracks, only some of them were allowed to sleep out in their family lodgings. In February 1837 Constable Malcolm Russell was stationed two miles away from Banagher, where his wife resided. The latter, who suffered from pulmonary disease, fell dangerously ill, and the constable left his station in the charge of a subordinate and went to visit his wife for a weekend. Sub-inspector Crawford considered Russell's behaviour "very reprehensible in having set so bad an example to those placed under his direction," and the inspector-general ordered Crawford to transfer the constable to Longford as a punishment.(177) The regulations in the early 1870s stated that one married policeman was allowed to sleep at home for every five men stationed at a barracks. Where there were more married men at a station than were allowed to sleep at home, "the privilege is to be enjoyed by each of the married men in

rotation, for one year at a time only."(178) In 1888 this period was reduced to three months.(179)

Initially, married policemen and their wives were forbidden to engage in trade, to hold land, or own animals or poultry. In February 1871, however, Inspector-general Wood announced that married men whose families resided out of barracks could hold a garden not exceeding ten perches and could own one pig, so long as the produce was not sold. They were also permitted to keep as many fowl as they needed, which privilege was extended in March 1891 to policemen residing in barracks, so long as the birds were placed in coops to keep them from the parade ground or station yard.(180) Inspector-general Bruce told the 1882 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. that he would not object to the men's wives making dresses, "as long as they do not turn the barracks into a shop for the public to frequent," and in the following year they were permitted to "engage in such businesses as the inspector-general may deem permissible," although when wives did run businesses their husbands had to reside in another district. (181) In April 1905 policemen's wives were given permission to let rooms to respectable lodgers, although only a small proportion actually availed of this opportunity to boost their family's income, due to the generally small size of R.I.C. men's houses. Permission was sometimes withdrawn in cases where wives competed with established lodging-house keepers, as in seaside towns, and created friction which was deemed to

be detrimental to their husbands' efficiency. (182)

When the D.M.P. was first established, married men were allowed to join the force, including, as we have seen, men who were dismissed from the Irish Constabulary for marrying without leave. D.M.P. statistics show that at the end of 1838 some 47.42% of the force was married, including 45.27% of the constables, 65.91% of the sergeants, 61.11% of the inspectors and half of the superintendents. In 1840 the force was increased by 117 men as a consequence of the addition of the E and F districts to the metropolitan police area. The proportion of married men was not greatly affected by this large influx of new recruits. At the end of 1840 some 46.83% of the D.M.P. were married, including 44% of the constables, 66% of the sergeants, 20 of the 23 inspectors and two of the six superintendents. (183) At the end of 1844, 518 (48.68%) of the men were married, including 69% of the sergeants and 46.58% of the constables. The returns by divisions show some interesting variations in the proportions of married men - sergeants and constables - serving in them. All of the A division's 17 sergeants and 75% of the 168 constables were married; 13 of the 16 C division and 15 of the 19 D division sergeants, as well as 97 (52.72%) and 105 (56.15%) respectively of their constables were married. However, in the B division, while 10 of the 18 sergeants were married, only 69 (40.35%) of the constables were. The wedded proportion of the E division consisted of six of the 15 sergeants and only

25 (21.93%) of the constables, while only eight of the 15 F division sergeants and 20 (15.63%) of the constables were married.(184) The fact that most policemen in the B, E and F divisions were unmarried probably reflects the fact that they contained the more exclusive areas of Dublin with inevitably higher house rents; the chief commissioners obviously took housing opportunities into consideration when posting married men.(185)

The first indication of an attempt by the commissioners to curb the number of married D.M.P. men occurs in the early 1850s: at that period Dublin policemen were not allowed to wed until they had first saved 40, and then applied for permission to marry.(186) The effect of this regulation, as well as the fact that by then most D.M.P. recruits were bachelors, can be seen in the 1864 parliamentary return which shows that only 345 (31.79%) of the 1,079-strong force were married. The Irish Constabulary was then the only police establishment in the United Kingdom with a smaller proportion of married to single members.(187)

From 1838, Dublin policemen who married without permission were liable to be dismissed. The 1870 instruction book states that a man wishing to marry had to be at least a second class constable and have three years' service; in addition, Chief Commissioner Lake insisted that both he and his wife each have 30 saved, and an enquiry was made as to the wife's character. These rules were designed to prevent a

constable marrying when too young, as this frequently led to his falling into debt "and rendering himself totally unfit to carry on his duties with zeal and spirit." Married officers or men were not allowed to lodge in public houses, and constables who resided in "disreputable lodgings" or outside the division in which they were stationed were liable to dismissal. Superintendents and inspectors had to visit their men's homes at least once a month to ensure that they were fit places to live in. If constable's wives brought "disgrace upon their husbands and upon the service by discreditable conduct," the men were to be dismissed. Policemen and their wives were also forbidden to engage in "any business," upon pain of dismissal. Wives were not permitted to hire as servants or wet nurses, "as it leads to irregularities on the part of constables, and neglect of their children." They could, however, work at cleaning and cooking in station houses. (188)

The surviving disciplinary records give some examples of how the D.M.P. authorities interfered in the lives of their married men. For instance, a Bridewell Lane constable was fined ten shillings in September 1892 for absenting himself from his beat for 50 minutes, and for "disgraceful conduct as a constable in quarrelling with his wife at their lodgings on 30th ult. in consequence of which the inhabitants complained." (189) A Kingstown constable was reprimanded in August 1896 for not reporting that he had failed to pay, and had been issued writs for, 15 house rent and 4 in rates, and because his

residence at 49 York Street was not "decently furnished." In January 1897 the chief commissioner directed that the constable, who had eight children and was then stationed at Store Street, be kept under observation. His faults on this occasion were that his lodgings at 9 Russell Street were "Notadequately furnished - the rooms being in a filthy condition, and having his children in a filthy state."(190)

A Bridewell Lane constable who assaulted his wife "in [the] presence of a crowd of people" in August 1898 was transferred to the C division because he was "Guilty of disgraceful conduct that is calculated to bring disgrace on the police service;" he was further warned that if he was again reported for quarrelling with his wife he would be dismissed. In August 1900 a constable who absented himself from his lodgings in Malpas Terrace when on sick leave, was excused his conduct by the assistant commissioner as he had "a bad wife and unhappy home," but was nevertheless transferred to another division. On December 28, 1900, the constable left his beat and went to the Store Street station, claiming that he felt ill. On a sergeant's questioning him, it turned out that "his wife was abusing him, following him about, collecting a crowd around him, and throwing stones at him where he was on duty at the Custom House and that she was now outside the station door." The man's wife justified her conduct by the fact that he had not been home the previous night, and that she wanted his wages, which he had not given

her. The chief commissioner's verdict on the case was to warn the constable that he would be dismissed if any further reports came against him, and transferred him to the A division.(191)

Chief Commissioner Ross reprimanded a Summerhill constable in August 1905 for allowing his wife to take up business as the manageress of a hotel in Douglas, on the Isle of Man.(192) A Chapelized sergeant was "Severely reprimanded" in August of the following year for having his lodgings at Hibernian Terrace "in such a dirty, unhealthy condition as to render them unsuitable as a residence."(193) Another married D.M.P. man, stationed at Donnybrook in February 1911, was reprimanded for not having paid over 34 in rent for lodgings at Percy Place and Sussex Terrace. In October 1912 he was fined ten shillings for ignoring a school attendance order made for his son by a magistrate, and also for not paying a five shilling fine imposed on him for non-compliance with the order. He was reprimanded in February 1913 for "Being guilty of conduct calculated to bring discredit on the service by living in a state of disagreement with his wife, and having his residence, 46 Hastings Street, practically devoid of furniture at the monthly inspection."(194) The station sergeant at Donnybrook received a similar punishment in June 1914 for establishing, and having his son manage, a "bagatelle room and card school" in a house in a field behind his Sandford Road residence.(195)

A major difference between the attitudes of the D.M.P. and Irish Constabulary attitudes towards married policemen was that the former permitted their men to hire out rooms to lodgers at least from the early 1850s onwards. They were forbidden to take in lodgers under the 1879 regulations, but this prohibition had fallen into disuse by the end of the century. (196) In 1901, 168 (38.62%) of the 435 married officers and men of the D.M.P. kept lodgers. The average rent paid by married D.M.P. men was 24 and six shillings; all but 35 of the married men who kept lodgers could afford to pay a higher rent than that. Indeed, the highest rent paid by a Dublin policeman was the 96 paid by a B division constable who leased to lodgers. His annual wage at the time was only 70 to 78! Clearly those who kept lodgers were able to live in better houses than their less enterprising colleagues. Their tenants tended to be "ordinary labourers or tradesmen or poorly paid clerks," or their own friends and relations. The D.M.P. authorities do not appear to have imposed restrictions as to the type of tenant lodging with policemen. Wilmot Irwin, who grew up in Dublin at the turn of the century, recalls that his neighbour, Detective Sergeant Hennessy, had a solicitor's clerk as a lodger who was a fluent Irish speaker and "an intense patriot." (197)

A surprisingly low proportion of the D.M.P. were married men at the end of our period. Regulations in the early 1880s stated that a policeman had to have at least five years'

service before getting married, and that he and his fiancée had to have 40 saved between them. Most men depended on their wives to produce the money. Chief Commissioner Talbot felt that it was "absolutely necessary" to keep at least two thirds of the force unmarried and living in barracks. If men were needed to meet an emergency, "it would be impossible to collect the married men within any reasonable time." Talbot opposed granting a lodging allowance as it would "put a premium on marriage in the force" and hamper its mobility. (198)

Some 33.07% of the D.M.P. were married in 1882; although if one excludes the 398 men with less than five years' service and thus were ineligible to marry, some 53.42% were married. (199) In 1901, 38.58% of the rank and file were married; excluding the 300 men with less than five years' service, 52.31% of eligible men were married, which proportion was considerably below that of the R.I.C. By December 1913 the proportion of married D.M.P. men was more or less at its 1901 level, at 38.41% of the force. However, no superintendents, only five of 25 inspectors, 13 of 41 station sergeants and 45 of 145 sergeants were bachelors. (200)

The true amount of married D.M.P. men was actually somewhat higher than the official statistics indicate, as an unknown number married without leave but were not dismissed. Sometimes they could keep their marriages secret from the chief commissioner for several years. At least 17 men married

without permission in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were punished with fines of from five shillings to 1, were reduced in rank or were transferred, but they were not dismissed, and in all but one case were allowed to live out of barracks with their wives. However, their wives were not officially recognized as such by the chief commissioner, and thus the constables concerned are probably excluded from the official returns of married men. (201) But even their inclusion would not substantially increase the proportion of married men, which remained below that of the R.I.C., and thus was almost certainly the lowest in the United Kingdom.

As in the constabulary, men who resorted to prostitutes were treated more leniently than those who got married without leave. From January 1838 to January 1857 some 121 D.M.P. men were reported for being in brothels, 46 of whom were members of the B division. Only 22 were dismissed or compelled to resign. Most of the other cases, even of men found drunk and in uniform in brothels, were punished with fines, the largest amount imposed being the 2 levied on a detective in 1850: most fines were of ten shillings or less. The chief commissioners did not consider frequenting brothels an offence against discipline, but rather as "detrimental to the character and efficiency of the force." This difference probably accounts for the comparatively light punishments imposed on most of the guilty men. The most serious of these

brothel cases involved two sergeants who were dismissed in August 1838 for "Drugging a girl of 14 years of age, bringing her into a house of ill-fame and there committing a felonious assault."(202)

Of the 42 men removed from the force through ill health in 1842, 17 were discharged when suffering from venereal disease, which was the largest single reason for medical discharge. In 1848 the D.M.P. medical officer, in explaining the number of V.D. cases in the force, stated that most recruits came from rural areas, "where none of the temptations peculiar to a great city exist," and "finding themselves surrounded on their beats with vice and infamy, under many attractive forms, were probably unable to restrain themselves from the influences brought to bear on them." V.D. sufferers were discharged from the force until cured, and those who recovered were re-accepted into the D.M.P.(203) The lenient treatment accorded to policemen who resorted to prostitutes appears to have extended into the 1870s at least, as in July 1875 an Irishtown constable who got drunk with a prostitute, and later unwisely charged her with stealing his watch, was only fined 3 and transferred to the F division.(204) David Neligan records that the policemen who instructed recruits "carefully avoided" discussing the seamier aspects of Dublin life, which is somewhat surprising, given the high proportion of unmarried men in the force. Neligan was taken in tow by two of his uncles, who were also D.M.P. men: "The hair-raising

stories they told me about night-life in the city frightened me so much, that for several years I was afraid to even look at a woman!," he claims.(205)

The D.M.P.'s disciplinary system seems generally to have been stricter than the constabulary's, especially in the early decades of the force's existence. In the first seven months of 1838 some 414 men, over half of the original intake of constables, were dismissed, compelled to resign, or resigned voluntarily. Chief Commissioner Browne proposed a system of reduction rather than heavy fines for first offences in August 1838, obviously hoping thereby to cut down on the attrition rate.(206) Some 354 policemen - 23.62% of the first year's intake - were dismissed or compelled to resign before the end of 1838. Another 193 men - 20% of the force - were removed from these causes in 1839, and 149 men, or 13.49% of the total, were dismissed or resigned compulsorily in 1840. The proportions for the next four years show a marked decline, at 83 (7.45%), 80 (7.28%), 53 (4.81%) and 60 (5.5%) respectively, but still the numbers discharged as a penal measure were proportionately larger than those removed from the Irish Constabulary in the same years.(207) Seventy men, 6.18% of the D.M.P., were dismissed or compelled to resign in 1848, compared with just 2.83% of the constabulary.(208) Of the 820 men who took to the streets for the first time on January 1, 1838, only 175 remained in the force ten years later. The largest single cause of attrition was dismissal or compulsory

resignation, which accounted for 238 men (29.08%); 232 (28.29%) "broke down" and were discharged by the medical officers; 21 men (2.56%) died while in the force, and 154 (18.78%) resigned.(209)

The reasons for dismissal varied. Constables Martin Nolan and James Kelly of the C division were dismissed in 1838 for "abusing each other in the street" when returning from duty at Donnybrook fair, but they were later allowed to re-join the force because of the general "excellent conduct" of the police at the famous gathering.(210) Constable 202A was compelled to resign in January 1840 for having used "insulting language" to an English horse-dealer who had asked him the shortest route to Stephens Green, and in the next month Constable 176C was dismissed for altering 54 Poor Law Guardian election papers.(211) In February 1842 Constable James Lynch was removed from the force for having taken out a car licence, in a false name, for his son.(212) In September 1843 Sergeant Wilson, a married man with six children, was dismissed "at once" by Chief Commissioner O'Ferrall when he found out that the sergeant was having an affair with a married woman.(213)

There were also severe punishments for what were apparently regarded as less serious offences. On September 12, 1838, Superintendent Boyd of the D division was demoted to inspector for being drunk and disorderly in a station house. This meant a difference of 75 a year in his pay, so not surprisingly he resigned "shortly thereafter." Superintendent

O'Connor was reduced to the rank of inspector for mistreating a prisoner, in that on one occasion he "put on the hat of a prisoner a paper with the words 'Swell Mob,' with the object of intimidating others of the same class." For this offence he was disgraced for four years, losing over 200 in pay.(214) However, the early D.M.P. disciplinary system was not entirely draconian in character. On his retirement in 1858, Chief Commissioner Browne stated that whenever it came to his knowledge that men who were guilty of "a partial neglect of duty" were "dividing their pay with their aged parents in the country, purchasing cows for them, or paying the passage of their sisters and brothers to Australia and America," he "could not find it in his heart to punish them."(215)

In the D.M.P., as in the constabulary, drinking constituted the greatest disciplinary problem. In 1847 John Flint, an ex-inspector of the Dublin police, claimed that over 62% of the men dismissed from April 1838 to January 1839 were removed for various drink-related offences.(216) While it is not possible to verify his figures, his general assertion as to the problems posed by policemen drinking was accurate enough. Initially, D.M.P. men were allowed to drink in public houses when off duty and in plain clothes, but "that privilege was so abused that men were constantly playing cards and drinking in public houses." In January 1840 Chief Commissioner O'Ferrall prohibited his men from entering such establishments, except in the course of their duty. This rule

remained in force for the remainder of our period.(217)

It was easier to forbid men to drink than it was to prevent them. In March 1843 Inspector Prendeville told the inquest into the drowning death of Constable 59E that he was "generally speaking, a well conducted man, but was given to drink." The inquest failed to explain how the constable managed to fall into the Grand Canal harbour at two o'clock in the morning, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he had been drunk at the time of his death.(218) Ernest Blythe claims that a recruit who joined the D.M.P. from Meath in 1851, on one occasion drank 20 glasses of whiskey for a bet (he weighed 20 stone, or 280 lbs) and was still fit for duty! (219) While this may be apocryphal, there is no doubt that drinking was a serious disciplinary problem in the D.M.P.

Some 104 men were reported for drink offences in 1855. The commissioners claimed that "In the very worst case.....the party was not so affected as to warrant the interference of the police, if he were a civilian." Yet this assertion is contradicted by their statistics, which distinguish between 47 men "drunk" on duty and 26 off duty, and 12 merely "under the influence of liquor" when on duty, and 19 when off duty.(220) In the following year 41 men (3.77% of the force) were dismissed for drunkenness alone.(221) From January 1, 1856, to July 10, 1857, 182 sergeants, acting sergeants or constables were dismissed or compelled to resign. Some 85 (46.7%) were removed for intoxication, and another eight for

being in public houses on or off duty. The next most common cause of removal was insubordination and disobedience, for which 20 constables were discharged, while 19 were removed for neglect of duty.(222)

The 1865 instruction book stated that constables would only be fined for a first drink offence. A recurrence would be punished with a fine and reduction in rank, while a third offence would mean dismissal. Policemen were still forbidden to drink in public houses, but were told that if they wanted to "refresh themselves moderately," married men could drink at home, and unmarried men at their station houses.(223) It was not unknown for D.M.P. men to commit from six to twelve offences of drunkenness before being removed from the force. (224) Surgeon Thomas Nedley considered that Colonel Lake, who was chief commissioner from 1858 to 1876, was for many years before his retirement in a delicate state, and that this resulted in lax discipline. This is certainly borne out by statistics which show that in 1873 and 1874 over 38% of constables were drunk at some time, with over 41% being guilty of intoxication in 1875. The dismissal rates in the same years ranged from just under 3% to just over 4.5%. While these figures were higher than the R.I.C.'s dismissal rate in the same years, they hardly suggest that drunkenness was severely checked by Chief Commissioner Lake.(225)

One gains an insight into the D.M.P.'s drink problem by the fact that the proposed scheme for providing cheap housing

for married policemen was quashed due to the reluctance of the men themselves. According to Assistant Commissioner Connolly, "that reluctance proceeded, to a great extent, from a good number of the men who would be affected.....being addicted to drink, and not liking any supervision, or as little as possible."(226) The D.M.P. authorities considered it "undesirable" to permit constables of only a few years' service to enter public houses, even in the course of duty, because of the "very great danger" that they would be "corrupted." Instead, the duty of supervising public houses was entrusted to acting sergeants and men of higher rank. (227) Colonel Lake decreed in February 1876 that no policeman who was caught drinking would be promoted. This had the effect of lowering the drunkenness rate to 24.8% of constables in 1876, and the rate declined further in each of the years from 1877 to 1879, when it amounted to 21.1%, 23.6% and 20.2% of constables.(228)

However, the strict disciplinarian, Captain George Talbot, who succeeded to the command of the D.M.P. in 1877, was not satisfied with the greatly reduced incidence of intoxication, which still surpassed that of the London and Liverpool police. On February 20, 1880, he stated that

The number of men reported for drink exceeds that of any police force in the world, and disgraces its annals. It is well known to the commissioner that men reported for being drunk on duty never pay for their drink; it is obtained in a low underhand manner from publicans and others, whose only object is to get the sergeants and constables of sections in their power, thus rendering it impossible for them to perform their duties. It shall not

be said that the Dublin Metropolitan Police are hand in glove with the liquor trade, or, in other words, in their power. For this reason, the offence of entering public houses (except on legitimate business, which duty will have to be substantiated by summons or arrest, as the case may require) will for a first case be punished by reduction, and for a second or subsequent offence by dismissal.

An indication of the success of Talbot's measure is that in 1880 and 1881 the proportion of constables reported for drunkenness was only 14.4% and 12.5% respectively. From 1878 to 1881 there were only 67 cases of insubordination and 42 cases of police assaults on civilians, in contrast with 184 of the former cases and 160 of the latter in the four years from 1873 to 1876. Assistant Commissioner Connolly attributed the decrease to the stricter stand taken against drink during Talbot's control of the force.(229)

Talbot's campaign against drink was part of a generally tougher disciplinary regimen in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Whereas under Chief Commissioners Lake and O'Ferrall reduced policemen could be restored three years after their demotion, no disgraced man was ever promoted to his former rank under Talbot. In London, Liverpool and Glasgow, policemen were reduced only for limited periods.(230) Sergeant Lanktree of Kingstown complained in 1882 that men who had taken only a pint of porter at their dinner, and were red-faced from walking their beat afterwards, were reported as unfit for duty from the effects of liquor, and fined. Another sergeant claimed that men were "pretty certain" to be fined 1 for not noticing that a bunch of cabbage leaves had been thrown on the

pavements.(231) The practice of fining men for not noticing wrenched door knockers or broken windows on their beat was very unpopular in the force. Usually complaints from the house owners prompted the punishments. On July 26, 1878, 21 panes of glass were broken and not noticed by patrolling policemen; when eight panes were broken on September 8, and 20 panes on September 15, and not noticed by the police, the assistant commissioner decided to make an example of the next men who failed to notice smashed windows. Subsequently, four acting constables were fined 1 each (over half a week's pay) and seven constables ten shillings each, for not spotting a broken window in William Street. In another instance, four men were given fines totalling more than 1 seven shillings for failing to spot a wrenched door knocker worth one shilling.(232) A constable who failed to prevent "idle boys" from smashing about 50 panes of glass on his beat was fined seven shillings and sixpence in April 1878.(233) In a very trivial case in March 1880, a constable was fined the same amount for "Improper conduct in using his fingers as a pocket handkerchief." Even abusing one's rest was considered a breach of discipline under Captain Talbot's regime.(234)

John Nott Bower, who served as a sub-inspector in the R.I.C. from 1873 to 1878, was then appointed chief constable of the Leeds police, and in 1881 became head constable of the Liverpool police. He gave evidence before the 1882 committee of enquiry into the D.M.P. He found that

some of the conditions of service, and the harshness and severity with which discipline was enforced, appeared to be not only unnecessary, but calculated to lead to resistance and discontent. Nothing in Liverpool, or in London, appeared to me at all comparable.(235)

The enquiry commissioners stated that D.M.P. men were more concerned about the excessive rigidity of discipline than with any other aspect of the service.(236) Widespread dissatisfaction over the D.M.P.'s disciplinary system was to partly lay the foundation for an unprecedented strike by the force in September 1882. There were warning signs of discontent as early as March 1882. In that month four ex-members of the D.M.P. left Dublin on the North Wall steamer, bound for Queensland. They were accompanied to the docks by about 200 constables in plain clothes, who came to wish the emigrants bon voyage. As the steamer pulled out from the quay, the cheering constables were heard expressing the wish that the four would not experience "petty tyranny" and "nonsensical fines" in Australia.(237)

To the resentment towards the harshness of discipline was added anger at the government's announcement in March 1882 that it was to grant a bonus of three months' pay to each member of the R.I.C., to recompense them for the heavy expenditure they had incurred during the Land War. No plans were made for a similar provision for the D.M.P., although they had not been entirely unaffected by the land agitation. In May 1882 the lord lieutenant, Earl Spencer, observed that the Dublin police were "overworked and the number of people

under protection weakens them sadly." He even proposed using soldiers armed with revolvers for protection duty, as a means of lessening the burden on the police.(238) The D.M.P. rank and file felt that it was unfair that all of the R.I.C. should receive three months' pay as gratuity, especially those in nearby Dundrum, Bray, Shankhill, Shanganagh, Drumcondra and Ballybough, which areas were not affected by the land troubles. (However, policemen serving in those districts probably did serve in disturbed areas, because of the R.I.C.'s policy of sending men on detachment duty throughout the country, a possibility of which the D.M.P. men seem to have been unaware, or simply chose to ignore). The D.M.P. claimed that they had performed more extra duty on account of the Land War than many R.I.C. men, including attending numerous Land League meetings in the city, escorting Coercion Act prisoners to gaol, and even, in the F division, providing protection at evictions, auctions, sheriffs' sales and at a boycotted farm, as well as guarding 24 landlords or their agents. However, these duties scarcely put the D.M.P. men seriously out of pocket, which was the basis for the R.I.C. gratuity. Nevertheless, D.M.P. feelings ran high that they were being neglected by the authorities; such feelings were evident even to D.H. Macfarlane, the Carlow M.P., on August 14, although the government professed to be unaware of the dissatisfaction in the Dublin police.(239)

The rank and file organized a number of petitions to the

chief commissioner, in which they asked for, among other demands, compensation for the extra duties they had performed in the previous three years, an improvement in pensions, lodging allowances for married men, and public trials for policemen charged with cases of indiscipline. The Freeman's Journal claimed that such a memorial from the Kingstown men was "scornfully rejected" by Captain Talbot, and that instead a petition organized by the superintendents, and purporting to represent the real grievances of the men, had been presented to headquarters.(240) On Saturday, August 26, a meeting was held in Green Street barrack by about 250 to 400 of the men. Constable James Murphy, a man of two years' service, was elected to chair the proceedings. Chief Superintendent Corr arrived during the meeting, called Murphy a "cur of a recruit," and ordered him to vacate the chair. Murphy refused, stating that he had been elected to that position by the men. The assembly then drew up a memorial, which Captain Talbot accepted only after he had been assured that "there was nothing in any way improper or disrespectful to the government in it." The petition, couched in respectful language, called on the government to grant the D.M.P. a gratuity similar to the one promised to the R.I.C. (241)

Captain Talbot at first appeased the men by his assurance that Constable Murphy would not be punished for having chaired the meeting, but on leaving the assembly he stated to the Freeman's Journal reporter that he considered

the entire affair to have been conducted by "reduced and dissatisfied constables." On the next day, Sunday 27, he forbade the men to hold any other unauthorized meetings, under pain of dismissal. Talbot's remarks to the journalist, and his "ukase" - as a constable later described his prohibitory order - made the police even more determined to proceed with their agitation. On Thursday, August 31, 234 constables held an unauthorized meeting at the Foresters' Hall in Bolton Street, in defiance of Captain Talbot's order. At this assembly they protested about the commissioner's earlier description of themselves, further complained about the omission of a gratuity of three months' pay, demanded a better pension system, and pledged to support any man singled out for punishment for having attended the banned meeting. Some days later, the Freeman's Journal stated that

It would be a mistake to imagine that the grievances of the men consist [solely] in the fact of their not having received extra pay for extra work at the same time as the constabulary. This is merely the complaint which brought the seething mass of discontent to a crisis. The men complain of various vexatious rules which render their life a burden to them. They say that after a hard day's work they were constantly subjected to two hours' drill which was utterly unnecessary; that they were made learn useless cathecisms, which were merely burdens upon their memories; that vexatious fines were inflicted upon them for the most trivial excuses.

The Dublin newspaper was correct in its analysis that it was discontent over discipline, as well as the extra pay, which brought matters to a head.

The authorities' reaction to the insubordination of the Bolton Street meeting was swift and decisive: at 11 o'clock

on Friday, September 1, the 234 men were dismissed. The lord lieutenant issued a proclamation for "all loyal and well-disposed subjects of the queen to come forward and undertake the duty of special constables" (ultimately only 600 volunteered) and temporarily take the place of the dismissed men. Not all of the police divisions were equally affected by the dismissals. Most of the men at the Clarke's Court, Green Street, Store Street, Summerhill and Kingstown barracks were removed from the force, as were half of those stationed at Booterstown and Kill-O-Grange. In contrast, no men were dismissed from the barracks at James Street Harbour, Manor Street, Glasnevin, Cabra, Bessborough, Chapelizod, Parkgate Street, Rathmines, Donnybrook, Crumlin and Terenure. However, most D.M.P. men supported their dismissed colleagues, and some 121 resigned on the same day in sympathy. One third of the A division, and over three fifths of the men in the B and C divisions, were dismissed or resigned in protest at the dismissals.(242)

Most policemen did not resign, but instead refused to perform duty, in protest at the dismissals. Some 150 policemen called at the offices of Wells and Holohan, emigration agents, to request (without success) assisted emigration to Queensland. Married policemen were restrained by family considerations from resigning from the force. John Shea, who was a witness to the unprecedented D.M.P. strike, wrote that almost every unmarried man would have "gladly quitted it to

join the Cape Mounted Rifles, the New York police, the Papal legion, if such existed, or an Irish regiment of Guards, if the chance were but thrown his way while the excitement was at boiling heat."(243) William O'Brien, the editor of the United Ireland newspaper, gives a good indication of the excitement engendered in Dublin by the strike. He claimed later that it inspired him to a rather hare-brained scheme of using 1,000 "revolted constables," in conjunction with the Dublin I.R.B., to seize Dublin Castle and the lord lieutenant and chief secretary, and to precipitate a rebellion in the already-disgruntled R.I.C. He alleges that he presented the plan to Parnell, who supposedly was interested but had no faith in either the Dublin Fenians or the Dublin police, the latter of whom were "mad with the novelty of the whole thing, and very likely with whiskey."(244)

It is unlikely that O'Brien would have had any police takers for his plot, even if it existed outside of his obviously active imagination. The D.M.P. strike was a purely "industrial" dispute, with no political aims. But there is no doubting the excitement and fears created by the unprecedented agitation. John Shea records how "sheepish" D.M.P. men, who refused to do duty at Dublin Castle, were feted by the urchins of the Liberties: "They could not well reconcile to themselves the exuberant homage of those who would have stoned them without cause four-and-twenty hours before."(245) While striking policemen suddenly found themselves popular with

Dublin's lower classes, the minority who continued to perform duty often had to endure the wrath of mobs throughout the city. No policeman above the rank of constable joined in the strike, and also the men of the small mounted section, and of the G or detective division, remained on duty as usual. Popular wrath was especially directed towards citizens who answered the lord lieutenant's and lord mayor's call for special constables. These men, who were conspicuously smaller in stature than the men of the D.M.P., were first sent out on duty on the Saturday night after the mass dismissals, and had many unhappy experiences during their short time as volunteers. Their small size, and obvious loyalist backgrounds, invited attack from the rougher elements of Dublin's population. According to the United Ireland newspaper,

The bulk of the emergency constables were composed of a motley selection from the Anglo-Irish garrison occupied in government situations. Mixed among the Orangemen and government clerks were some barristers and attorneys in need of briefs, a few bank clerks, and some lion and unicorn tradesmen.

Five special constables who arrested a drunken man were attacked by a mob of sixty people, their prisoner was rescued, and they were "ill-used" by the crowd. Most of those assigned to Kingstown and the Coombe were so frightened at the hostility of the populace that they decided that discretion was the better part of valour, and did not venture outside their stations. Around 100 special constables sent to College Street station were jeered by a large crowd, which was

eventually dispersed by a detachment of military sent from Dublin Castle. A total of 475 troops were used on picket or police duty to reinforce the non-striking police and the special constables.(246) One special constable was lucky to escape with his life after he panicked and shot a man in Mary's Lane on the night of Saturday, September 2. On the next day two special constables were arrested for throwing stones at the military! The volunteers might have made a better fist of policing the city under ordinary circumstances, but, as John Shea states, on the weekend of September 1 to 3 the "corner-boy was out in all his glory," due to the absence of his "natural enemy," the policeman.(247) Windows in several city centre shops and public houses were smashed, and drink extorted from some publicans; there were several short riots, including a clash between the military and a large crowd in Sackville Street on the night of September 2, while another crowd literally defaced the statue of King William in College Green, crowning the mutilation with a large tin can.

On the evening of September 2 the dismissed men held a meeting in Bolton Street, at which Canon Pope, the administrator of Marlborough Street church, appealed to them to apologize to the lord lieutenant for their insubordination and to request to be re-instated, without imposing any conditions upon their superiors. The general tone of the meeting was against the clergyman's request, but the breakdown in law and order in much of Dublin might well have convinced

the men to change their minds (on the first day of the strike the men of Summerhill station had intimidated that they would resume duty if disorder broke out) because on Sunday, September 3, most of the dismissed constables signed an apology for holding the prohibited meeting, and asked to be taken back into the force. This was presented to Captain Talbot and the lord lieutenant on Monday, September 4, the same day on which the striking policemen returned to duty. On September 7, all except 17 of the dismissed men were reinstated in the force, with no additional punishment being imposed upon them. They were taken back as "they could not be replaced for years; they were trained, and they had local knowledge of every blind alley and every wide-awake blackguard within the Circular Road." The other 17 policemen had been leaders of the agitation, or had taken part in it and had "previous bad character." (248)

Chief Commissioner Talbot did not long outlast the dismissed men, as he was replaced in the following year by David Harrel, an ex-R.I.C. officer. The change in command was accompanied by a less harsh disciplinary system. Dismissal rates from the mid-1880s were certainly lower than they were in the 1870s, although they still remained a little higher than those in the R.I.C. (See appendices xvii and xxi). Disciplinary records show that Harrel and his successors, J.J. Jones (1893-1900) and Sir John Ross of Bladensburg (1900-1914), often took a lenient view of infractions of the

regulations. For example, in November 1883 a Dalkey constable was only fined 1 for assaulting Constable 150F by striking him in the face, kicking him on the legs and threatening to stab him with a knife, and for assaulting Constable 43F.(249) On May 2, 1893, a Kingstown constable was fined ten shillings for "Abusing his rest and assaulting another cons[able]." He was also removed to another station, and warned that if he was again brought up on a charge he would be forced to resign from the force. Nevertheless, he committed another 13 offences during his career, including six of drunkenness and one of sleeping while on duty, and still collected his pension in February 1921.(250)

Policemen who fell into debt, and thus were liable to dismissal, were frequently retained in the force. In June 1887 a detective was merely warned as to his future conduct and removed from the G division for borrowing money from a foreman pawnbroker, and for not visiting pawn offices for several days, although certifying that he had.(251) In January 1893 a Kingstown constable who induced a publican to become security for borrowing a loan from a loan office, which he did not repay, was only removed from his position as pay clerk and transferred to the C division. Over three years earlier he had been cautioned for non-payment of rent.(252) A Kill-O-Grange constable was merely reprimanded in May 1898 for borrowing 1 from an "irregular" spirit grocer and beer dealer.(253) An unmarried constable received a similar punishment for

borrowing over 8 from two traders in 1901 and 1903.(254) A Store Street sergeant was "severely reprimanded" in December 1907 for being over 3 in debt to John Curtin, a spirit grocer on the North Strand road, and for allowing his wife to incur debts with the same trader. The sergeant was also guilty of "causing annoyance" to Curtin within the previous two years by "standing repeatedly in front of his house.....looking into his shop laughing in a leering manner and thereby drawing the attention of the public to his premises to the detriment of his business."(255)

Drunken D.M.P. men were also treated with a surprising amount of indulgence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to an extent which suggests that the prescribed regulations against drinking were scarcely worth the paper upon which they were printed. One policeman chalked up 14 cases of intoxication, or of being caught emerging from public houses, between May 1877 and October 1897. On one of these occasions, while stationed at Green Street in May 1896, he accepted a gift of a bottle of whiskey from two men charged with larceny, "at the same time saying there would be no more about the cases." He was fined ten shillings and "finally warned." However, on October 15, 1897, he was found drunk on duty, and despite his final warning was only fined 1 and suspended from duty for five days. He avoided the ultimate penalty because he produced a letter from the curate of Aughrim Street church which testified that he had taken the

pledge of total abstinence from alcohol for life.(256)

His was not the only instance of a D.M.P. man given to drink who avoided dismissal by taking the total abstinence pledge. Often the benefits from taking the pledge were short-lived. A constable who committed his seventh drunkenness offence in October 1893 was fined ten shillings, and warned by the chief commissioner that if again found drunk he would be discharged. However, by May 1896 he had twice been caught coming out of public houses, and once was found drunk when gaoler at Clarendon Street station, on which occasion he was fined 1 and again "finally warned." Within five months he was twice found intoxicated; on the second occasion he was fined 11 shillings and told that his let-off was "most certainly a last chance." Two months later he became inebriated again, and this time Chief Commissioner Jones told him to take an abstinence pledge for three years. One pledge, eight months, and two drunkenness offences later, he was finally removed from the force.(257) Another constable received his first warning for dismissal on his third drink offence, in January 1897. Between then and March 1898 he was drunk on six more occasions and was given an additional three "final" warnings! On the last of these he produced a pledge of total abstinence for life, taken before Fr Kelly of Dalkey, yet 11 months later he was again intoxicated on duty. This time he was fined 1 and again "finally" warned; however, when he became drunk on duty at Kingstown in October 1902, he was only fined 1. He

survived 11 punishments for drink, including five final warnings, and still received his pension in November 1902.(258)

Another rather fortunate constable, whose fifth case of intoxication occurred in Donnybrook on September 6, 1914, was fined a week's pay and warned for dismissal. When he became drunk on duty three days later the chief commissioner did not dismiss him, as "it was evident that he had not entirely recovered from his drinking fit of the 6th," and thus should not have been sent out on duty. This time he was reminded of his previous warning and transferred to the F division. On September 22, 1914, he produced a total abstinence pledge; he kept it until January 5, 1917, on which date he appeared at Kingstown barracks with a "disfigured" face and had "the appearance of being recently tippling." He was only fined two shillings and sixpence. In June 1918, after another drink offence, he was fined 1 and again received a final warning. He managed to remain in the force until he secured his pension.(259) A constable stationed at Green Street in July 1895 drank so much that he brought on delirium tremens, and had to be placed under police restraint in the Meath Hospital for 17 days. Surprisingly, he was only fined 1, given a final warning and told to take the abstinence pledge. However, when he got drunk three years later he was only fined seven shillings and sixpence; in January 1899 he was again intoxicated on duty, was fined 1, and again finally warned.

Nevertheless, when he left his beat in Summerhill on March 2, 1902, and was found unfit for duty from the effects of liquor, he was only fined ten shillings, which penalty was increased by five shillings when he was found drunk in his station in October 1902. He, too, retired from the D.M.P. on pension.(260) Not all pledge-takers, however, proved as fortunate as the last two constables.

A Bessborough constable was fined 25 shillings in March 1894 for his fifth drink offence, told that he was on his last chance, and ordered to take the pledge. He was dismissed on his next drink infraction on New Year's Eve, 1894.(261) In December 1893, a constable who was drunk on duty outside the Mansion House, his second case of intoxication, was fined 1. He took the pledge, and was warned by Chief Commissioner Jones that he would be dismissed if he got drunk again. However, when he was on duty at the Viceroy's St Patrick's Day ball at Dublin Castle he was found "discharging his stomach - from the effects of liquor - in the guests' private water closet." He was only fined 1 and sent to "a distant post," Dalkey, which David Neligan described as "the Siberia of the D.M.P.," the posting for troublesome policemen. In September 1895 he was fined 1 for intoxication and again given a last chance, only to be dismissed from the force just over a year later.(262)

When a Lad Lane constable was found drunk for the fifth time in March 1894 he was fined 15 shillings, given a final warning and told to take the pledge. However, drink offences

in September 1896, and January and October 1897, were met with fines of from seven shillings and sixpence to ten shillings, and on each occasion he was given another "final" warning. He was eventually dismissed in November 1897 for being drunk at his home and unfit for duty, for arguing with his wife in the street and calling her a "beggar's bastard" several times, for banging the door of his house and using "improper language" to his inspector when he arrived on the scene. Apparently the final straw was that "with this unseemly conduct going on many persons in the street had their heads out of the window[s] listening."(263) A constable stationed at Newmarket in September 1896 was fined only 1 for his fourth drink-related offence - being found off his beat in a spirit grocer's shop - probably because he took the abstinence pledge for five years. The following May, his pledge notwithstanding, he was found drunk on duty, was fined 1, and given a final warning. His downfall came in November 1897, when he was found intoxicated "and surrounded by a large crowd" in Meath Street. The constable was "permitted to resign," which was a mild form of dismissal.(264)

Other policemen were several times drunk but still remained in the D.M.P. long enough to collect a pension, although they took no pledge of total abstinence from alcohol. One man was punished eight times for drunkenness, receiving a "final" warning on the fifth occasion, but was not dismissed for his subsequent cases of intoxication.(265) Another

constable with a checkered record was fined 1 and given a final warning when he was found drunk off duty in a "night house" on February 11, 1897. He had been drunk on duty four times before this offence. On his sixth drink offence, he was inebriated while on plain-clothes duty and armed with a revolver while escorting a load of gunpowder from Crumlin to Mary Street, in January 1899. On that occasion he was merely fined 1 and again "finally" warned. Nevertheless, he was again drunk in November 1901, but was punished with a fine of 1 only. He collected his pension in January 1902.(266)

Another policeman received three consecutive "final" warnings for being drunk on parade in November 1897, November 1898 and September 1900 - his fourth, fifth, and sixth intoxication cases - but was still not dismissed for being drunk on duty in December 1901 and February 1903. He received an "indifferent" character on his record sheet from Chief Commissioner Ross on his retirement, yet he still received his pension from the Treasury.(267)

Another constable who received two consecutive "final" warnings in December 1899 and October 1900 for drunkenness, his fourth and fifth infractions of the drink regulations, nevertheless received no punishment severer than a 1 fine for his sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth cases of intoxication on duty. He also remained in the force until he was pensioned.(268)

The preceding examples, taken from the career records of several policemen in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, illustrate the point that the D.M.P. regulations were enforced with a great deal of flexibility. They certainly suggest a different approach to discipline than that in vogue in the late 1870s and early 1880s, when policemen with from 16 to 18 years' service were sometimes dismissed for only their second case of drunkenness.(269) D.M.P. men in the later years of our period could expect a more lenient attitude from their officers, especially in drink cases. In a letter entitled "Beer and the Bobby," a correspondent to the Irish Worker appealed in October 1911, "There is a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals; why not have one for the protection of the people from drunken policemen?"(270) The implication that many Dublin policemen were inclined to drink, in spite of regulations, was backed up by the claim of Constable Michael Davis in 1914, that tobacco and a daily pint of porter were "as necessary to the policeman as an article of food or drink."(271) Indeed, it was not unknown for D.M.P. men to consume more than porter daily, and still remain in the force. David Neligan records the example of Sergeant Cobbe of the A division, who kept "a diet of whiskey taken neat." During the influenza epidemic of 1918, Sergeant Cobbe escaped without a single day's sickness, probably, according to Neligan, because "the germs were asphyxiated by the fumes."(272)

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER VII

¹ See for example Henry Robert Addison, Recollections of an Irish Police Magistrate and Other Reminiscences of the South of Ireland (London: Ward, Lock and Tyler, 1864), pp vii, 79n, 304.

² Lord de Ros, "Note upon the constabulary force" (Feb.1857) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7617); Memorandum of Thomas Larcom on the Irish Constabulary (July 31, 1857) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7618); Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p.20; Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., preface; Richard Hawkins, "Irish Policing in an Imperial Context, 1850-1922," paper read to the Irish Historical Society at University College Dublin, October 10, 1989.

³ 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 30,74; Lord Eliot to Inspector-general McGregor (Sept.4,1844) (British Museum: Add Ms 40480); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.26. The rule against serving in one's native county was preceded by a regulation introduced in the 1820s by Richard Willcocks, inspector-general of constabulary in Munster, which forbade constables to serve in their native barony: Michael Beames, Peasants and Power: the Whiteboy Movements and Their Control in Pre-Famine Ireland (New York: St Martin's Press,1983), p.160.

⁴ United Ireland (June 24,1882).

⁵ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p.24. When the constabulary authorities ordered the transfer of a man familiar with a particular area, they frequently received letters of protest from magistrates in the district: Lord Eliot to Inspector-general McGregor (Sept.4,1844) (British Museum: Add Ms 40480); Extract from report of Inspector-general Brownrigg for the year 1859 (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7618).

⁶ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, pp 23,29. The inspection book for Stewartstown station, 1840-1885, shows that the constable in charge or the entire party was often criticized for poor knowledge of drill: entries for (Sept.21, 1840) (Aug.25,1842) (Nov.17,1842) (Sept.3,1845) (Feb.7,1865) (Apr. 4,1869) (Jan.1,1870) (Apr.22,1875) (Oct.12,1877) (Oct.10,1878) (Sept.16,1880) (Dec.13,1880) (P.R.O.N.I: D.804/2; D.548/19).

⁷ Brownrigg, Examination of Allegations, p.24; Curtis, History of R.I.C., p.120.

⁸ Freeman's Journal (Apr.12,1855); McKee, "Royal Constabulary," pp 8-9; R.J.Sinclair and F.J.M.Scully, Arresting Memories: Captured Moments in Constabulary Life (Coleraine: R.U.C. Diamond Jubilee Committee,1982), plate 7.

⁹ Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/9-13); Belfast Newsletter (July 27,1860); Times (Aug.8, 13,1860); G.F.H.Berkeley, The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860 (Dublin and Cork: Talbot Press,1929), pp 35, 61, 67,131,162.

¹⁰ 1901 R.I.C. Commission -Evidence, p.65.

¹¹ Ibid, p.106.

¹² Crane, Memories of R.M., p.35.

¹³ Shea, Sound of Drums, pp 9-10.

¹⁴ Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.32 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).

¹⁵ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.189. In an attempt to improve their marksmanship he required his men to fire 100 practice shots annually: ibid, p.180.

¹⁶ Photocopy of Colonial Office correspondence concerning the defence of Ireland, 1914-16 (CO 904/174/2, part 1)(N.L.I: MS 21525).

¹⁷ Constabulary circular (May 5,1883)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); Ridgeway to Arthur Balfour (June 25,1890)(British Museum: Add Ms 49811).

¹⁸ Constabulary circular (July 24,1890)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 2522 r 3)).

¹⁹ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.146.

²⁰ R.I.C: Nominal returns arranged by counties, 1911 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/56 - returns for Clare, Wicklow, and Tyrone).

²¹ Constabulary Gazette (Jan.1,1910)(July 7,1913).

²² Sub-inspector James Battersby, Cavan, to Chief Constable Dickson (Jan.13,1838)(P.R.O.N.I: D.2526/1).

- ²³ Inspector-general Brownrigg to the Irish attorney-general and solicitor-general (Oct.26,1859) (S.P.O: C.C.Sol. Papers 1859/116).
- ²⁴ Ibid; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.25.
- ²⁵ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.50; Constabulary circular (May 27,1841) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.3.
- ²⁶ "Constabulary of Ireland. Return of men rewarded, dismissed, disrated or fined, 1848-72" (Dublin: Garda Siochana Museum). This is a bound volume of disciplinary and reward cases in the constabulary. Despite that dates on the title, the returns are very scattered and cover only part of the period indicated. Hereafter cited as "Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72."
- ²⁷ Ibid; Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Sept. 1845 (P.R.O.N.I: D.804/5/D).
- ²⁸ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).
- ²⁹ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 275).
- ³⁰ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).
- ³¹ Mee, Memoirs, p.32.
- ³² 1837 Constabulary Rules, pp 47-48; Report of Inspector-general McGregor on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec.10,1847) (S.P.O: O.P.M.A. 145/8); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 3, 181-83; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.60.
- ³³ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, July - Sept. 1855 (P.R.O. (Dublin): 1/492); Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Dec. 1857 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 280).
- ³⁴ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 275).
- ³⁵ Constabulary circular (May 15,1847) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/112).
- ³⁶ King's County Chronicle (Aug.13,20,1856); Lord Rosse to Lord Naas (June 28,1858) and Inspector-general McGregor to Lord Naas (July 8,1858) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11024(31)).

- ³⁷ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 104,106,109-10. Resident magistrates also participated at first in courts of enquiry, but this was soon abandoned.
- ³⁸ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Belfast Newsletter (Dec.19,1853).
- ³⁹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.215; 1888 Belfast Police Manual, p.8.
- ⁴⁰ Constabulary circular (May 9,1883)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).
- ⁴¹ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.252.
- ⁴² 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.74.
- ⁴³ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 8-9, 74; Freeman's Journal (May 5,1880)(Aug.19,1880); 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 180-81; Constabulary circular (May 9,1883)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r3)). In June 1887, in recognition of the queen's jubilee, the unfavourable records of all the officers and men were removed: Constabulary circular (June 29,1887)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).
- ⁴⁴ Constabulary circular (Feb.25,1839)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).
- ⁴⁵ Freeman's Journal (Jan.2, 1840).
- ⁴⁶ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 275).
- ⁴⁷ Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Dec. 1857 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 280); Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Sept. 1845 (P.R.O.N.I: D.804/5/D).
- ⁴⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.4.
- ⁴⁹ R.I.C. general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/24, p.23).
- ⁵⁰ 1854 Illicit Distillation Report, p.145; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.8.
- ⁵¹ Broecker, Rural Disorder, p.156; Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 301, 352. The 1836 figures probably refer to the pre-reform as well as the reformed constabulary.
- ⁵² 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p.41.
- ⁵³ Georges-Denis Zimmermann, Irish Political Street

Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900 (Geneva: Imprimerie La Sirene, 1966), p.215.

⁵⁴ Nation (Dec.13,1845).

⁵⁵ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Brophy, Tales of R.I.C., pp 167-68. Although, technically speaking, the term "sergeant" was an anachronism until 1883, policemen of constable rank were often described as sergeants before that year: see Sub-inspector Thompson, Mullingar, to Inspector-general Shaw-Kennedy (Mar.11,1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/25/18); Memorial of ex-constabulary member Henry Close (undated, 1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/48); Freeman's Journal (Apr.17,1841) (June 23,1843) (July 28,1843) (Aug.3,1843) (Oct.5,28,1843) (Mar.9,1857) (May 26,1880) (May 21, 1881); Nation (Jan.17,1846); Belfast Newsletter (Aug.4,1866); Hawkins (ed), Arnold-Forster's Journal, p.166n.

⁶⁰ Mee, Memoirs, pp 26-27. Station inspection books were supposed to be destroyed four years after they were completed. However, those for Stewartstown from May 1840 to August 1885, Timoooney from August 1893 to March 1900, Dromore from January 1903 to January 1913, and Killylea from August 1910 to August 1921 have survived. These make clear the considerable amount of freedom from inspection enjoyed by the men at Christmas time. In 1857, 1860 and 1864 the Stewartstown men were visited three, five and two days respectively before Christmas day, but in every other year they were left alone for from six to 26 days beforehand. In 1856 and 1862 they were inspected a mere two days after Christmas day, but they usually had from 17 to 36 days to themselves afterwards. The grace period in Timoooney was from four to 18 days before Christmas and from five to 31 days after. The only exception was in 1899, when an officer made a night inspection on St Stephen's day. The free period in Killylea was from 15 to 48 days before and 13 to 28 days after Christmas day, while in Dromore it was from three to 23 days before and from four to 34 days afterwards.

⁶¹ Hansard, 3rd series, vol. cxlvii (July 27,1857), cols 415-16.

⁶² Gregory, House of Gregory, pp 187-88. Garrow Green also hints strongly that poteen finds could be "tapped" by the police: In the R.I.C., pp 92-93.

⁶³ Frank Roney, Frank Roney - Irish Rebel and California Labor Leader : an Autobiography (ed. Ira B. Cross) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp 166-67.

⁶⁴ Gallagher, My Story, p.158.

⁶⁵ McCarron, Life in Donegal, p.94.

⁶⁶ C.H.D.Howard (ed), "Select Documents XXVI. 'The Man on a Tricycle:' W.H.Duignan and Ireland, 1881-5'" in Irish Historical Studies, vol. xiv, no. 55 (Mar.1965), p.254.

⁶⁷ Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., pp 217,228, 240-41 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp 248,251.

⁶⁹ Andrew Reed, The Policeman's Manual (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1891, 4th ed), p.vii. R.I.C. men were told in the 1880s that men who ate peppermint created an unfavourable impression on magistrates and officers, as it was assumed that it was consumed to take the smell of drink from their breath: 1883 R.I.C. Manual, p.4.

⁷⁰ Constabulary circular (Apr.23,1892) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)). In 1871 a Cappoquin sub-constable who resigned from the R.I.C. to avoid dismissal for being drunk on census duty, used as his excuse for being intoxicated that he had taken three glasses of grog to keep up his strength. Inspector-general Wood stated that men who were found drunk in similar circumstances often resigned to avoid dismissal or paying a fine: Memorial of former Sub-constable Roche, and Inspector-general Wood to Lord Lieutenant Spencer (June 13,1871) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1871/11376).

⁷¹ O Faolain, Vive Moi!, p.34.

⁷² Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.75 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).

⁷³ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.71.

⁷⁴ Senior, Journals, ii, p.24.

⁷⁵ Lowe, "Lancashire Constabulary," p.56. Nearly one third of the London Metropolitan Police were dismissed during its first 30 years. Down to 1874 between one quarter and one third of the members of the English county constabularies were also dismissed : Hart, "Police," pp 200-201.

⁷⁶ Hurlbert, Ireland Under Coercion, p.222.

⁷⁷ Royal Irish Constabulary List (Jan.1,1882), p.24.

⁷⁸ Proceedings of the investigation held into Chief Constable Bracken's conduct (Dec.10,1836); Chief Constable J.H.Bracken to Magistrate Caesar Sutton (Aug.4,1836); Magistrate Sutton to Inspector-general Shaw-Kennedy (Nov.12, 1836) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/102/10).

⁷⁹ Constabulary circular (Oct.10,1875) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/115).

⁸⁰ Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.251 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

⁸¹ Constabulary circular (Dec.1,1858) (N.L.I: Larcom Papers, MS 7620); Daily Express (Dec.13,1858).

⁸² Constabulary circular (June 22,1865) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114). In 1881 the D.M.P. station houses were connected by telegraph. According to David Neligan, whenever the chief superintendent left his office on surprise visits to stations, the policemen manning the exchange warned their colleagues of his intentions: "On receipt of this danger-signal all ranks jumped into life and bustle. When he arrived everything was shipshape and everybody on the job.....It was really very comical. To the day he left he never saw through it:" Neligan, Spy, p.39.

⁸³ Constabulary circular (Dec.30,1867) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114).

⁸⁴ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 141-42.

⁸⁵ Mee, Memoirs, pp 19-21.

⁸⁶ Case of Sub-constable James Lord of Graigue (Jan.1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/146/6).

⁸⁷ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.71. For some examples see (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/146/4,7,13,15,18,21-26,28).

⁸⁸ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1853, July -Dec. 1857, Jan.-Mar. 1860 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, nos 279-281); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Mar.-May 1855 (P.R.O.(Dublin): 1/492).

⁸⁹ Freeman's Journal (May 26,1882).

⁹⁰ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1850, July-Dec. 1857, Jan.-Mar. 1860 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS

7376, nos 278, 280-281).

⁹¹ Petition of Emily Boardman (Nov.16,1866), and Inspector-general Wood to Chief Secretary Lord Naas (Nov. 21, 1866)(N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11143(26)).

⁹² Brophy, Sketches of R.I.C., p.67.

⁹³ Ibid, pp 67-69.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.64.

⁹⁵ KIng's County Chronicle (Aug.13,1856).

⁹⁶ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 37-38,41.

⁹⁷ Constabulary circular (May 18,1868)(P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114).

⁹⁸ Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., pp 211,219 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264). Sub-inspector Martin wrote the following interesting entry in the Stewartstown inspection book on August 5, 1881: "S[ub]-c[onstable] McPhilips should not have gone into the barrack when he saw me coming. If he does so again he will probably regret it." (P.R.O.N.I: D.548/19).

⁹⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.298.

¹⁰⁰ Abye Curran, Reminiscences, pp 69-70.

¹⁰¹ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., pp 116-17, 162. John Croker, who served as a sub-inspector for 30 years, was reduced in May 1867, without a court of enquiry, because the inspector-general erroneously believed that he held three acres of land more than the amount allowed by regulations. When he protested, the inspector-general deemed that he had used disrespectful language towards him and dismissed Croker from the force. Croker also claimed that when he censured Inspector-general Brownrigg's son for deserting his post for fear of catching a contagious disease from his men, the inspector-general began a campaign of petty harassment against him: Croker, Croker Inquiry, passim. Sub-inspector M.C. Elrington resigned from the R.I.C. in protest at his reduction in the seniority list for insolent correspondence with the deputy inspector-general. He claimed that "a constabulary officer is wholly without remedy for the infliction of any acts of tyranny and injustice, at the hands of the head of the department." He hoped that the day would come when an R.I.C. officer would be "allowed to exercise the privilege enjoyed by every other subject of remonstrating against injustice, and successfully resisting oppression:" M.C.Elrington, A

Constabulary Officer's Reasons for Resigning his Appointment After Nineteen Years' Service (Dublin: A.Murray,1872). In September 1901 District Inspector W.J.Byrne of Mitchelstown was tried by a court of enquiry. Byrne stated that his county inspector ordered him to be transferred from Skibbereen after he had been there for three years, but that his three married predecessors had served there for from eight to nine years before being moved. Byrne alleged to the inspector-general that the only reason for his 100-mile transfer was that "friction has arisen between myself and my county inspector." He was dismissed from the force for insubordination: Freeman's Journal (Sept.10,1901)(Oct.1,1901).

¹⁰² Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June 1841 (P.R.O.N.I: D.804/5/A).

¹⁰³ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Sept. 1855 (P.R.O.(Dublin): 1/492).

¹⁰⁶ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Mar.-June 1860 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 282).

¹⁰⁷ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

¹⁰⁸ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.21; 1888 R.I.C. Manual, p.75.

¹⁰⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 70,86,159,165,330,361,447.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.74. It is no coincidence that in 1883 the inspector-general allowed permission for policemen to fish, or to drink in public houses, in their off-duty hours: Constabulary circular (May 9,1883)(N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹¹¹ Rathmines News (Oct.9,1897).

¹¹² Mee, Memoirs, pp 16-17,21-22. According to the Kesh sergeant, the "unwritten law" in the R.I.C. was "keep sober and shaved and keep the diary and patrol-book up to date and you can't be sacked." Ibid, p.27.

¹¹³ Ibid, pp 31,36-37.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Clarke Luby's reminiscences of Fenianism, p.174 (N.L.I: MS 331).

¹¹⁵ Constable Peter Hamill and Sub-constable Samuel Donaldson to Chief Constable Dickson (Dec.19,1838) (P.R.O.N.I: D.2526/1). Hamill's letter has been punctuated to make it more readable. Some wives did take a rather close interest in police literature. In July 1843, while the entire Kilrea station party were on duty at a fair, a man called by the barracks and asked the "sergeant's" wife for permission to light his pipe inside. The wife, recognizing the smoker from his description in the Hue and Cry as a man wanted by the police for a murder committed in March, managed to trick him into the lock-up, and he ended up a prisoner: Freeman's Journal (July 11,1843).

¹¹⁶ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.23.

¹¹⁷ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Mar.-June 1842, Oct.-Dec. 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, nos 275,276).

¹¹⁸ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1850 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 278).

¹¹⁹ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1853, July-Dec. 1857 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, nos 279, 280).

¹²⁰ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

¹²¹ 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 19,32-33,98; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 25,90. Also letter from "One of the aggrieved" in Freeman's Journal (May 5,1880).

¹²² Letter from "A Leinster sub" in Freeman's Journal (Mar.12,1881).

¹²³ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 147,450.

¹²⁴ Freeman's Journal (June 11,1888). Constable Simpson was described by his colleagues as being "of a hearty and generous disposition, but madly excitable when in liquor." His temper was undoubtedly worsened by having to reside in Westmeath away from his Co. Cavan wife.

¹²⁵ Reed, Policeman's Manual (1891), p.xv.

¹²⁶ Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, pp 36-37 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).

¹²⁷ Mee, Memoirs, pp 33-34.

- 128 1872 R.I.C. Commission, p.137.
- 129 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 4-5.
- 130 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.50; Crane, Memories of R.M., p.78; Mee, Memoirs, p.25.
- 131 Constabulary circular (Sept.22,1869) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114).
- 132 1888 Belfast Police Manual, p.11; Constabulary circular (Mar.31,1891) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); R.I.C. Mag. (May 1913), p.222.
- 133 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.192.
- 134 Constabulary circular (May 24,1888) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).
- 135 Inspection book of Stewartstown R.I.C. station, 1862-1885: series of entries from Feb. 17,1871 (P.R.O.N.I:D.548/19); Inspection book of Timoney R.I.C. station, 1893-1900: entries for (Aug.17,1893) (Sept.13,1893) (Oct.21,1893) (May 13, 1986) (MS in possession of Dr David Fitzpatrick, T.C.D); Inspection book of Dromore R.I.C. station, 1903-1913: series of entries from Sept. 7, 1904, onwards (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7369).
- 136 Mee, Memoirs, pp 32, 34.
- 137 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 139, 178.
- 138 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.127; 1837 application for permission to marry from Sub-constable Andrew Moore, Swanlinbar constabulary district (P.R.O.N.I: D.2526/1).
- 139 Constabulary circular (Dec.20,1838) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).
- 140 1839 Crime and Outrage Committee, p.123.
- 141 Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 275).
- 142 Constabulary circular (Apr.11,1842) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).
- 143 See the manuscript section of the select bibliography below for the full list of constabulary disciplinary cases consulted. On Sept. 22, 1853, Constable James Orr of Meath was disgrated for having been married by a "degraded priest:" see

Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum). Sub-constable Thomas Cain of Kerry resigned in September 1861 when he was transferred following his application to marry "a female of doubtful character:" Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/8, p.127).

¹⁴⁴ Inspector-general McGregor to Chief Secretary Naas (Oct.25,1852) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11018(21)).

¹⁴⁵ Memorial of Mrs Anne Browne, Bushmills, to Lord Naas, and H.B.Mackay to Lord Naas (Oct.22,1852), *ibid*; Constabulary circular (Nov.18,1852) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/112). The rule prohibiting "criminal intercourse" with one's wife before marriage was reiterated in 1876: Constabulary circular (Oct. 17,1876) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/115).

¹⁴⁶ Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Sept. 1855 (P.R.O. (Dublin): 1/492).

¹⁴⁷ (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1858/13788).

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Thomas Plunket, Special Report of a Government Investigation Into the Conduct of the Constabulary at Tuam, Upon Charges Preferred by the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Tuam (Dublin: George Drought,1859), p.32.

¹⁴⁹ Details of Holden's trial are in Belfast Newsletter (July 26-28, 1860).

¹⁵⁰ Freeman's Journal (Dec.24,1898).

¹⁵¹ Constabulary circular (Nov.11,1844) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

¹⁵² Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1850 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 278).

¹⁵³ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁴ Constabulary disciplinary cases, July-Dec. 1857 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 280).

¹⁵⁵ Freeman's Journal (Jan.19,1849) (June 19,1854) (Dec. 16, 1873). In August 1849 a Rathcormac sub-constable eloped with the wife of the owner of a "very extensive grocery, bakery, and ironmongery establishment" in the village: Freeman's Journal (Aug.28,1849).

¹⁵⁶ Constabulary circulars (Dec.9,1840) (May 23,1844) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

¹⁵⁷ Constabulary circular (Nov.18,1852) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/112).

¹⁵⁸ Constabulary circular (Apr.12,1871) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.192; letter from "An Ulster sub-constable" in Freeman's Journal (Dec.26,1877).

¹⁵⁹ Return of the Number of Soldiers Quartered in the United Kingdom; Giving Comparative Numbers of Married and Single Men; Number of Days' Absence From Duty During a Period of One Year, Distinguishing the Married and Single Men, and Stating Respectively the Percentage of Those Absent From Duty on Account of Ordinary or Particular Illness: and, Similar Return in All Respects of the Police Force of the United Kingdom H.C. 1864 (409) xxv 599. Hereafter cited as 1864 Return of Married Policemen in U.K.

¹⁶⁰ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 321,324,468,470.

¹⁶¹ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.218.

¹⁶² Data from (Royal) Irish Constabulary general register, 1851,1861,1871,1881,1891 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/8, 14-15,19-20,24-45,28-29).

¹⁶³ Hansard, 4th series, vol.cxxxix (Aug.8,1904), c.1359.

¹⁶⁴ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.14. An interesting cause celebre involving a policeman and his sweetheart occurred at the turn of the century. In July 1903 Fr O'Hara of Kiltimagh complained to the local district inspector of the "immoral behaviour" of Constable Anderson, a Protestant R.I.C. man, with a Catholic woman, Bridget Sweeney, in public. It appears that nothing more occurred than the policeman's "caressing" the young lady - hardly scandalous conduct, when one considers that they were engaged to be married. At a court of enquiry into Fr O'Hara's allegations in September 1903, a local man named Carr claimed to have seen the courting couple in "an immoral position" in a wood, but the inspector-general did not believe his evidence, and took no action against Constable Anderson. However, after the investigation the Mayo county inspector received a detailed statement from Carr about Anderson's alleged behaviour, prompting the inspector-general to hold another court of enquiry, which recommended the constable's dismissal from the force.

Constable Anderson plausibly claimed that the entire affair was trumped up against him, partly because the Carrs had a grudge against the Sweeneys, and partly because he was rather unpopular in the area "through enforcing the licensing law rather strictly." (Fr O'Hara's involvement in the case can be attributed to his anxiety to stamp out impropriety among

courting couples, as well as hostility towards a "mixed" marriage). However, Carr's word was believed and the constable was dismissed. Miss Sweeney submitted herself to an examination by two Dublin doctors who certified that she was still a virgin, thus belying Carr's evidence. Chief Secretary Wyndham interceded with a reluctant inspector-general to have Anderson re-instated in the force, and he and his sweetheart subsequently married. The episode provides a fascinating insight into Irish society at the turn of the century. Because of the role of a Catholic clergyman, it was easy for Unionist politicians to characterize the petty affair as typical of the power which priests had on the Irish administration (the under-secretary for Ireland, Anthony McDonnell, was a Catholic, and it was falsely alleged that Fr O'Hara had secured Anderson's dismissal through him), while Nationalist M.P.s such as Joseph Devlin claimed that the incident "involved the honour of the Irish Catholic name." The lengthy diatribes in the House of Commons on the issue largely reflected these two hugely exaggerated points of view: Hansard, 4th series, col. cxxxix (Aug.3,1904), cols 735-88.

¹⁶⁵ 1828 Report of Sir John Harvey on Leinster Constabulary, p.4.

¹⁶⁶ Letter from "An Ulster sub-constable" in Freeman's Journal (Dec.26,1877).

¹⁶⁷ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 305,321,331,355; Constabulary circular (Jan.23,1889) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.140.

¹⁶⁸ Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., pp 245-46 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

¹⁶⁹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.470.

¹⁷⁰ Sub-inspector Taylor to Chief Constable Irwin, Carndonagh (Jan.26,1835) (P.R.O.N.I: T.3711); 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.49; Constabulary circulars (Dec.22,1837) (July 26, 1902) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111,115); Journal of Coleraine constabulary barracks, Feb. 1837-Apr. 1839 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7637); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 50,61-62,142; Sinclair, Arresting Memories, glossary.

¹⁷¹ Constabulary circular (Oct.10,1842) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/111).

¹⁷² Report on the duties and recruiting of the Irish Constabulary (Dec.10,1847) (S.P.O: O.P.M.A. 145/8); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.63.

¹⁷³ Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (Ir 3522 r 3)); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.108. Fears of sexual immorality also undoubtedly influenced the regulation that the servant employed in a barrack for cooking and washing "must be either an elderly woman or a married one, so as to prevent any appearance of impropriety or grounds for scandal." In the 1880s it was directed that the barrack servants or policemen's wives should search female prisoners: 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.49; 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.67; 1888 R.I.C. Manual, p.82.

¹⁷⁴ Freeman's Journal (Nov.2, 1892); 1901 R.I.C. Commission- Evidence, p.62; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.28. Sergeant Rogan, his wife, and most of their children were murdered on November 1, 1892, by a deranged constable, who then committed suicide.

¹⁷⁵ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.28; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 114,133; Shea, Sound of Drums, p.10.

¹⁷⁶ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 64-65; 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.115; Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, p.54.

¹⁷⁷ Case of Constable Michael Russell, Rope Mills (Feb. 1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/25/10).

¹⁷⁸ 1872 R.I.C. Rules, pp 64-65. Sub-constable Patrick O'Connell of Limerick resigned in March 1866 because he was refused permission to sleep at home: Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/11, p.137).

¹⁷⁹ 1888 R.I.C. Manual, p.74.

¹⁸⁰ Constabulary circular (Feb.25, 1871) (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/114); 1872 R.I.C. Rules, p.182; Constabulary circular (Mar. 31, 1891) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)).

¹⁸¹ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.453; Constabulary circular (May 9, 1883) (N.L.I: R.I.C. circulars 1882-1900 (IR 3522 r 3)); R.I.C. Mag. (Aug.1912), p.325; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.192. Policemen's wives usually presented their husbands with a small dowry on their marriage. Wives in Belfast were described in 1882 as "dressmakers, schoolmistresses, shop assistants, and that class of girl. You cannot class those girls with labourers and mill-workers." In country areas they were "respectable country girls," such as schoolteachers, farmers' daughters, and small shopkeepers'

daughters. Evidence from the latter part of our period shows that R.I.C. men's wives often received presents of potatoes, butter and other provisions from their friends. In February 1898 Constable Chambers of Aughrim, Co. Wicklow, married a French heiress "of high family, and endowed with considerable wealth." She was rather untypical of policemen's wives: 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 204,255,316,323; Freeman's Journal (Feb.10,1898); 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 122,136,167; Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.24 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160). R.I.C. men occasionally married publicans and were content to resign from the force, or left it when they and their wives had plans for establishing businesses: (Royal) Irish Constabulary general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/10, pp 7, 62; 184/11, p.131; 184/13, p.37; 184/14, p.192; 184/15, pp 26, 101,139; 184/16, pp 148,168,185; 184/17, pp 4,56,79,171; 184/ 18, pp 72,107; 184/19, pp 16,67,74; 184/21, pp 35,55,76; 184/ 22, p.40; 184/27, p.14). Usually "respectable" or well-off people were reluctant to allow their daughters to marry policemen. Tom Barry's father, who was a constable in the R.I.C., fell in love with Margaret Donovan, the daughter of a "respectable businessman" in Liscarrol, Co. Cork. Her family were opposed to the relationship, feeling that Margaret could "do better" than marry a policeman. When Constable Barry was transferred to Kerry, Margaret eloped with him and married him, and the married couple were disowned by the bride's family. Interestingly, Constable Barry was not dismissed for having eloped with his sweetheart: 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.74; Meda Ryan, The Tom Barry Story (Dublin and Cork: Mercier Press,1982), p.12.

¹⁸² 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, pp 140-41, 157,192; O Faolain, Vive Moi!, pp 15,17,31,51-52. O Faolain's family slept in the attic of their house, thus leaving more space to let to lodgers.

¹⁸³ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1841 (Dublin: Alexander Thom,1842), p.45.

¹⁸⁴ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1844 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1845), p.49.

¹⁸⁵ See Chief Commissioner Browne to the under-secretary for Ireland (Feb.2,1857)(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753).

¹⁸⁶ Head, Fortnight, p.105. Later in the 1850s, men who were already married were considered ineligible for enrollment in the D.M.P.

¹⁸⁷ 1864 Return of Married Policemen in United Kingdom.

¹⁸⁸ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.8;1865 D.M.P.

Instruction Book, pp 2,15,107; 1870 D.M.P. Supernumeraries' Book, pp 2,15-16,19; 1872 D.M.P. Commission, p.5; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 27,194-95.

¹⁸⁹ Career record of man who joined the D.M.P. on Apr.6, 1883, and was pensioned Apr.24,1908 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Nov. 12, 1880 and died Dec.15, 1914.

¹⁹¹ Ibid: records of D.M.P. man who joined July 19, 1889, and resigned compulsorily Apr.22, 1899, and of man who joined Mar.16, 1883, and was pensioned May 4, 1901.

¹⁹² Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Feb.3,1893, and died Apr.9,1918.

¹⁹³ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.13,1877, and was pensioned Aug.21,1906.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Aug.22,1890, and was pensioned May 16,1913.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.4,1884, and was pensioned July 3,1914.

¹⁹⁶ Freeman's Journal (Oct.18,1854); 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.108; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.194; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 76, 122.

¹⁹⁷ 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence, pp 23-25; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.284; Irwin, Betrayal, p.8.

¹⁹⁸ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 39,185-86.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p.221.

²⁰⁰ 1901 D.M.P. Committee - Evidence, p. 20; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.371.

²⁰¹ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.39. The surviving D.M.P. personnel records supplied the information as to the 17 men marrying without permission, but still being retained in the force.

²⁰² Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Jan.25,1858) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10934 on 1858/11753, and also C.S.O.R.P. 1858/11753).

²⁰³ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police

for the Year 1842 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1843), p.39; Report of the Medical Officers of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1848, With Returns in Connexion Therewith (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1849), p.4.

²⁰⁴ Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.30, 1875, and was pensioned July 19, 1902 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).

²⁰⁵ Neligan, Spy, p.38.

²⁰⁶ Chief Commissioner Browne to Under-secretary Drummond (Aug.6, 1838) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1839/87/947).

²⁰⁷ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1844 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1845), p.45.

²⁰⁸ Report of the Medical Officers of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, for the Year 1848, With Returns in Connexion Therewith (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1849), p.15. See also table 9.

²⁰⁹ Chief Commissioners Browne and O'Ferrall to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec.14, 1857) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10932 on 1858/11753).

²¹⁰ Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec.30, 1857) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10934 on 1858/11753).

²¹¹ Freeman's Journal (Jan.29, 1840) (Feb.17, 1840).

²¹² Ibid (Feb.28, 1842).

²¹³ Ibid (Sept.23, 1843).

²¹⁴ Chief Commissioner Browne to Chief Secretary Herbert (Dec.30, 1857) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 10934 on 1858/11753).

²¹⁵ Freeman's Journal (Sept.7, 1858).

²¹⁶ Flint, Dublin Police System, p.20.

²¹⁷ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.122; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 24, 174, 189.

²¹⁸ Freeman's Journal (Mar.24, 1843).

²¹⁹ Blythe, "The D.M.P.," p.119.

²²⁰ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1855 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1856), p.52.

²²¹ Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1856 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1857), p.53.

²²² Return of Income etc of the D.M.P. 1856-58.

²²³ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 121-22.

²²⁴ Hawkins (ed), Arnold-Forster's Journal, p.259; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 140,182.

²²⁵ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 175,199. See also appendices xvii and xxi. The rather monotonous and highly regulated routine of barrack life probably contributed substantially to the D.M.P.'s drink problem in this period. As in the R.I.C., Dublin police barracks were rather bleak residences. Sergeants and acting sergeants were expected to remain aloof from constables and were forbidden to socialize with them, whether at tea parties or otherwise. Only articles of furniture, pictures, prints and statues which were approved of by the chief commissioner were allowed in barracks, and fiddlers and pipers were refused access to them for fear that they might disturb the sleep of the night-duty men. D.M.P. men were forbidden by Chief Commissioner Talbot to play cards as it had led to them gambling and quarrelling with each other, and to assaults and fighting in barracks. The London Metropolitan Police spent only slightly more than half the time practicing drill as the Dublin force, while the Liverpool police spent only a quarter as much time at drill practice. Dublin policemen had, by the early 1880s, only one day off each month, compared to the two days enjoyed by the London police and one free day every 20 days by the Liverpool police. It is perhaps understandable that many D.M.P. men indulged in an inordinate amount of drinking. Indeed, fine quality "XX" porter was sold in barrack canteens in the hope of weaning the men from the habit of attending public houses. According to the police surgeon, young recruits from the country, who had been "generally fed on farinaceous food and potatoes," found when they joined the D.M.P., that they had opportunities, "which they always avail themselves of," of drinking the strongest kind of porter, which they had never tasted before. The result was that "they feel a still greater want of stimulant when they commence to undertake the arduous duty of a constable on the streets." The men of Kilmainham barrack reported their messman for selling them "bad porter" instead of "XX," and Assistant Commissioner Connolly fined him £3, which was much higher than the amount usually levied for drunkenness: 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 29,108; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 25,27,40,286-87; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 24,29,174,186,198-99.

²²⁶ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.176.

- 227 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, pp 37, 40,46,58.
- 228 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 175,183.
- 229 Ibid, pp 175-76,184.
- 230 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.61; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 22,102,170.
- 231 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 97,112.
- 232 Ibid, pp 125-26,172-73.
- 233 Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Dec.5,1873, and was discharged on gratuity July 23,1885 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).
- 234 Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Feb.14,1879, and was pensioned Oct.18,1902; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.180.
- 235 Nott Bower, Fifty-two Years, p.87.
- 236 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.22.
- 237 Freeman's Journal (Mar.13,1882).
- 238 Earl Spencer to W.V.Harcourt (May 17,1882) in Peter Gordon (ed), The Red Earl: the Papers of the Fifth Earl Spencer 1835-1910 (Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society,1981, 2 vols), i, p.198.
- 239 Hansard, 3rd series, vol. cclxxiii (Aug.14,1882), c. 1677; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 29,50,57,92,104,115.
- 240 Freeman's Journal (Aug.23,1882).
- 241 The details of the D.M.P. strike, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the Freeman's Journal, United Ireland and Irish Times newspapers for the period Aug.23 to Sept.9, 1882.
- 242 Collection of D.M.P. reports on the strike in S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1882/37705.
- 243 Shea, Roundabout Recollections, ii, p.144.
- 244 William O'Brien, Recollections (New York: Macmillan, 1905), pp 492-95.
- 245 Shea, Roundabout Recollections, ii, p.130.

- ²⁴⁶ D.M.P. report (Sept.3,1882) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1882/37705).
- ²⁴⁷ Shea, Roundabout Recollections, ii, pp 132-33.
- ²⁴⁸ Ibid, p.144; Earl Spencer to Queen Victoria (Sept. 8, 1882) in Gordon (ed), Red Earl, i, pp 220-21.
- ²⁴⁹ Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.4,1879, and was pensioned June 17, 1906 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).
- ²⁵⁰ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Dec.13,1889, and was pensioned Feb.24,1921.
- ²⁵¹ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.4,1879, and was pensioned Mar.20,1903.
- ²⁵² Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined May 7, 1880, and was pensioned Dec.9, 1905.
- ²⁵³ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Feb. 9, 1877, and was pensioned June 12,1902.
- ²⁵⁴ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined May 2, 1877, and was pensioned Aug.6,1903.
- ²⁵⁵ Ibid: Record of D.M.P. man who joined Oct.5,1883, and was pensioned Dec.11,1908.
- ²⁵⁶ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Oct.18,1873, and was pensioned Oct.29,1898.
- ²⁵⁷ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Aug.21,1874, and was dismissed Aug.3,1897.
- ²⁵⁸ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined July 13, 1877, and was pensioned Nov.13,1902.
- ²⁵⁹ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Apr.29,1898, and was pensioned Sept.9,1918.
- ²⁶⁰ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined July 8, 1881, and was pensioned Jan.27,1904.
- ²⁶¹ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Jan.25,1884, and was dismissed Jan.5,1895.
- ²⁶² Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Dec.18,1885, and was dismissed Dec.29,1896; Neligan, Spy, p.54.
- ²⁶³ Career record of D.M.P. man who joined Mar.10,1882,

and was dismissed Nov.16,1897 (Garda Museum: D.M.P. personnel records).

²⁶⁴ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Sept.16,1887, and was directed to resign Nov.23,1897.

²⁶⁵ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Oct.17,1879 and was pensioned May 20,1906.

²⁶⁶ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined July 8,1881, and was pensioned Jan.24,1905.

²⁶⁷ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined Sept.26,1884, and was pensioned Apr.29,1903.

²⁶⁸ Ibid: record of D.M.P. man who joined June 7,1886, and was pensioned Feb.11,1910.

²⁶⁹ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.98.

²⁷⁰ Letter from "P.A.M." in Irish Worker (Oct.14,1911).

²⁷¹ 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.294. Such a view would have been shared by the men of the Birmingham police, who in 1875 defended their right to "a glass of ale" against the teetotal faction of their watch committee: Steadman, Policing the Victorian Community, p.108.

²⁷² Neligan, Spy, p.42.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSTABULARY AND THE PUBLIC

In any social history of the police the topic of their relationship with the public is clearly an important one. The extent to which they were accepted by the general populace had a crucial influence on their job, as R.D. Storch shows in two important articles on the introduction of police forces in northern England.(1) In Ireland, for decades after the 1920s, history was focussed narrowly on a one-sided and romanticized version of the "fight for Irish freedom." This highly politicized approach has had a profound influence on popular attitudes to the past. In the traditional version of history the police, and especially the R.I.C., are definitely on the side of the "baddies." They are usually portrayed as the "eyes and ears" of the British government, helping to foist an unwanted political system on the Irish people. In April 1919 Eamon de Valera stated in Dail Eireann that "Their history is a continuity of brutal treason against their own people."(2) P.S.O'Hegarty portrayed the constabulary as "a Janissary force" which "bullied, terrorized, and when ordered, murdered their own people without compunction for nearly a hundred

years," like "an overseer in a slave plantation."(3)

The Founding Founders of the modern Irish state interpreted Irish history as merely the unfolding, in various stages, of the drama of national independence, and they inevitably viewed the police in a hostile light. It is a sign of the influence of their thinking that if the police are remembered at all in the popular mind, they are remembered rather anachronistically for their "anti-national" activities, such as suppressing the Young Ireland rebellions, or for the protection they afforded at evictions during the Land War. Their beneficial role in the prosecution of crime has been overlooked, as indeed have their various unpopular activities, such as catching stray cows and prosecuting their owners: such aspects of Irish policing have been lost to history, as they played no part in the above-mentioned national drama. In this chapter I will explore the relationship between the police and the community, showing how inadequate the traditional view of the Irish police has been. Before 1914, people's attitudes to the forces of law and order were shaped by many factors besides politics.

While O'Hegarty's generalization about the police being the murderers of their own people is obviously simplistic, there is a kernel of reality to his assertion, at least to the extent that the Irish Constabulary was an armed force which on occasion clashed bloodily with the civilian population. However, it is rather an exaggeration to suggest that the

relations between police and people were normally characterized by confrontation, or that all homicides committed by the police were murders. The constabulary were ordered to act with "humanity, caution, and prudence" in conflict situations. They were never to use firearms except on the orders of a magistrate or superior officer or constable. However, when ordered to fire they were told to do so "with effect," as "Firing over the heads of mobs in an illegal pursuit must not be allowed, as a harmless fire, instead of intimidating, would give confidence to the daring and guilty." If it became necessary to use the sword bayonet, only the flat face of the blade was to be used.(4)

Of the 102 civilians killed in clashes with the police between 1831 and April 1846, only 32 were slain by the reformed Irish Constabulary. Undoubtedly the sharp decrease in civilian fatalities after the 1836 reforms was partly a result of the fact that the police were no longer used on tithe-collecting expeditions, thus reducing the instances of police-civilian conflict. Significantly, 12 of the people killed by the Irish Constabulary were slain in 1845, the year in which the Famine occurred. The pre-reform police killed more than twice as many people as they wounded, whereas the Irish Constabulary wounded over one and a half times as many people as they killed. In the same period 32 policemen were killed on duty, and only eight of these were members of the Irish Constabulary. Only one twentieth of the latter's

casualties in affrays were homicide victims, compared to over a quarter of the casualties of the earlier force. The casualty statistics certainly bear out the argument that public odium was less intense towards the reformed police, and that it in turn was less likely to inflict fatalities on the public than its predecessor had been.(5) It is perhaps a testimony to police restraint in cases of disturbance that only one member of the Irish Constabulary was convicted of murder or manslaughter from 1837 to 1853, in stark contrast with 14 soldiers and two Revenue Police officers.(6)

While the declining police and civilian fatalities suggest a less hostile relationship between people and constabulary and people after 1836, certain police duties were still considered unpopular by members of the public. The force's activity in curbing road nuisances - in other words, prosecuting the owners of animals found straying on the roads - was greatly disliked, as was its role in prosecuting owners of unlicensed dogs. Inspector-general Wood stated in 1871 that he considered road-nuisance duty "one of the very worst things that was ever imposed upon the force," as it "makes the people of the country very inimical to them." Thousands of people were prosecuted annually for these offences, and farmers who were fined for having a pig on the road were wont to get "riled" with the police and refuse to give them information on other matters. Pat Gallagher records how Donegal people in the latter part of our period never purchased dog licences,

but kept a watchful eye open for police patrols and took their dogs with them into the hills before the arrival of the constabulary. A constable, in an effort to court popularity, expressed his determination that he "would never catch a dog or find a still."(7)

The reference to the still is interesting, as the R.I.C.'s revenue duties were often viewed in an unfavourable light in areas where poteen-making was prevalent. A Galway resident magistrate wrote in February 1870 that

In this county, and in the adjoining county of Clare, with which I am acquainted, illicit whisky is extensively made. The constabulary are now charged with the detection of and prosecution for this offence, and they are entitled to portion of the fines inflicted. In the counties I have named and every other county where this whisky is made, their new office of what is called 'poteen Peelers' has dissociated them from the peasantry, and brought it [to] this, that they are now the very last persons in the country who could find out anything, good or bad. The people know that they are liable to penalties in money and goods, they know that the police get a portion of the penalty, they know and they feel that if a policeman becomes intimate in their homes or with their families... and in that way discover that whisky is made or possessed by themselves or any of their friends, their 'friend' will tell on them.....It is a matter of notoriety that in the olden time.....the most hated and shunned people in the country were the then 'poteen Peelers,' and the constabulary now fill their place. They are the last persons in the country with whom the people will act or indeed associate, and for that reason, with others, the detective efficiency of the constabulary has been utterly destroyed.(8)

As in England, when the police curbed or suppressed popular festivities they incurred a certain amount of public odium. An examination of the Coleraine constabulary station journal from early 1838 to early 1839 shows that the police of that town attended or kept order at ploughing matches,

prevented tar barrels being lit and shots being fired by boisterous wedding parties, and kept a close watch on a crowd which burned tar barrels in celebration of Queen Victoria's coronation. They dispersed a crowd who assembled for a challenge fight in a nearby bog, and on Christmas Day stopped people from playing "cannon" on the town commons, and turned three dancing parties out of public houses. In April 1839, they and other station parties combined to prevent cockfights some miles from Coleraine.(9)

In April 1838, the police surprised a large crowd who were holding a cockfight at the rear of Captain Street. Most of the assembly fled on their approach, but some remained "in a riotous disorderly state," proclaimed that they defied the magistracy and police, and several were arrested.(10) The constabulary remained active against prize fights, dog-fights and cockfights throughout the country, causing these outlets for popular amusement to be carried on surreptitiously, and undoubtedly causing some bad feeling towards the force.(11) The police were instrumental in some Ulster areas in suppressing the ancient custom of lighting bonfires and holding dancing parties on St John's Eve (June 23), which was certainly resented by the Ulster Catholics who observed the tradition.(12) Indeed, the police and magistrates set their faces against such a wide variety of popular amusements that they were partly responsible for the growth of Fenianism as a semi-secret social outlet from the late 1850s onwards.(13)

While the advent of the Gaelic Athletic Association later provided an acceptable form of popular recreation, pastimes such as road-bowls were still frowned upon by the authorities, and even after Partition road-bowlers or "bullet-throwers" in the north habitually kept a wary eye open for the approach of spoilsport R.U.C. men.(14) Depending on the inclination of individual policemen, schoolboys' games were also liable to be suppressed if they were considered unruly or obstructive, and if a policeman took a stern view towards street games he was apt to create an unfavourable impression upon members of the public. Indeed, the 1883 R.I.C. manual stated that "Great forbearance should be shown towards children who may be guilty of minor street offences. Seizing and confiscating a boy's kite, top or ball marks the pantomime policeman."(15) However, policemen in towns were often pressed into prosecuting boys for playing street games such as hurling. A Cork constable complained in May 1888 of how difficult it was to catch "fleet-footed" children who did not conduct themselves to the magistrates' liking. An indication of how unpopular policemen were with city children can be seen in the constable's remark that "the minute they see the police coming they run as fast as they can into houses and under beds and such places."(16)

The most common source of ill will towards policemen was as a result of their duties in enforcing the laws regulating drinking hours, and in arresting and prosecuting people for

drunkenness. Intoxication cases constituted the largest single item of business before the Petty Sessions. While the reaction towards being arrested or prosecuted for drunkenness obviously varied from person to person, it was inevitable that many people did not take kindly towards interference in one of the few outlets of enjoyment open to them. Most cases of assault on or resistance towards the Coleraine constabulary in the late 1830s involved drunken people. In May 1838, six Coleraine policemen were on duty at Garvagh fair, and while there a publican requested them to curb some unruly behaviour in his establishment. The police arrested one man, but while conveying him to the barracks they were stoned by a mob, who tried to rescue their prisoner. In June 1838 a drunken man, who was armed with a gun and a bayonet, was arrested for intoxication and abusing his wife. He violently resisted attempts to apprehend him, and the police managed only "with some difficulty" to arrest and disarm him.

Five of the station party were requested by Edward Campbell of Bridge Street to quell a "riot" in his public house in August 1838. Three men "who were stripped [and] in a drunken disorderly state' were eventually arrested, but not before one of the policemen was seriously assaulted. In the following month a disorderly crowd was turned out of Mrs Patterson's public house after legal drinking hours, and two people were arrested after they gave "a good deal of insulting language" to the police. In October 1838, all the police of

the town were needed to end a riot in Patterson's. A man named Beaumont was arrested after he assaulted a sub-constable. The crowd were strongly opposed to Beaumont's being taken prisoner, and according to Constable Byrns, "I was obliged to use threats and considerable exertion to keep back the mob." Mrs Patterson used "very insulting & provoking language and endeavoured to incite the mob to rescue Beaumont." The constable tried to reason with the crowd, stating that if they kept away the prisoner would not be "dragged or abused" by the constabulary, and that it was their civic obligation to encourage the man to go quietly with the police. According to Byrns, "My caution was treated with contemptuous sneers & hisses & some one of the mob then flung a stone which struck Geraghty, one of the police." In January 1839, a man who was arrested for being drunk and disorderly "made great resistance" when taken prisoner, assaulted Chief Constable Thornley, and tore Constable Byrns' coat before he was lodged in the bridewell.(17)

These examples, taken from one small town in the late 1830s, were repeated to varying degrees in the other towns and rural areas of Ireland throughout our period. Over-officious policemen in particular could cause resentment amongst drinkers: a Cork M.P., William Shaw, claimed in 1881 that "the moment an Irishman began to stagger a policeman took him up." (18) Police attentions were directed not merely against publicans' customers, but also towards the publicans

themselves. Traders' licences had to be renewed annually at Licensing Sessions, and the R.I.C. often objected to renewals on the grounds that businesses were conducted in an irregular manner. Infractions of the Sunday drinking laws, which restricted drinking hours in the cities, and denied drink to all except bona fide travellers in rural areas, were a frequent cause of police interference. Thirsty customers pressured publicans to serve them on Sundays and engaged in various subterfuges to qualify as "bonas;" the police interference with the Sunday drink trade was not viewed in a favourable light. In April 1880, the secretary of the Licensed Grocers and Vintners Association told a meeting of his society in Dublin, after a new law was passed which further restricted legal drinking hours in Irish cities, that

the magistrates as well as the police authorities had made the discovery that it is one thing to pass Acts of parliament and quite another to enforce them against an unwilling people. So far from the Irish Sunday Closing Act proving an absolute success, there were already strong symptoms of it proving an absolute and mischievous failure. It had irritated the feelings of the humbler classes of the community, disposing their minds to discontent and disaffection.....and it was fast bringing the local administration of justice into odium and contempt by exhibiting the justices and the police authorities engaged on a paltry and impotent crusade against the amusements and enjoyments of the bulk of the working population. (19)

Publicans tried to evade R.I.C. vigilance by employing look-outs to warn of approaching patrols, but even when they were caught in breach of the law, the police could not be sure of convicting publicans or their customers. Evidence from the final quarter of the nineteenth century shows that magistrates

were reluctant to convict men who were their neighbours or customers (if, as was often the case, the magistrates were themselves shopkeepers or other businessmen). Some magistrates received drink before and after publican cases, while others of a higher class received hints that if a publican were fined, poison would be laid in fox covers and hunting spoiled as a result. According to one R.I.C. officer, "It is very hard for them to refuse a hearing to a life-long neighbour whom they have always regarded as a most respectable man whose worth is not.....impaired by the fact that he has been caught selling a few pints of porter on Sunday."(20)

When publicans were not sure of a favourable verdict from the Bench, they employed solicitors to defend their cases, and they often got charges dismissed on the flimsiest of grounds. The police were left in no doubts as to the unpopular nature of their duty under the drinking laws by the alacrity with which publican and customer perjured themselves in order to defeat prosecutions:

A constable stands up there [on the witness table] and he is perfectly disinterested. The publican who is examined against him is an interested witness; very often his license is at stake. Then the publican calls as witnesses those who were found on the premises, all of whom are liable to fines. Some of those men are of the 'corner boy' class. They get up and point blank contradict the constable on points upon which the discrepancies cannot be reconciled by errors of recollection or errors of observation. There must be deliberate perjury on one side or the other, and when a constable finds that the magistrates accept the evidence of these interested parties, some of them not of good character, as against his own evidence having no interest in the case, you can hardly expect he will be very keen about bringing up other cases, especially when the solicitor for the

defence.....will badger the constable and suggest by the line of cross-examination that he has made an unfair set on these premises, and that he is wilfully misrepresenting things and practically deliberately perjuring himself. Some of the constables will feel very sore about this, and when they find on top of that, their case is dismissed, and the magistrates have practically told them that they do not believe them on their oath against men of the corner boy class and the publican who is practically interested in the result of the case, it cannot be wondered at that a constable will not be very keen in bringing up a case of the sort.(21)

Police efforts were further thwarted in that only a small fraction of the convictions which they managed to secure were endorsed on publicans' licenses. In a three-year period in the 1890s only two out of 112 convictions in Cork were endorsed, while the national rate was only around 13%.(22) Three endorsements could entail the loss of a trading license, but the R.I.C. found it extremely difficult to prevent irregular traders in renewing or receiving licenses. Inspector-general Reed stated in 1898 that publicans canvassed magistrates "all through the land more or less," and evidence from police, judges and resident magistrates from as far afield as Tralee, Middleton, Belfast, Cork, Clare, Tipperary, Dublin, Newry, Downpatrick, Omagh and Leitrim support his claim.(23)

While the preceding pages show that certain duties performed by the police were unpopular with the public, the question still remains as to how popular were the constabulary members themselves. The answer varies according to the time period or the part of the country one examines, but the weight of evidence suggests that they were fairly popular with the

local population, or at least were not viewed with the hatred noted by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835. There are, of course, examples of animosity towards the Irish Constabulary in the early years of its existence: pre-Famine Irish society was often violently agitated and the police inevitably came into bloody collision with the people, as the casualty figures discussed earlier indicate.

Rural people had long memories when it came to unpopular actions committed by individual policemen. Hugh Connolly, a constable who was dismissed for drunkenness, wrote to Earl Mulgrave in 1837 that he could not return to his native Longwood, in Meath, as he had given evidence at the Naas spring Assizes in 1821 against a party of "Ribbonmen." (24) In the same year John Coffee of the Mallow police, who was dismissed for intoxication after eight years' service, was reinstated by the inspector-general after appealing that his past record put him "in dread" of returning to his native county. While stationed in Borrisoleigh from 1831 to 1835, he had arrested several people from that area for stealing arms or cattle or for the illegal possession of arms, all of whom were transported for life. (25) However, overt examples of hostility to the reformed force are difficult to find, apart from exceptional periods when the police bore the brunt of popular fury, as, for instance, when protecting poor rate collectors or provisions during the Famine. During times of heightened tension or distress, feelings of animosity towards

the police became manifest in some areas, but they were certainly not as common as during the Land War years. In March 1848 Thomas Gleason, the caretaker of a bog between Toomevarra and Cloughjordan, was attacked in his home by six men, his ears were "cropped" with a razor, and an attempt was made to cut out his tongue. The reason for the outrage was that "he was such an intimate friend of Head Constable Bourke." (26) Three years later a woman in Laurencetown, Co. Westmeath, incurred the displeasure of her friends when she fell in love with a policeman named McKeon: "Her friends discovering her partiality for the 'green coat' gave her a slight beating, accompanied by threats of further chastisement if she continued to show McKeon an inviting look." (27)

At the same time in which these instances of unpopularity became evident, there were numerous indications that constabulary men were readily accepted into the social circle by civilians. We have already seen Inspector-general McGregor's complaint that his men were "too intimate" with the people in their locality. (28) As early as January 1837 a Cappoquin sub-constable was dismissed after he was found drinking and playing cards with four civilians in his barracks. (29) Three Longford sub-constables were fined in April 1842 for drinking whiskey with members of the public in their barracks, and in December of the same year a Carlow policeman was disgraced for committing the same offence in a public house. A Carlow sub-constable was fined in November

1842 for playing ball with the local people. Two Longford policemen were fined on December 20, 1842, for playing cards in a public house when they were supposed to be on duty.(30) In September 1844 a Cork barrack orderly was fined for drinking with civilians when he was on duty, and in the next month two Cork sub-constables were demoted for drinking and playing cards with members of the public.(31) In October 1847, the police of Caherelly in Limerick were invited to a tea party given by a local blacksmith at which most of the neighbours attended, an obvious indication of the popularity of the force in that area. However, it is unlikely that these feelings long outlasted the party, as an altercation broke out which led to the police stabbing or shooting to death two of the revellers, and one of their number received a fatal skull fracture in retaliation.(32)

Four Westmeath sub-constables were disgraced in February 1848 for "Playing cards with country people, instead of performing patrol duty;" Sub-constable Kellett of Meath was dismissed for being absent from barracks without leave and getting drunk with a civilian, while Sub-constable Barton of Roscommon was discharged for playing cards with members of the public in a public house. Three Meath policemen were demoted in May 1849 for playing cards with civilians, and a Cavan barrack orderly was fined in the same month for letting civilians drink whiskey in his barracks. Three Myyo policemen were fined in October 1850 for "improperly playing cards with

civilians of bad character," and in September 1851 a Cork barrack orderly was disgraced for leaving his post to attend a dance in a public house.(33)

Two Cork sub-constables were fined in October 1851 for drinking porter with civilians in their barracks, and three Limerick sub-constables were demoted in the following month for drinking and playing cards in a local's house, instead of performing patrol duty. Two Kildare policemen were disciplined in February 1853 for "Drinking and dancing in a public house with civilians when on duty," and in March of the next year two Cork sub-constables who were caught playing cards for drink with members of the public in their barracks were fined. (34) These examples, taken from the meagre extant disciplinary records, are undoubtedly just a small indication of the extent to which policemen socialized with members of the public; certainly the evidence suggests that O'Hegarty's image of the policeman as a brutal slave-driver in a slave plantation was rather wide of the mark in the 1840s and 1850s.

The suppression of the Young Ireland rebellion in 1848 does not seem to have had a detrimental effect on the relationship between the police and people. The affray at Ballingarry was such a petty affair - "a mob of disorganized peasants in frieze coats suppressed by a handful of peasants in green jackets" was Charles Gavan Duffy's later description of it - that it scarcely had an impact on the public's opinion of the police. It is true that constabulary members remained

aloof from the Young Ireland movement (one sub-constable was involved in drilling the Enniscorthy Confederate Club in 1848, but he was probably the only member of the force to side with the conspirators) but the same could have been said for the vast majority of the population, hence the indifference with which the affair was greeted by most people.(35) It was only with hindsight that the rebellion was perceived to have produced its crop of "martyrs" for the "national cause," but this writer has found no indication that the police suffered a loss of popularity with contemporaries as a result of their actions during the rebellion.

Even the police suppression of the Fenian movement, which enjoyed much more popular support than the Young Irelanders (although, again, most Irish people remained aloof from it) did not greatly affect the force's popularity. Although the 1867 rising largely consisted of skirmishes between the police and Fenians in various parts of the country, and a sub-constable was killed near Middleton during the outbreak, I.R.B. members frequently had an amicable relationship with their police opponents. While they often ridiculed them, there was little sign of the hatred towards members of the R.I.C. which was so common among I.R.A. insurgents during the War of Independence.(36) The Fenian newspaper, the Irish People, sympathized with the Irish Constabulary and recognized that "Debasing and degrading duties are imposed upon many of those men."(37)

It is true that in 1870, a few years after the defeat of the rising, a constable serving in Newport in Tipperary had a tumbler thrown at him after the R.I.C. arrested a number of people who had been "shouting for O'Donovan Rossa" in the street. A resident magistrate wrote to the under-secretary that "It is only one of the many instances of hostility shown to the constabulary as I hear they are considered traitors to their country because they have faithfully done their duty both now and during the late attempt at rebellion." (38) This attitude towards the R.I.C. is similar to the Republican view of the force in the early twentieth century, but it was not widespread in the 1860s or 1870s, even among I.R.B. members. Indeed, Charles Kickham, president of the reformed I.R.B., presents a rather sympathetic portrayal of "Sub-constable Joe Sproule" and the vicissitudes of his job - still-hunting in Donegal, Orangemen dancing on his stomach in Sandy Row, or receiving two cracked teeth from a blow of an itinerant woman's kettle - in his novel, For the Old Land. (39) Michael Davitt later showed a similar tendency when he wrote of "the members of the force, condemned by law to protect the agents of eviction;" he was aware that the R.I.C. frequently engaged in duties which they found distasteful. (40)

It was not until the Land War that a widespread antipathy towards the R.I.C. became evident. The extent and intensity of this hostility were unusual, as indeed was the phenomenon of the Land War itself, and it would be a mistake

to assume that the feelings shown towards the police in those years characterized the relations between constabulary and public throughout the period under study. Nevertheless, one cannot underestimate the importance of the Land War episode and its effects on the force's image, as undoubtedly the R.I.C.'s role in protecting the agents of landlordism caused it to be seen as a body opposed to the popular will. It is important to stress that the animosity shown towards the police was based largely on social, rather than political, grounds. Most stone-throwers at evictions took out their anger on the R.I.C. not because they were traitors to their country or the puppets of a despotic colonial system, as later Republicans characterized them, but because by protecting eviction parties or sales of livestock seized for non-payment of rent, or by guarding boycotted or other individuals considered obnoxious to the community, or arresting the leaders of the land agitation, they were deemed to have taken the wrong side in the Land War.

In September 1881 the attorney general for Ireland, appropriately named Law, rather pedantically told a delegation of M.P.s that the R.I.C. did not carry out evictions, but merely stood by while the various civil officers empowered with the authority to evict carried out their task; only when violence was offered to bailiffs or sheriffs were the police "called into action," which usually meant quelling the opposition of tenants and arresting the more unruly opponents

of the eviction process. As E.D.Gray pointed out, Law was "technically correct" in saying the R.I.C. "are not employed to carry out evictions, but it comes to this - that they are employed to protect those who are carrying them out, and that the evictions could not take place without the police."(41) There is no doubt that the popular view at this time was that the constabulary were active agents in the eviction process, and in many parts of the country the R.I.C. were left in no doubt as to the feelings of the community about the role they played.

Often hunting horns were blown, or church bells rung, to warn of the constabulary's approach when they were on cattle-driving or writ-serving expeditions, thus giving farmers who failed to pay their rent time to move their animals, and also acting as a signal for the community to assemble and obstruct the police.(42) Early in June 1881 270 policemen and around 70 soldiers were used to protect the sub-sheriff and six "Emergency men" when they tried to seize livestock at two farms near Hacketstown, in Carlow, but the occupants were forewarned of the expedition's approach, as it found nothing on the farms. According to a newspaper account, "The country people enjoyed themselves immensely during the proceedings, and indulged in both singing and dancing." On the same day 80 police, two companies of infantry and a detachment of cavalry were sent to Glin to seize for non-payment of rent, but the targetted farmers received advance warning of their

mission and drove all the cattle away. The locals "indulged in considerable banter" at the expense of the military and police. (43)

Popular feelings were often expressed in more than banter. In December 1879 police and process-servers at Ballybarn, near Balla, were "forcibly resisted by a body of men." (44) At the famous Carraroe evictions in January 1880, a police force of about 60 men protecting a process-server was stoned by a crowd numbering hundreds of people. Several policemen were injured in the head and face, including one man whose face was "frightfully disfigured with a blow of a stone." The inhabitants refused to sell provisions to the R.I.C., and food had to be supplied to them under armed escort from Galway. The bridge at Carraroe was destroyed in an attempt to prevent the supplies from reaching the police, and rocks weighing several were rolled onto the road. A journalist who travelled with the beleaguered expedition, with its long column of men and ambulance cart in the rear, felt that they were "advancing to the front" rather than protecting a civil bill officer in the discharge of his duty. (45)

In the same month, about 25 Claremorris policemen were sent to Kilvine as protection for a process-server named Daniel O'Donnell. A crowd of 2,000 collected and repeatedly asserted that they bore the R.I.C. no grudge, but merely wanted to get their hands on "Daneen;" however, this did not prevent the police from being severely stoned while they were

protecting O'Donnell.(46) As many as 1,500 people turned out the next month to oppose 60 police, the escort for a bailiff who was serving ejectment notices in the Clare barony of Tulla.(47) Sixty R.I.C. men proceeded from Westport to Kilmaclasser in March 1880 to protect at serving of eviction notices. About 1,000 people assambled and "hooted and groaned" the proceedings, and at most houses manure was piled up against the doors, to prevent the serving of the notices. The police were obliged to retire, having served only one document, and some of their cars were thrown into a field.(48) Later that month, a night patrol in the Galway parish of Annadown was beaten up by a gang of men armed with sticks, probably because of local anger at the amount of extra police tax levied in the area, while a crowd of 200 people prevented the service of 29 ejectment notices near Spiddal, tore up the documents, and assaulted the process-servers and three of their R.I.C. escort.(49) A crowd estimated at around 1,500 people assembled in December 1880 to prevent service of eviction notices at Springfield in Galway. Two bridges which the 70-strong constabulary escort had to cross were blocked, and the crowd and police engaged in several small-scale clashes.(50)

1881 proved to be one of the R.I.C.'s busiest years ever, and it also saw several collisions between civilians and police during the land agitation. On April 2, 1881, a Constable Armstrong and three sub-constables, while protecting

a process-server at Clogher in Sligo, were opposed by a crowd that attempted to snatch the notices, and stoned the police. The latter opened fire, killing two men and wounding three others and a woman. Constable Armstrong was beaten to death by the crowd in revenge. The incident led to the Ballaghaderreen branch of the Land League establishing the "Buckshot Victim Fund" for the families of the two dead civilians. Afterwards, "every hill and village for miles around displayed huge bonfires as a signal triumph that Armstrong was dead." A mock funeral procession of "groaning" people marched through Ballaghaderreen and placed a coffin outside the Protestant graveyard, while the widow of one of the dead men went to the police station and "in loud bewailing tones, cursed the man with a widow's curse who had killed her husband." Some weeks later a party of police that tried to leave the village as escort for a process-server was assaulted by a large crowd and obliged to take refuge in their barracks. The New York "Skirmishers" sentenced Gladstone to death, holding him responsible for the police action in the Clogher affray. (51)

In the same month, at Newcastlewest railway station, a train carriage containing three R.I.C. men and a nephew of William Croker (a landlord's agent responsible for serving several eviction notices in Limerick) was stoned by a hostile mob. The carriage was "utterly ruined" and the policemen injured, with one of them being "knocked senseless, his

forehead being split by a blow of a stone."(52) While 300 R.I.C. men were busily engaged in protecting bailiffs seizing cattle for non-payment of rent near Ballygowan, in Galway, a number of the police cars were smashed.(53) Two bailiffs attempted to serve notices in Kildrinagh, in Kilkenny, on April 23, 1881, escorted by 75 constabulary. When they were opposed by a crowd of around 500 people the Riot Act was read, and when the crowd refused to disperse the police charged it, and were stoned "pretty freely."(54)

On May 4, 1881, 80 R.I.C. men and a company of infantry and cavalry assembled in Cahir to preserve the peace at the auction of the interest in the farm of Fr Foran, the parish priest of Ballylooby. They were pelted by a "continual hail of mud, turf, and rotten eggs," and were stoned after the auction.(55) At an eviction in Schull the next day, the cars conveying the police fell apart, as some ingenious local had removed the lynch pins.(56) In the following week, about 60 policemen who turned up at a Land League meeting in New Pallas were severely stoned by a crowd of about 1,000 people, and on May 19 a force of around 250 police and soldiers, who attempted to seize livestock in the area, were thwarted by the destruction of three bridges, and were subsequently stoned.(57)

Determined opposition was also offered to a force of over 250 military and police protecting eviction parties on the Kingston estate near Mitchelstown, on May 27. They

succeeded in evicting one family, but to proceed with the rest they had to pass through Mitchelstown, which was blocked by a crowd estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000 people. Stones "came like a hailstorm" from the crowd, and the troops and R.I.C. made several charges upon it. The Riot Act was also read twice , but the police did not open fire; they did, however, attempt several bayonet charges, and wounded many people. One cavalry horse was killed from a blow of a stone, and several of the escort were injured. The eviction attempt was abandoned.(58) The Carlow police were stoned after they arrested a Coercion Act prisoner on May 11 and placed him on a train for Dublin. Sub-inspector Patterson later told the Carlow Assizes that "the people were very menacing in their looks," and he was convinced from their "looks and attitudes" that they "would have thrown him and the other policemen under the train if they had [had] an opportunity."(59)

Constable Madden of Athea complained that in early June, 1881, "We were stoned at the chapel gate, and inside in the chaper at divine service gravel was thrown at one of the men. We cannot stir out but we are hooted and booed, and every man seen speaking to us is threatened with outrage."(60) It is interesting to note that the people sometimes made a distinction between the R.I.C. and military engaged in agrarian operations, to the detriment of the former. A journalist who accompanied over 200 police and troops on an eviction expedition near Fermoy noted that

the people everywhere evinced the kindest feelings towards the soldiers, but whenever an opportunity offered they availed of it to make matters uncomfortable for the policemen. As an instance of this it may be stated that at any house along the way a soldier would have no difficulty in getting a drink of water or milk, whereas if a policeman were seen making towards a well of clean water some one was sure to anticipate him and stir up the mud, so as to make it unfit for drinking.(61)

Obviously the police, as Irishmen, attracted more odium than the largely foreign soldiery. Also incidents such as the Clogher affray noted above, and other fatal encounters with the police, such as occurred in Belmullet in November 1881 (an R.I.C. party fired upon, and launched a bayonet charge against, a stone-throwing crowd opposing summonses for non-payment of poor rate, killing two people) were well publicized and aroused great hostility towards the constabulary. The military were also less likely to be involved in conflict situations with the public, and were thus less likely to inflict fatalities upon them.(62) When serving eviction writs in Mitchelstown on August 15, 1881, the police and the estate bailiff "came in for a fair share of groaning and abusive epithets, while the soldiers were cheered, some enthusiastic females shouting out at intervals, 'Three cheers for the redcoats.'"(63) Charles Stewart Parnell stated in the House of Commons in August 1881 that "Whenever the military attended evictions they behaved with far more moderation and humanity than did the constabulary when they engaged in the same operations." He claimed that it was "a matter of common notoriety" that the police "could be seen returning from

evictions in a state of intoxication." Such allegations, whatever their validity, could not have failed to cause unpopularity towards the R.I.C., given the source from which they came. (64)

However, popular anger would have been directed towards the constabulary anyway, regardless of Parnell's opinion of their activities. At the Bodyke estate of Colonel O'Callaghan on June 1, 1881, a party of police was employed to protect a process-server issuing ejectment notices. A crowd of around 1,000 obstructed the proceedings, and one or two hives of bees were released "with the object of making it rather hot for the horses attached to the police cars." The R.I.C. attacked the crowd, using the butt end of their rifles as clubs, and fatally fractured a man's skull in the process. After the affray, the police were fired upon between Bodyke and Ennis by concealed attackers, and one of their horses was killed. (65) While attending at the service of eviction writs in the Clonmacnoise area in September 1881, a "large party" of R.I.C. and 50 troops encountered strong opposition from the local people. This took the form not only of stone-throwing crowds, but also the sabotage of the road at Clonmacnoise, which was "cut up and rendered impassable," while elsewhere "the passage was barred, huge boulders were piled up across the road, trees were felled, and other obstacles were improvised." (66) A crowd of more than 1,000 people stoned the departing constabulary after a land meeting in Ballyragget, in Kilkenny, on October

10, 1881. Fourteen policemen were injured in the incident, in which they cleared the streets using their rifle butts and bayonets. One civilian died as the result of a bayonet thrust, which did nothing to improve the already tarnished image of the R.I.C. in the eyes of the public.(67) Their image was dented even further by the much-publicized Belmullet affray of November 1881. One witness claimed that the police had "a frightful appearance at this time, being all mortally drunk," while another claimed that during the fatal incident, in which a 23 year old woman was stabbed to death and an old woman died from buckshot wounds, a near-empty bottle of poteen fell out of a policeman's pocket.(68)

When around 150 R.I.C. were proceeding on eviction duty from Listowel to Pyre Crumpane in October 1881, the leading wagon was overturned by a trench which had been cut into the road; this resulted in injury to a number of its occupants, one of whom received a broken leg.(69) On October 31, 1881, a farmer's son was murdered near Millstreet by a gang who thought that he was a police detective.(70) An eviction party near New Pallas on December 7, 1881, was obstructed by heaps of stones piled at intervals along the road, with the final impediment being a number of dead cats suspended from trees in the hope of frightening the police horses.(71) On February 12, 1882, a policeman was wounded in an ambush while protecting a resident magistrate near Bodyke, and three days later a constable was shot in the back and killed after

leaving a public house in Letterfrack.(72) Shots were fired at police and troops on eviction duty at Drumbeg in Roscommon on March 16, 1882, and a few days later the Tubbercurry sub-inspector was wounded by an unknown assailant, probably from agrarian motives.(73) Two sub-constables who were escorting a gamekeeper on Lord Ventry's estate near Castleisland in December 1882 were ambushed by an armed party, and one of the policemen was shot in the face and neck.(74)

The preceding examples are not intended to be a comprehensive account of the vicissitudes of performing police duty during the Land War, but simply to illustrate some of the frequent clashes between the R.I.C. and the public which occurred at that period. There were also scattered attacks on police barracks or other buildings used by the constabulary, which were further signs of the force's unpopularity. In March 1881 a house in Kingwilliamstown in Cork, which was being fitted up as a police station, was badly damaged when the preparations were almost completed.(75) In May 1881 two bailiffs, pursued by a crowd of 500 people, took refuge in the Kilross barracks in Tipperary. When the police refused to surrender the fugitives the crowd smashed the windows of the building, injuring some of the men inside, and shot a landlord's dog as a warning to the bailiffs. Later that month, a crowd led by a brass band collected outside the boycotted Kilmallock R.I.C. station and broke the windows, prompting a witness to claim that "the scene was almost to equal the

attack made on the same premises during the Fenian rising, when several men were shot dead." Also in May 1881, a crowd which gathered in Ballylanders to celebrate the release of 42 men arrested for attacking the Kilross barracks created a riot and smashed the windows of the Ballylanders police station! In the same month, a party of 50 police protected a process-server named Bankhead in the delivery of eviction notices near Gweedore. They were dispersed and forced back into their barracks by a large crowd of local people. Five policemen were seriously injured, as well as the process-server, and the crowd smashed the barrack windows in an attempt to lay hands on him.(76)

In June 1881, following the rumoured arrest of a man under the Coercion Act by the Schull R.I.C., a large mob went on the rampage in the town, and the constabulary were obliged to barricade themselves in their barracks, the windows of which were smashed with stones and the walls damaged by the crowd.(77) An attempt was made to blow up the New Pallas police barracks in September 1881.(78) In January 1881 a house at Ballylanders, which was being prepared for occupation by the R.I.C., was burned down. On the night of April 2, 1882, a bomb caused structural damage to William Street barracks in Limerick city, and a week later an abandoned schoolhouse at Ballycooney, near Loughrea, which was intended for use as a temporary barracks, was blown up.(79)

But one does not have to allude to the violent attacks

on the R.I.C. or their buildings to appreciate the unpopularity of the force in the early 1880s. The nicknames applied to the police at this time are a further indication of their lack of favour with the public. In addition to the epithet of "Peeler," which was used in both a pejorative and non-pejorative sense throughout the period, the R.I.C. in the 1880s were known as "Buckshot Warriors" under Forster's administration, "Morley's Murderers" in the mid-1880s, and "Balfour's Myrmidons," "Balfour's Bludgeonmen" and "Balfour's Murderers" under the last-named chief secretary. Some well-educated people also called them "Janissaries," but this never became a popular term of abuse as few people could understand its meaning. One R.I.C. officer had the distinction of being known as the "Constabulary Attila." (80) The most widespread new nickname for police at the time was "Harvey Duff," which was also the title of a popular song. Its words, beyond the refrain of "Harvey Duff, Harvey Duff, I will not marry you, Harvey Duff," have been lost. According to C.P.Crane, this song was "sung by every man, woman and child in the country," and was meant as "an insult to the police." (81)

In Newcastlewest in April 1881 two young boys aged seven and nine were arrested for whistling the offensive tune and lodged in the "black hole" overnight, and one of them was treated rather roughly by his R.I.C. captors. (82) Later that month the "urchins" of the town whistled "Harvey Duff" at policemen who were placing prisoners, charged with assaulting

bailiffs, on a train. The final insult to the police was when somebody in a crowd of spectators shouted out "pig drivers," a long-established pejorative term, as it led to a resident magistrate ordering a police charge on the onlookers. (83) When 60 police passed through Drogheda in July 1881 to protect a process-server at Cartown, they were greeted by the "street gamins" whistling "Harvey Duff." (84) Constable Rogan of Dromcollogher charged a Land League member with whistling the offensive tune at him, and also with calling him a "Peeler" and "pig-driver" in August 1881. In his rather plaintive account, which caused huge amusement in the court, Rogan stated that "They whistle 'Harvey Duff' generally in a derisive manner wherever we go," and further complained of the behaviour of Anne McAuliffe, a shopkeeper in the village, who refused to sell him food but "turned me out, and used abusive and threatening language, and scolded me into the bargain." Miss McAuliffe admitted that she was the "curse of his life." (85) According to the Cork Examiner in September 1881, "Harvey Duff" was an air which "threatens to become one of these days an Irish 'Marseillaise.'" (86) In November 1881 it considered that "Harvey Duff"

must be a melody realizing the highest ideal of emotional music, for the mere sound of it appears to be able to put the constabulary - or at all events some members of that useful body - into a dreadful rage. To whistle it has become an offence against the law. We do not, indeed, know precisely what law. The Land League is not the only body in Ireland which has unwritten law; apparently there is one in the constabulary code which renders people to be locked up for the perpetration of a disagreeable tune. (87)

Why did the tune or nickname of "Harvey Duff" prove so unacceptable to the R.I.C? To understand this one has to examine the origins of the hated name. Harvey Duff was the villain in the popular 1870s Dion Boucicault play, "The Shaughraun." Duff, described in the dramatis personae as "a police agent in disguise as a peasant," was almost certainly modelled on an R.I.C. man, Head Constable Talbot, who was murdered in Hardwicke Street in Dublin on October 11, 1871. In the 1860s Talbot had infiltrated the I.R.B. and had actually sworn in members of that organization, while informing Dublin Castle of the conspirators' plans. He was a much-hated figure after the defeat of the 1867 rebellion, not so much for his "double agent" activities, but because it was believed that he had pretended to be a Catholic and had attended Mass to gain the trust of the Fenians: to many Catholics, such behaviour seemed sacreligious. William Woodlock, who was a Dublin police magistrate at the time that Talbot was murdered by a carpenter named Robert Kelly, recorded in his diary:

It is terrible to see the sympathy which the mass of the people have for Kelly, and yet it is natural enough. First, the crime...is only an episode in the interminable struggle of Ireland against England. Then, there is the hatred of informers which our people have - and which, by the way, is by no means confined to our people. Then there is the widespread opinion that unfortunate Talbot was very unscrupulous in his means to attain his ends. It is generally believed that he was an agent provocateur and that he induced many to become Fenians, or at least swore many into that body. There is also a belief that he, a Protestant, not merely passed himself off as a Catholic and went to Mass in Tipperary....but went to confession and received communion in order to blind the people. The

general feeling may be summed up in what our nursery-maid Margaret - a most respectable girl of her class - said to Fanny [Woodlock's wife] - that if Kelly is hanged his children need never blush for what their father suffered for.

During Kelly's trial large crowds assembled to cheer him and revile his D.M.P. escort, and feelings ran so high that the authorities deemed it prudent to inter the murdered Talbot in a secret plot at five o'clock in the morning of October 18, 1871, for fear that "some demonstration might possibly take place by the populace if the funeral were to take place within the ordinary hours." Talbot is very thinly disguised as Harvey Duff in Boucicault's play: the latter is described as a "police spy" who disguises himself as a "fenian delegate," and swears in and later betrays men with whom he had "knelt before the altar." (88) The soiled origins of the term "Harvey Duff" explain the resentment felt by the R.I.C. when it was directed against them.

Another expression of popular antipathy towards the constabulary during the Land War was the widespread boycott of the force, or of people deemed unduly friendly towards it, in many parts of the country. This was particularly common in districts where the police were involved in combating the activities of the Land League, or providing protection at evictions or to people considered obnoxious to the community. One of the earliest instances occurred at the attempted evictions in Carraroe in January 1880. According to Michael Davitt,

During the stay of the police in the village no food of any kind was supplied to them. Nothing could be purchased by them from the poorest of the community, no matter what sum of money was offered for a cup of milk, the hire of a car, or for any other service.(89)

It was the general policy of the Castlerea branch of the Land League to boycott the local R.I.C., as well as any people who supplied them with cars.(90) The funeral of Constable Linton of Louhgrea, who was shot dead in July 1881 because his exertions against the Land League made him unpopular in the district, was boycotted by the people of the locality "except a few that came to see the police march." In Armagh in February 1882 even the funeral of a person who was related to an R.I.C. man was shunned by all except the police, "who felt their isolation so completely that they changed their uniforms for civilians' attire." (91) In December 1880 a policeman from Kinlough had to walk 50 miles to attend at Keshcarrigan Petty Sessions, where an agrarian offence was being tried, because of the refusal of car-owners to convey him.(92)

When a Schull man supplied cars to the R.I.C. in June 1881 his house was attacked and damaged by a mob, one of his cars was thrown into the sea, and he was boycotted by the community.(93) The house of a shopkeeper in Cliffoney, Sligo, was entered in March 1881 by an armed party of about 20 men, who fired shots and "put him in terror of his life" for having sold provisions to the boycotted wife of an R.I.C. constable. (94) In Letterkenny and Clara in May 1881, and Kilkenny in June 1881, policemen on eviction duty were refused cars by

hoteliers and car owners, obviously for fear of incurring public odium; in May 1881 an Edenderry Land League member printed an apology in the national newspapers for having unwittingly supplied cars to policemen who attended an eviction at Cloncurry, in Kildare. (95) The Press Association described the plight of 60 R.I.C. men and 200 soldiers stationed in and around troubled Skibbereen in June 1881:

The police are effectually boycotted, not a single inhabitant of Skibbereen can be seen talking to any of the men of the constabulary. The shopkeepers refuse to supply them with any necessaries, and both police and military are compelled to provide their own commissariat. The feeling of the police towards the people is one of scarcely concealed exasperation, the sentiments expressed by the officers are that martial law alone is the remedy. (96)

In the same month the Kilmallock R.I.C. were stated to be so rigorously boycotted that they had great difficulty in providing themselves with food, and the barrack servants were forced to give up their jobs. Because the police were refused the use of any public conveyance they were "rendered almost useless to act on an emergency outside the town." Indeed, the resident magistrate was afraid to send them outside of Kilmallock for fear that the barracks would be "sacked." (97)

A Newbridge car driver was tried in June 1881 for refusing to carry policemen when he discovered that they wanted to convey some prisoners to the local railway station. He stated that he would prefer to lose his job than "get a brick thrown at me while travelling in the night." His caution was probably wise, as in November 1881 "Captain Moonlight"

posted a notice to warn some Athy car drivers not to transport any more prisoners or policemen, or he would visit them "on a nearby date, and leave youse an example to all mankind." (98)

In July 1881 a Falcarragh innkeeper refused accommodation to Head Constable Kelso, telling him that it "could not be expected he would keep people who had assisted to evict his own flesh and blood." In the same month, two men named Donoghue and O'Connell from Ballydecane, near Lismore, were shot at while they were asleep, and the tails and ears of several of Donoghue's cattle were cut off. The reason for the outrage was that Donoghue had supplied milk and butter to the R.I.C. and Emergency men guarding an evicted tenant's house at Ballydecane, while Connell had "shown sympathy" to them.

(99)

Workmen in Millstreet refused to erect police protection huts in August 1881 on the property of a landlord who had recently evicted a tenant, so the R.I.C. had to turn to the Army Service Corps to undertake the task. (In a similar incident in the early 1880s, a veritable military expedition of artillery, cavalry, 150 infantry, as well as policemen - a total of 500 men - was used to move a boycotted police hut a little over half a mile from the New Pallas railway station to its desired destination). (100)

In September 1881 some 100 R.I.C. men attended the eviction of 110 people on Inishturk, and 23 were left behind to protect the bailiffs in charge of the empty houses. The police were closely boycotted - "not an

ounce of food did they get from the people - and they were in rather an unenviable position until "the timely arrival of a nobleman who was cruising about the bay." He supplied the hungry police with food.(101) A hotel proprietor in Newtown, Co. Mayo, was beaten up by a crowd of around 50 people on September 18, 1881, because it was believed that he had supported an R.I.C. sports meeting in Claremorris, which was boycotted by local people.(102)

A poster signed by "One that hates the police" was put up at Drangan in Tipperary on October 21, 1881. It urged its readers to "Treat the man as he should be treated who brought the beds of those degraded wretches called Peelers to Thurles, where they are at present stationed protecting Emergency scoundrels." The back of the poster stated that "The Peeler who takes this down may do his utmost. You are not dead yet, and I hope that the high-minded people of Drangan will soon give you your reward, you cowardly sneak."(103) A Tralee farmer was tried in October 1881 for intimidating seven R.I.C. recruits by telling them that "he would rather hang his son than have him join the police."(104) In the same month, a Parsonstown butcher was reported by the police to be under boycott from all "except a few of the Protestant gentlemen of the town" because he had sold meat to the R.I.C. and Emergency men of Barronscourt.(105) Also in December 1881, a Cappoquin trader was "completely" boycotted as a result of having sold provisions to Emergency men and police. He offered £20 to the

local Land League branch to be allowed join the organization and help atone for his offence, but his request was refused, and bankruptcy seemed inevitable.(106) An Ennis doctor lost his practice at the end of the year, largely because he gave a certificate that a policeman who had been badly assaulted was in danger of losing his life.(107)

In January 1882 notices were posted at Mullagh and Kilmurray, near Kildysart, advising young women not to speak to R.I.C. men, and in the following month "Captain Moonlight" posted notices in Millstreet offering a £30 reward to any person who gave him the names of any farmers who paid their rent, or of girls who spoke to the police.(108) In January the congregation at Ballymacward, near Ballinasloe, refused to allow R.I.C. men to enter their chapel, and "loudly declared that they had built the church, and had the best right to it." The police retired in the face of the people's opposition to their presence at worship.(109) Notices were posted on February 5 and 6, 1882, in the Castleisland district, that "any person, male or female, who will speak to the constables" would "get the revenge" of Captain Moonlight. Throughout 1881 and 1882 the R.I.C. in that area found it impossible to acquire cars for any duty, one trader was threatened with death for supplying the police with provisions, and the nocturnal captain offered £15 reward for the names of other people who sold them goods. Their barrack servant was promised a bloody fate if she did not give up her occupation, which

advice she followed in July 1882.(110) In April 1882 a priest was found guilty at Athenry Petty Sessions of having "reviled the constabulary force" from the altar, and of trying to dissuade young men from becoming recruits.(111)

The Craughwell police were boycotted from December 1880 at the behest of the president of the Kiltulla Land League branch. They were unable to buy food in the district, and depended on supplies from policemen of other areas. People who gave milk or cars to what one placard described as "that contemptible class the cut-throat Peelers" were also ostracized, and in January 1882 a man was "seriously assaulted" because he was "believed to be friendly to the police."(112) Obviously the R.I.C. were highly unpopular in many parts of the country during the Land War years. Head Constable Allen of Longford stated that the rural police "are more or less Ishmaelites; every man's hand is against them," and Sub-constable Byrne of the same county claimed that whereas in former times policemen's children could secure employment as shopkeepers' clerks, "now the shopkeepers might as well take down their sign-board as employ them." The members of the D.M.P., who were also mainly from rural areas, did not escape public odium during the Land War. According to Assistant Commissioner Connolly, Dublin policemen were reluctant to go home on vacation as they were "slighted and sneered at by their friends," and one policeman even claimed that their own families were "cold" towards them.(113)

The authorities tried to break the popular boycott of their force by objecting to the renewal of licences to hoteliers, publicans, or publicans-cum-grocers who refused to either serve policemen with food and refreshments or to supply them with cars and other services. As early as June 1881 the R.I.C. were ordered to make a note of publicans who were car owners and who refused to supply transport to the police, and to send the list to the magistrates at the next licensing sessions.(114) Towards the end of 1881 there were numerous police objections to renewing the licences of traders who had refused to supply them. In September many hoteliers and publicans in Rathkeale, Lismore, Tullow, Cappoquin, Kilcock, Bailieboro, Hospital, Loughrea, Cloughjordan, Manorhamilton, Rathdrum, New Ross, Letterkenny, Kilfinane, Rathdowney, Carlow, Mountmellick, Charleville, Scotstown, Clara, Castlecomer, Edenderry, Borris and Ballaghaderreen had their licences opposed by the R.I.C., and the same occurred in Drumsna and Abbeyleix in October 1881.(115) The police had rather mixed success in these cases, probably for the same reasons as their objections to irregular traders were often overlooked, that is, the canvassing of magistrates and, of course, the fear of the latter of incurring public odium in "patriotic" cases. However, in response to the new constabulary tactic, many traders adopted the approach recommended by those of Tallow in September 1881, of not refusing supplies to the police, but of charging them double

the prices charged to members of the public.(116)

Although the policy of overcharging the R.I.C. was first suggested publicly in September 1881, many shopkeepers quietly adopted the practice long before this. Complaints were made as early as June 1881 that the constabulary were out of pocket due to the land agitation, and in July a Cork policeman claimed that the people "consider the police as enemies, and through hatred or fear will either refuse to give them food altogether, or if they give it charge an exorbitant price for it." In March and April 1882 the Freeman's Journal claimed to have received letters from R.I.C. men serving in Sligo, Tipperary, Cavan, Westmeath and Wexford complaining about inadequate recompense for trying duties, and in parliament on June 9, 1882, Lord Middleton stated that policemen in disturbed areas could obtain provisions only at "fantastic prices." Married policemen were affected particularly severely, with men in Kenmare and Askeaton stating that married men often went into debt in order to go on duty, while the Maryborough sub-inspector stated that shopkeepers frequently complained to him about the debts of married R.I.C. men. The Meath county inspector reported that the men of his force were charged "famine prices," while a Roscommon sub-constable described the "inclination of the people to 'salt' the police in their dealings with them." Even in relatively undisturbed Fermanagh, traders charged the R.I.C. higher prices than they did to other customers.(117)

The fact that they suffered financially for performing duties which most of them found repugnant added a sharper edge to police grievances over pay, pensions and promotions. In March 1882 the government proposed granting a gratuity of three months' pay to the R.I.C., to recompense them for the unusually high expense to which they had been put due to the land agitation, but the proposal was not immediately implemented. Lord Middleton warned in July 1882 of the dangerous situation in which the extra pay had long been discussed in R.I.C. barracks, at the same time that newspapers "which were not friendly to law and order" told the men that they had had a raw deal from the government.(118) In early August 1882 the discontent felt in the force was manifested by an unprecedented agitation for an improvement in pay and pensions. It started when the police stationed at William Street barracks in Limerick petitioned the inspector-general for an increase of a shilling a day to compensate them for the expensive extra duties imposed upon them, and to place them on an equal footing with policemen serving in the cities of Cork, Derry and Belfast. They also sent telegrams to police in various parts of the country to enlist their support for a general increase in pay, an improvement in the pension rate for men who joined after 1866, and the removal of other minor grievances. They also complained of the delay in granting them the proposed gratuity.

These proposals fell on receptive soil, especially as

a Bill to increase the pay and pensions of R.I.C. officers was already before parliament (it was passed on August 18), thus making the situation of the men seem all the more neglected. Meetings in support of the Limerick men's demands were held at various centres, and telegrams of support poured in from all over the country. On August 4, Special Resident Magistrate Clifford Lloyd unwittingly helped to spread the agitation by telling the William Street men that had they been soldiers they would have been court martialled for their insubordination. There are some conflicting reports that the men of the Limerick force refused to go out on beat in protest at Clifford Lloyd's remarks (Chief Secretary Trevelyan later denied that they had refused to perform their duty), but the situation in Limerick was serious enough to prompt a visit by Inspector-general Bruce on the same day as the reported stoppage. Despite repeated appeals by Bruce to the Limerick men to drop their agitation and to persuade the policemen in the 100 stations with whom they were in contact to do likewise, and to submit their grievances through proper channels (their officers), they refused.

In Cork, one of the leaders of the movement in support of the Limerick demands, a Sub-constable Murphy, had been arrested at the Patrick's Hill station by Head Constable Cantillon for circulating an "illegal" memorial for the signature of the men there. Although he was released less than two hours later on the orders of County Inspector Barry,

resentment in the Cork force over Murphy's arrest was high, and seems to have strengthened support for the agitation. Colonel Bruce visited the Cork force on the day after his visit to Limerick, and appealed to them to cease their protest movement and trust their officers to secure a remedy to their grievances, but the men rejected his request. Telegrams in support of the Cork R.I.C. from policemen in other parts of the country threatened mass resignations, or even a strike, if the authorities refused to meet the force's demands. The agitation, which Colonel Bruce stated in a letter to the chief secretary had "spread more or less all over the country," placed the government in something of a quandary, as they were determined not to give in to demands which they considered to have been made in an insubordinate manner.

However, their blushes were spared as a result of some hysterical English newspaper reports, which suggested that the agitation in the Cork force was prompted by disloyal motives. On August 8 the Cork agitators telegraphed their Limerick counterparts to suggest that the movement be halted, partly because their grievances had already been widely publicized, but mainly because of the imputations of disloyalty to which their agitation was leading. The Limerick men agreed with their suggestion that they trust in the willingness of the authorities to address their demands, and gradually the rest of the force voiced its approval of the Cork proposals. The cessation of what some regarded as a mutiny met with a quick

response from the government. On August 10 the lord lieutenant announced a special committee of enquiry to examine the grievances of the R.I.C., and by August 15 parliament had approved, and the first instalment was being distributed, of the grant of three months' extra pay.(119)

The committee of enquiry which followed the insubordination in the R.I.C. played an important role in improving the working conditions and pecuniary rewards of the constabulary, but it did nothing to improve the image of the force in the eyes of the rural community. Although by the time that the committee of enquiry met, in the fall of 1882, the rural situation in Ireland was much calmer than it had been in 1881, and clashes between the police and country people were comparatively rare, the R.I.C. was nevertheless unpopular with the peasantry. Sub-constable Curran of Doon asserted gloomily that "The people have something against us [that] they will not give up for this generation at all events."(120) For a few years after 1882 the rural situation was relatively calm, but following the poor harvests of 1886 the agrarian agitation was renewed, especially in the form of the Plan of Campaign. Although this was not as widespread as the Land League had been, it nevertheless had the effect of resurrecting agrarian tensions and re-casting the R.I.C. in the role of guardians of landlords' interests, to the detriment of their popularity with many of their fellow countrymen. The police, as had happened in the earlier part

of the decade, frequently came into collision with the peasantry, and were boycotted by and earned the opprobrium of the people in the disturbed districts.

In June 1886 the Tralee branch of the National League condemned a harnessmaker and some merchants of the town for having supplied the R.I.C. with cars when they attended evictions near Listowel, after nobody in that town had provided them with transport. A Kinvarra hotelier was "completely" boycotted for hiring cars to the police on eviction duty at Woodford in August 1886, and the boycott was not lifted until he joined the National League and apologized for having caused "such annoyance in the parish." Constable Philip Keogh, who hired the cars, was the target of a personal boycott because he had prosecuted people for assaulting bailiffs and policemen, and at one time feared that his baby would starve because nobody would sell milk to his wife. In August 1886 the police experienced determined resistance during evictions on the Clanricarde estate at a fortified house known as "Saunders' Fort." The house was barricaded, hot water and lime were thrown at the police and swarms of bees released against them, and the tenants pushed the police off the roof of their house with poles. Following that eviction, Sub-inspector Murphy of Woodford was "closely" boycotted until April 1887, and he had to smuggle milk for his baby from several miles away in a police despatch case. The car of a man who drove the police to the evictions was stolen and

destroyed, and the barracks servant intimidated from her employment. John Hughes, who owned a farm, shop, hotel, and was the postmaster at Ardrahan, was boycotted in November 1886 because he had supplied cars to the R.I.C. attending the Woodford evictions, and in addition was subjected to "occasional groans" from people passing his house. The boycott ceased when he convinced locals that he had not realized the purpose for which the police had wanted his cars, and donated the £15 car hire to the poor of the neighbouring parish. A visitor to Milltown in Cork noted that nobody spoke to the local R.I.C., that it was "next to impossible for them to procure the first necessaries of life," and that the authorities had to "distribute rations to them as to soldiers on a campaign." The government, no doubt reflecting on the earlier phase of land agitation, supplied the constabulary with special traps for transport.(122)

In a speech to a land meeting in Millstreet in January 1887, Dr Charles Tanner, M.P., referring to the R.I.C., stated that "the mothers who gave them birth should be ashamed of them," and called on parents to ensure that their daughters shunned the police. On the night of February 3, 1887, a party of 20 to 25 men entered the house of Jeremiah Murphy of Kilkerrin and cut the hair of his two daughters with shears because they had spoken to policemen, and tarred and feathered one of the women.(123) In June 1887 notices were posted in Ennis threatening similar treatment to girls "seen speaking

to or keeping company with policemen."(124) In May of the following year a farmer's daughter in Molahiffe in Kerry had her hair sheared by six men because she had spoken to the sergeant at a Firies protection post. In August 1888 two dressmakers, the daughters of a police pensioner, were subjected to such an intense boycott at Labasheeda in Clare for speaking to a sergeant's children, that they suffered mental breakdowns and had to undergo several weeks of medical treatment.(125)

These attacks on young women for speaking to the R.I.C. were just some examples of how unpopular the constabulary were in many rural areas during the land agitation of the late 1880s. A visitor to Donoughmore in Cork in 1887 noticed that posters advocating a boycott of the police were even pasted on donkeys' backs. Young women who spoke to the R.I.C. were themselves ostracized, as was the local curate, who had denounced a young man for throwing eggs at a "respectable farmer." The farmer's daughter was considered obnoxious in the area because she had held a policeman's head while he had a tooth pulled.(126) Several Limerick policemen who "made themselves conspicuous in the prosecution of moonlight offences" were transferred to other counties in April 1887, because for some time past they had been receiving letters threatening them with death or other punishment. In the same month it was reported that some men who wanted to join the R.I.C. had changed their minds for fear that their families

would be boycotted as a result.(127) Popular antipathy towards the police was especially strong in Bodkye during a number of evictions on the estate of Colonel O'Callaghan in June 1887. At one house bees were used against the evicting party, and if it were not for the forethought of one official, who supplied the R.I.C. with strong canvas umbrellas, the police would have been seriously injured by the scalding water and vitriol thrown by the resisting tenants.(128) Later in 1887 a "regular conspiracy" was organized in Kildysart to deny fuel to the constabulary, and in December shots were fired into the house of one woman accused of supplying them with turf.(129)

Perhaps the most notorious R.I.C. action during the Land War was the Mitchelstown Massacre in June 1887 when the police, under attack from a large crowd attending a National League meeting, opened fire and killed two civilians and injured several more. The chief secretary, who publicly defended his force's actions but privately felt that they had suffered a loss of nerve, earned himself the sobriquet of "Bloody Balfour" as a result of the incident.(130) As far as Nationalists were concerned, the killings were murder, and the force responsible for them was even more strongly regarded as a body hostile to the people. In the years following the killings there was a bitterness in Nationalist attitudes towards the constabulary which was not evident even in the more disturbed years of the early 1880s. In the earlier period some speakers at Land League meetings had expressed sympathy

for the R.I.C., whom they regarded as farmers' sons obliged by circumstances beyond their control to perform distasteful duties; such occasional expressions of sympathy were absent from public meetings in the later 1880s. In January 1888 John Deasy, M.P., described an R.I.C. man attending a land meeting in Castlebar as a "grinning, pimping, miserable, mannikin sergeant" with a "satisfied leer on his little spying countenance," while Dr Charles Tanner, M.P., denounced the police as "bastards' sons" and "the offsprings of prostitutes." (131)

A rhyme printed in the popular United Ireland newspaper in May 1888 presented the R.I.C. in a rather unflattering light:

More power, my bully baton man,
 'Tis you can flick and flatten, man,
 Whate'er a head has hat on, man,
 Leave neither this nor that on, man,
 Leave neither skin nor fat on, man,
 But split each skull, my baton man!

Strike, belt, and skelp, my baton man,
 Beat heads a sharp rat-tat on, man,
 If not, begor, you're spat on, man,
 You'll be reduced and sat on, man,
 So like a cat a rat on, man,
 Pounce down, my plucky baton man.

Spare none! my valiant baton man,
 French, English or Manhattan man,
 An Irish, Greek, or Latin man,
 A Cicero or Grattan man,
 Slash at them with your rattan, man,
 My bould, undaunted baton man. (132)

There are numerous examples of popular antipathy to the R.I.C. which mirrored the sentiments of the United Ireland rhyme. In January 1888, 15 people were prosecuted in Ennis for

conspiracy to compel others not to supply goods to the police, and in the next month 14 people from Kildysart were prosecuted for refusing to sell turf to the R.I.C.(133) Two Fermoy shopkeepers and three shop assistants were convicted in February 1888 of conspiracy to induce other traders not to supply the constabulary, an action which was hardly likely to improve the public-relations image of the force in that locality. Twenty one Miltown Malbay publicans were convicted of refusing to serve policemen, and eleven of these who escaped a month's imprisonment by promising to supply the police in future were themselves "rigidly boycotted." A constabulary hut at Parteen, near Limerick city, was set alight in the same month while its occupants were inside, but they managed to escape unharmed.(134) It was reported in August 1888 that the Labasheeda constabulary were ostracized so extensively that they had to travel 20 miles daily "in order to procure the necessaries of life."(135) On September 30, 1888, a sergeant and constable were struck with stones inside the chapel when they attended Mass at Clonusker in Clare. When they complained to the parish priest afterwards they were received coldly, asked "what right the police had to be there at all," and told that it was the "blackguard government" which was responsible for the incident!(136)

Throughout May, June and July 1888, a considerable police operation was launched in the barony of Condons and Clongibbons, there the Mitchelstown Massacre had occurred, to

seize the livestock of farmers who refused to pay their portion of 1,000 awarded to a Constable Leahy by the Cork Grand Jury in March. Leahy had been seriously injured in the Mitchelstown incident, and the people of the barony resented paying an "eric" or "blood tax" to one whom they considered an accomplice to murder. At the same time a large party of R.I.C. escorted a barony cess collector named Blood in seizing cattle of farmers in Clare who refused to pay the "Whelehan Blood Tax," which was compensation awarded to the widow of that murdered policeman. (137)

A contemporary account gives a vivid idea of the popular opposition to the payment to Constable Leahy:

[N]ot since the collection of the tithe rent has the tax gatherer in Ireland a more disagreeable errand entrusted to him. The gentlemen who call for taxes are seldom received with obsequious urbanity, but the appearance of the Leahy taxgatherer in the barony of Condons [and] Clongibbons is the signal for a popular manifestation against the official in which the whole countryside join[s]. The people who have acquiesced in the award of the fiscal authorities are few and far between, and the only way in which it is found possible to realize any of the tax in the majority of cases is by seizing the property of the farmers. The modus operandi of the bailiffs is a modernized and revised edition of the simple plan of Rob Roy's cattle lifting raids, with, of course, the additional provision that the latter day exponents have the law upon their side. Long before dawn the expedition is prepared. Behind the iron shutters of a wayside police station the taxgatherer with two bailiffs and a posse of police are looking to the priming of their firearms before they set out upon what is a from prosaic means of earning a livelihood. The objective point of attack is arranged, and away starts the raiding party. A farmhouse is reached; Mr Dwane, the collector, knocks cautiously at the door, while his immediate attendants make a preliminary inspection of the cattle grazing in the fields around. The response to the demand of the visitor leaves no room for doubt that a seizure must be effected or that the bailiffs must execute a volte face without any

monetary return for their early morning's march. By this time the family are astir, the children are already out in the field, and between their cries and the still more vigorous measures of the elder members of the family, the livestock on the farm is seized with the liveliest desire to fly over the county, and not only the horses but the cows take to steeple-chasing with sudden alacrity.....In dealing with the people the police - as it seems to be unfortunately the rule in this district - use violence on the slightest necessity, or perhaps it is more accurate to say without any necessity whatever. The children are pursued by the police, and the women and girls, who are the readiest victims, are hustled and struck, while away and away go the bailiffs after some of the more inactive of the cattle. At last a cow is seized, and is at once marched off in triumph. By this time the horns have been blown on every hill around, and the neighbours come streaming over the fields by all the short cuts until an immense throng has assembled, who shout and express their indignation in a manner not to be misunderstood. The bailiffs then proceed to the nearest pound, the nearest being usually a distance of miles, in some cases four or five. At the pound an auction is held, and the cow is bought in for the owner. As soon as it has been released it is decorated with green ribbons, and driven home in triumph amid the cheers and plaudits of the people.(138)

One gains an insight into how unpopular the R.I.C. were with many Nationalists from the remarks of two prominent Home Rule M.P.s in December 1888. John Dillon considered the force to be a "Tory police" whose members were refused promotion "if they were guilty of kindly feeling towards the people amongst whom they lived." He contrasted the English police with their Irish counterparts: "They are civil, they are quiet, they are inoffensive, they are kindly, and they are always willing to assist any peaceable and decent citizen who requires their assistance." William O'Brien stated that "It was one of the most painful and lamentable things in Ireland that by the utter absence of employment so many fine young men were obliged to resort to this odious employment." He felt that

The whole system was the most horrible and repulsive in the world. From the beginning to the end of every young Irishman's career, from the moment he entered the force, he was taught to regard the people as his enemies, and that he can only expect promotion by making himself obnoxious to the people, or, better still, by bludgeoning and murdering them. (139)

A visitor to Ireland in 1889 even claimed that "domestic animals seem to hold the Irish police in disdain," adding that while "little and large dogs snarl or bark incessantly as they approach and pass, the Irish gander seldom fails to make an impression on the nether extremities of some constable in Her Majesty's service!" (140)

At evictions on the Olphert estate in Falcarragh in January 1889 the R.I.C. and bailiffs met with strong opposition. A bridge was destroyed at Dunfanaghy in an attempt to thwart the evicting party, and one house was fortified as if to withstand a siege. The occupant's had a week's provisions stored up, as well as pitchforks, heaps of stones, and other weapons. The bailiffs were repulsed by the house's defenders, and an R.I.C. sergeant was stabbed in the face and legs with pitchforks and thrown off a ladder when he tried to force an entry. Around 40 arrests were made during the evictions and the prisoners were lodged in Derry prison. Some 75 of the city's 80 carmen were Catholics, and these all refused to supply the R.I.C. with cars for conveying their prisoners. (141)

In the latter period of the Plan of Campaign the police were probably treated with the greatest hostility in

Tipperary. Policemen ranked high on the list of those boycotted in that county, and one of the most active figures behind the campaign of ostracism was Fr David Humphreys, who persuaded publicans and butchers not to serve R.I.C. men. (142) Anonymous threatening notices were posted against those who ignored the ban, including "the bloody old Peeler pensioner" James Shaw, a publican in Tipperary. (143) On the night of October 13, 1890, Fr Humphreys assaulted the wife of Sergeant Mullins of Tipperary and accused her of being a prostitute, and was later fined 20 because of the attack. Policemen were in very poor favour in Tipperary after the prosecution of the popular priest. Two servants of a constable's wife who lived in the same house as Mrs Mullins were intimidated afterwards, and in November 1890 Constable Linney's pregnant wife, who also resided with Mrs Mullins, was assaulted, and suffered a miscarriage as a result. (144) Even policemen's children were boycotted in Tipperary. In May 1890 Sergeant O'Connor's children were stoned in Cashel, and in the next month the schoolgirls of the town, as well as some boys and women, "made a demonstration to intimidate the children of the police and to prevent them from attending the school." (145)

Not only were the police greatly disliked when they protected the agents of landlordism at unpopular evictions (until the Land War not all evictions were regarded as attacks upon the rural community), but the constabulary themselves often detested performing these duties. This is not

surprising, given the rural origins of most recruits, but it was overlooked by those who spoke of the "brutal treason" of the R.I.C. against their own people. The earliest instance of police distaste at performing eviction duty which this author has found was early in 1850. On January 11, 1850, the Frankford police had to attend at the eviction of 125 people on Robert Cassidy's estate at Cullawn, Ballinree and Killyon. According to a witness, at one particularly harsh eviction, that of a family suffering from fever, everybody present "wept bitterly," and Sub-inspector Coe "extended the hand of charity to the poor sufferers."(146) A report of an eviction at Inniskeen in Monaghan in April 1858 states that "The looks and bearing of the constabulary satisfied witnesses of the painful scenes that they were unwilling instruments on the occasion." (147) At the famous Derryveagh evictions in 1861 the police regarded their protection role with great distaste; at the first eviction, that of an old widow and her seven children, she and her six daughters broke down in tears, and the police themselves cried at the sight.(148) According to Katharine Tynan, David Harrel, while a young police officer in Tyrone in the 1860s, wrote to protest to Prime Minister Gladstone after he had witnessed the clearance of "a whole countryside" merely because a landlord "wanted a park," and the eviction of a farmer and his family so that "the rich little farm they had made with endless toil should be given to the discarded mistress of the landlord."(149)

Accounts of constabulary sympathy with evicted tenants were more frequent during the Land War. The police, often including their officers, subscribed to prevent evictions or to try and make up tenants' arrears at Kiltullagh in Galway in June 1880, at Sandhill in Mayo in August 1880, at Curraghlea in the same county in April 1881, at several evictions near Cavan town in June 1881, at Tang in Westmeath in April 1882, at Dowras in Galway in 1886, at the Glenbeigh evictions in January 1887, and on Inisbegle in May 1887. (150) Constable Martin Nolan records with anger that "There was often ten times as much spent in car hire [for the police] as would pay the rent of the people to be evicted." (151) There are accounts of evicting policemen in Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo and Donegal crying while performing their protection duty. (152) One newspaper which frequently criticized the role of the R.I.C. during the Land War stated that 60 soldiers and 25 policemen who attended at the ejection of 30 Connemara families in January 1882 "exhibited the utmost repugnance to the duty imposed on them." (153)

The R.I.C. rank and file, given their social origins, could not help but feel dismay at their role during the Land War, and some resigned in protest. It was not unknown even for sons of evicted farmers to join the R.I.C., and in 1887 one had the painful experience of attending at his own father's eviction in Limerick. (154) A Mallow sub-constable who resigned in October 1881 gave as his reason that "he was called upon

to do duties in assisting at evictions and service at writs, which were repulsive to his feelings as an Irishman."(155) Three Macroom policemen and one stationed near Castlebar resigned in the same month for similar reasons, and the three former were the objects of a "triumphal demonstration" on the occasion of their emigration to America.(156) Sub-constable Hugh McPartlan, a Leitrim farmer's son with almost eight years' service, resigned in Wexford in December 1881 because he objected to performing eviction duty. In the same month Sub-constable Thomas Davis, who was a grocer's assistant in King's County before joining the R.I.C. in 1879, resigned because of his father's imprisonment under the Protection of Person and Property Act.(157)

In August 1881, Irish businessmen who were members of the New York Land League established a scheme, at the suggestion of Anna Parnell, for employing R.I.C. men who resigned and emigrated to America. She claimed that she got the idea as a result of the widespread dissatisfaction in the constabulary at the duties they were called upon to perform during the Land War. Few policemen, however, took their dissatisfaction to the point of resigning from the force, although it is significant that the resignation rates in 1881 and 1882 were the highest since 1872. Irish-American businessmen were unenthusiastic about Parnell's scheme also; indeed, some suggested that she "could find patriotic Irishmen in this city more worthy of employment than those West British

bluecoats."(158)

Although Parnell's scheme was a flop, at least some policemen gave up the security of a well-paid job rather than engage in tasks which a considerable portion of the community considered odious. When Constable Michael Ryan of Duncannon left the force on December 31, 1881, he wrote to his officer that "My only motive for so doing is that I consider the duty imposed upon me at the present juncture to be disgraceful and tyrannical."(159) In April 1887 two Kiltteely constables, and one at Croom, resigned in protest at the 1887 Coercion Bill; a Portumna constable who refused to help a bailiff to break down a tenant's door later resigned, and 13 Castleisland constables left the force rather than continue what one described later as "the heartless work of ruffianly landlordism." The latter 13 were publicly feted at Castleisland, Killarney, Millstreet, Kanturk and Cork before their emigration to America.(160) They were followed by two constables from Dromiskane and Knockanure in May 1887.(161) In July 1887 Constable Underwood of Kildare and Constable Kevlahan of the Belfast force resigned in protest at the passing of the Coercion Act, and Constable Thomas Thomson of the Limerick force resigned in November 1887 in protest at the arrest of William O'Brien.(162) Constable James Owens left the Newry R.I.C. in April 1881 as a protest against Coercion, and was given a "complimentary address" by the Nationalists of that town before his departure for America.(163) In December

1888 a Loughrea constable was arrested after marching at the head of the local Nationalist band through the streets of the town and proclaiming that "the police were sick of the degrading work which they were called upon to perform."(164)

These few examples suggest that while most R.I.C. men stuck to their guns and remained in the force during the Land War, some, and perhaps many more than the numbers who resigned indicate, were rather disgruntled at the role they played in the agrarian conflict. Sub-constable John Tarrant of Ennis told the 1882 committee of enquiry into the R.I.C. that "the landlords are causing us more trouble than good;" another policeman stated that he did not trust the men currently joining the force as much as his more senior colleagues, as the former must have been "more or less brought into direct or indirect connection" with the Fenian agents abroad in the country.(165) A Times correspondent felt in 1886 that recent recruits who were serving in Kerry had sympathy with or were fraternizing with "undesirable persons," and that there must be "considerable temptation, especially in outlying districts, to stand well with the people and make things easy for themselves." (166) A Manchester Guardian journalist also felt that some of the Kerry R.I.C. "share the feelings of the people about 'the boys.'"(167)

E.G.Jenkinson, the assistant under-secretary, felt in December 1886 that many of the police were "very stupid & unfit" for the work of the Crime Branch Special, while many

others were "untrustworthy." (168) In February 1888 Inspector-general Reed stated that "it was not safe for him to issue circulars to the force," probably a reference to the familiarity of some Home Rule M.P.s and nationalist newspapers with the contents of many of those documents in the 1880s. A Dublin Castle investigation into the state of discipline of the R.I.C. in Wexford and Wicklow in 1890 found that

both these counties are as bad as they can be. The worst of it is that there is something very like disloyalty on the part of the police and some of their officers. They have been shutting their eyes to boycotting etc, if they have not been actually conniving at it.

A similar state of affairs existed in Tipperary, where, it was felt, the Plan of Campaign on the Smith Barry estate "could have been nipped in the bud had it not been for the extraordinary neglect of duty of the police, which was concealed by lies." (169)

It is interesting that the authorities suspected the reliability of some of their officers in this period. Undoubtedly some officers were not very enthusiastic about their role in contentious agrarian disputes. On September 7, 1881, the Clare county inspector, who attended at a number of evictions in the Miltown Milbay area, tried in vain to convince the landlord of "the absurdity of expecting her tenants to pay impossible rents." (170) An Ulster officer in October 1884 considered that the landlords were "the only dangerous class in his district." (171) The divisional commissioner of police for Kerry and Clare in the late 1880s

wrote after attending the Vandeleur evictions that "We all loathed the work, and most of us deeply sympathized with the poor ejected ones," and that "the distasteful duty of protecting the sheriff in carrying out his odious work fell to me and to those under me."(172) However, most R.I.C. officers, given their social origins and their close relations with the gentry, justices of the peace and resident magistrates, inevitably identified with the landed classes' view of the "Land Question" or the "Irish Question." This was implicit in the Tubbercurry sub-inspector's description of the difficulties facing him in his "rather disturbed" district in November 1869, which he summarized as "threatening notices and letters, and midnight visits to intimidate obnoxious & therefore loyal people."(173) Garrow Green considered "Outrage and boycotting" to be the equivalent of "fomenting disloyalty." He writes that when he was on duty protecting process-servers in Dunmore in the 1880s he dined with a resident magistrate and the evicting landlady, after witnessing a police bayonet attack on a crowd of women and boys. He felt "shame and indignation" at the sight, but the magistrate and landlady talked about the locals "as if they were beneath the beasts of the field." The R.I.C. officer did not agree: he merely considered them to be "aborigines." (174)

In April 1887 the Tyrone county inspector forbade his men to subscribe to a collection for evicted tenants near Draperstown.(175) At first C.P.Crane, a district inspector

from England, was not very enthusiastic about his duties during the Land War, but he eventually and, perhaps, inevitably, came to view the agitation from the Conservative/Unionist perspective:

All seemed so squalid, and the struggle in which we were engaged had not, so far, presented any signs of an elevated character. Later on, when the question of the Union was prominently before the public, it seemed different and one felt one was doing something for the Empire.(176)

Another indication of the outlook of officers was the "shock" they felt at "Mr Gladstone's proposals" in 1886, presumably his Home Rule Bill; also many found "the suppression of the loyal Protestants of Belfast" during their murderous riots as an "odious" duty that year. When the question of Home Rule was again before parliament in 1893, the R.I.C. officers presented proposals to the chief secretary that they be allowed to resign and still claim a pension if Home Rule was implemented, in addition to receiving compensation of up to 1,000 for county inspectors and up to 600 for district inspectors.(177) These proposals show the reluctance of constabulary officers to serve under a native Irish administration, but should not be seen as proof that the R.I.C. was a narrowly partisan force like its pre-1836 counterpart. While privately most officers were Unionists, in overt political controversies they and their men were remarkably neutral, and Conservative/Unionist and Nationalist alike were likely to feel the weight of a policeman's truncheon if they stepped outside the law.

The Land War of the 1880s was unusual in that for the

first time the R.I.C. was viewed with hostility by a large section of the community. With the equally unusual exception of the Famine years, there had never been a widespread popular feeling that the force was engaged in activities which were detrimental to the public interest. It is true that some of their activities, such as checking on dog licences or apprehending drunks, were considered irksome, but these intrusions were not sufficient to create an aversion so intense as the hatred aroused during the 1880s. So, not only was the Land War unusual in the antipathies which it aroused towards landlords, it was also an exceptional episode in the relations between the police and the public. The evidence suggests that animosity towards the force did not long outlast the 1880s, and that certainly by the late 1890s the constabulary were as popular with the rural community as they had been before the Land War. This is not to say that memories of the agitation of those years were forgotten - indeed, they were indelibly stamped on the folk memory - but the hatreds aroused in the period had largely died away. Even Arthur Griffith's United Irishman newspaper had kindly words to say about the R.I.C. and their place in the community in 1902:

The Royal Irish Constabulary is a body of Irishmen recruited from the Irish people; [they are] bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. The typical young constabularyman is Irish of the Irish; Catholic, and (as the word goes) Nationalist; the son of decent parents; his father a Home Rule farmer; his mother a Home Rule farmer's daughter; his uncle a patriotic priest; his cousin a nun; his sweetheart the daughter of a local Nationalist district councillor and patriotic publican; her uncle again being chairman of the local 'league' branch, and the

friend of the eloquent and patriotic member for the division, who asks questions 'on the floor' about the young constabularyman's prospects and grievances. The young constabularyman subscribes liberally to the church; he is smiled on by the Irish clergy; he is smiled on by Irish girls; he is respected by the young fellows of the street corner and the country cross-roads.(178)

Police witnesses from Derry, Longford, Cork, Dublin, Meath and Kerry testified before the 1901 R.I.C. commission either that the constabulary were then very popular, or that relations between the police and public had greatly improved since the Land War.(179) District Inspector John Regan found that even in disturbed districts in the south and west distinctions were made between the R.I.C. as a body, and the police as individuals. The former was regarded as "a landlord's force," while the latter were "generally personally popular."(180) A French visitor to Ireland in 1907 found that the Catholic peasantry, the main source of police recruits, had a very pragmatic view towards their sons joining the force:

'If our sons did not join.....would not England at once import twelve thousand Englishmen to do the work? In that case we should only have helped to Anglicize and Protestantize Ireland a little more.' In fact if people have no hesitation about denouncing publicly the 'Castle police' the individual constables are not regarded with any severe eye.(181)

James Comerford, who during the War of Independence was to devote a lot of his energies towards killing policemen, nevertheless felt that "the Royal Irish Constabulary as individuals were good fellows," "nice fellows" and "good family men." It was the R.I.C. "as an organization entity"

that he disliked. He records that a local constable often helped his family to pitch hay in the summer, and that they would hide his bicycle when he went to court a young woman in the neighbourhood. (182)

The R.I.C., then, was in an ambiguous position in Irish society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As individuals, its members were popular in the community. However, it is the image of the force as a socially-repressive and anti-Nationalist organization which has passed into the popular imagination, despite the evidence showing that it was fairly popular with contemporaries. Extreme Nationalists tried to isolate the force, either by painting them as pariahs who were not allowed to play Gaelic games or by denying them entry to Gaelic League dances. (183) However, the I.R.B., who were largely responsible for the introduction and maintaining of these bans, were out of step with most Nationalists' views of the R.I.C., and there was always an element of artificiality about the bans due to the popularity of the constabulary at a local level. There is some evidence to suggest that the official G.A.A. policy did not meet with the wholehearted approval of its members. In August 1906, when a Sergeant Jones was transferred from Doonbeg to Ennistymon, the people of Doonbeg purchased him a wagon-load of turf as a farewell present and invited him to be the judge at their G.A.A. cycling and sports meeting, from which the sergeant was supposed to be barred as an R.I.C. "cossack." A hostile Sinn

Fein observer lamented this "display of captive slaves proudly licking their chains." (184) They were not the only chain-lickers. James Comerford records that, the official ban notwithstanding, Constable Moriarity, "a friendly fellow," played football for his parish team. (185)

Influential Nationalist organizations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the United Irish League added their weight to the effort to isolate the R.I.C. from the community. There were some instances of hostility to the police when they protected graziers or occasionally attended at unpopular evictions, and sometimes shots were fired at them because of their agrarian role, but the campaign of ill-will was rather desultory and was never as widespread or as intense as during the Land War years. (186) The numerous presentations made to policemen on their retirement or transfer to new stations in this period are more representative of the feelings of people at the local level towards the constabulary. In September 1888 the station party at Slieverue in Waterford were evicted from their barracks "amidst the jeers and laughter" of an on-looking crowd, following a dispute over the ownership of the land on which their barracks was built. This contrasted sharply with the scene of July 1906, in which the sergeant at Slieverue was presented with an "illuminated address," a gold medal and a purse of sovereigns by the local people on the occasion of his transfer to another station. (187) This was just one of a spate of

presentations of illuminated addresses, watches, money, furniture, clocks or other tokens of appreciation to policemen on their transfer or retirement, and these are evidence of the widespread popularity of the police at the local level. Nationalist clubs or politicians were frequently prominent in these testimonials.

For example, in December 1901 the "Gaelic club" - either the G.A.A. or Gaelic League - of Bandon gave a purse of sovereigns to an R.I.C. constable on his retirement. (188) Most of the leaders of the U.I.L at Swords subscribed to a testimonial for Constable Michael Kane on the occasion of his transfer to Rush in January 1902. The Urban District Councils of Athlone, Fermoy, Cootehill and Belturbet, and the town commissioners in Kilkee, passed resolutions congratulating policemen on their promotions and transfer to other areas in 1904, and in March 1904 a member of Fermoy's U.I.L subscribed 1 of the 10 presented to a sergeant on his transfer from the town. The parishioners of Terryglass in Tipperary, including a county councillor and a rural district councillor, presented an illuminated address to a sergeant on his retirement in June 1903, while in September 1903 a Cork town councillor and an alderman were among the leading organizers of a subscription to a retiring sergeant. A rural district councillor, and president of the Cornakinnegar branch of the U.I.L., chaired a meeting in January 1905 which appointed collectors for a testimonial to a Lurgan sergeant on his retirement, and in the

same month some of the "most prominent civic fathers and red-hot Nationalists" of Drogheda contributed to the 40 and illuminated address given to a head constable who was about to retire. The Nationalist lord mayor of Limerick organized the subscription to mark the retirement of Sergeant Wickham from the R.I.C. in January 1909, and he was prominently involved in a similar testimonial when Head Constable Moore was promoted to district inspector in October 1909. In February 1912 one of the leaders of the U.I.L in Cork was treasurer to the fund established to mark the retirement of a sergeant after more than 25 years' service in that city, and the lord mayor of Cork was a member of the committee which organized a testimonial for Head Constable Kirby on his transfer to Dublin in June 1912. A Kilmacthomas councillor was involved in the subscription raised for a local sergeant on his retirement in January 1914.(189)

It is unlikely that these Nationalist political figures would have involved themselves with policemen's testimonials if such efforts were unpopular or potentially damaging in electoral terms. Indeed, sometimes retired policemen were elected to political office, another sign that they were regarded favourably in their localities. Ex-constable John Gallagher was pensioned in 1896, and returned to his native Corick, where he was elected to the rural district council around December 1911. In May 1913, a retired sergeant was an alderman of the city of Kilkenny, while another was a justice

of the peace, a town councillor and a Poor Law guardian in Callan. Cornelius Leonard, who died in September 1913, was a pensioned R.I.C. sergeant, and was chairman of Monaghan rural district council, governor of Monaghan Asylum Board, a member of the county infirmary committee and vice-chairman of its Old Age Pension committee at the time of his death.(190) The successful entry into local politics by some retired R.I.C. men, and the numerous examples of testimonials to others, certainly lead one to doubt the assertions of later extreme Nationalists that the constabulary were like brutal slave-drivers towards the community.

The frequent presentations to policemen were a frequent target of criticism from the eccentric D.P. Moran, the editor of the Leader newspaper. His attacks on the practice were not representative of Nationalist opinion in general; indeed, the testimonials continued in spite of Moran's invective.(191) In January 1905 he published a play entitled "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in which Kathleen sings

There is not in this wide world a place that's so dear,
To bigots and bank clerks as this around here,
Where the Bungs and the Shoneens appeal to the fobs,
And give testimonials to Peelers and snobs.

Oh, the Bungs and the Paddies are thoughtful and kind,
To want and to hardship they never are blind.
No pensioned policeman they leave in the cold,
But ease his distress with a purse full of gold.

The bank clerk so wretched, the railway man poor,
Of their kind compassion may always be sure,
To gives these poor creatures a bite and a sup,
The Shoneens and Paddies big purses make up.

But labourers pampered, and workers, and drones,

Who feed in their cabins on water and stones,
 To such who in ease and in luxury live,
 The Bunges and the Shoneens no purses will give.(192)

Moran, a fanatical teetotaler, took particular delight in pointing out the number of "Bunges" or publicans involved in organizing policemen's testimonials, or the fact that the presentations were often made in public houses; he suggested that the gifts were a reward to constables who "winked at sham 'bonas' and didn't see inside Mr Bung's shop when it was full after hours."(193)

While it is true that many publicans contributed to or organized these testimonials, it would be a distortion to claim that they monopolized them, or that they were made for a policeman's having winked at the law, rather than as a mark of his favour in the community. When Sergeant Andrew Lacey of Graiguenamanagh was about to retire in March 1911, a committee consisting of eight publicans, a retired policeman, the local bank manager, two drapers, a schoolmaster and a bank clerk was established to organize a testimonial for him. Sergeant Golding received a purse of sovereigns when he left Oranmore on promotion in the same month. The testimonial committee included a publican, a doctor, and the parish priest and curate. Two publicans, an ex-Urban District Councillor, a solicitor and a butcher organized a testimonial for a retiring Navan policeman in July 1912.(194)

In summary, then, the R.I.C. had by the early twentieth century largely regained its favour with the community.

Policemen such as Jeremiah Mee and David Neligan testify to the popularity of the constabulary in rural Ireland at this time, and their assertions are backed up by numerous sources. The police were popular when not involved in contentious agrarian disputes. It is rather anachronistic to consider the R.I.C. as obnoxious on political grounds before the 1916 rebellion. The evidence suggests that most of the rank and file, that were Catholics, were supporters of Home Rule, just as most Catholic civilians were. They were "imbued with the opinions and sympathies" of the labouring and small farming class, and "sympathized with their aspirations." It was not until the unexpected growth of militant separatism after 1916 that the R.I.C., as well as a large proportion of the Nationalist community, were left behind by the pace of events, and that the police found themselves labelled by de Valera and others as "traitors."(195)

The biggest exception to the rule of a fairly amicable relationship between the R.I.C. and the community was in Belfast. Part of the reason for this uneasy relationship was due to the very obtrusiveness of the Belfast R.I.C.; the northern city was heavily policed by the standards of the United Kingdom, and working class city areas did not take kindly to the presence of constables. In British cities the police were often resented as intruders bent on curbing the leisure-time activities of the working man: the lower orders were more inclined to regard constables as malign "blue

locusts" than genial "Bobbies."(196) Such views would not have been out of place in Belfast, where the R.I.C. busied themselves with arresting children for playing marbles and pitch and toss, for "throwing bullets" (playing road bowls) and letting off fireworks, for playing football or cards in the streets, for throwing snowballs, using catapults, or playing a rough game called "common."(197)

Police intervention in the most popular working class leisure activity - drinking - was more deeply resented, and drunk prisoners contributed significantly to the statistics of assaults on policemen. A more important indication of the resentment felt towards the constabulary were the frequent interventions by crowds to try and rescue drunk or other prisoners from custody. In April 1866 James Toole was arrested in the Catholic Pound Street area for "wrangling with some women" when drunk. The women cried out for the men in the neighbourhood to rescue the prisoner, and "a large crowd collected immediately" which "pelted" the policeman with stones. He retained custody of his prisoner only by drawing his sword to keep the crowd at bay. According to Head Constable Jacques, "whenever the police arrested any disorderly persons in the neighbourhood of Pound Street, the people assembled in large numbers, and attempted to rescue them."(198) Later that month a solicitor stated that there was no point in fining a man who had assaulted three constables at Lettuce Hill, as "any fine that might be imposed would very

soon be 'clubbed up' in the neighbourhood where the offence was committed."(199)

On May 13, 1866, a man was arrested by two sub-constables in Crane Court, in the Pound Street area, for having been part of a riotous crowd in the previous month. He resisted violently, and caused a large crowd to collect, which attempted to free him. The policemen were obliged to take refuge in a public house in the area, but the crowd burst in, rescued their prisoner, and assaulted the police. When reinforcements arrived the constabulary were able to re-take their prisoner, but on their way to the Divis Street station a crowd of 1,000 gathered to stone them. Later, when they brought their prisoner to the police office, they were stoned by a crowd of from 2,000 to 3,000 people.(200) Two sub-constables who arrested a drunk and disorderly man in Henry Square in July 1866 were surrounded by a large crowd, kicked, knocked down and trampled, and their prisoner was released. They went for reinforcements and later managed to re-arrest the drunk, but on the way to the police office were twice stoned by large crowds and had to draw their swords to retain their prisoner. In the same month, two boys who were arrested in Grosvenor Street called out for a rescue in the Pound, causing a crowd of "several hundred" to collect and stone the police. Two policemen were assaulted by a crowd in Protestant Durham Street after they arrested a man for drunkenness and disorderly behaviour. Another crowd attacked a police patrol

which had arrested a disorderly man and conveyed him to Peter's Hill barrack.(201) Sub-inspector Blake claimed in January 1876 that Cromac Street was "a place in which the police found it almost impossible to do duty. Whenever any person was arrested a regular crowd collected, and the police were always assaulted, and sometimes severely." Sub-constable Mulhern complained four years later that due to the "rowdyism" prevalent in the Corporation Street area "it was impossible to do duty in it."(202) Crowd attempts to rescue prisoners from custody were very frequent, and show how relatively unpopular the Belfast R.I.C. were, when contrasted with the situation in the rest of the country.(203)

Not all attacks on policemen in Belfast involved hostile mobs. Some individuals gained notoriety for assaulting members of the constabulary. These included a blind phrenologist who styled himself "Protestant John McCallin, the bump-reader," and James Crilly, described by the constabulary as a "drunken, troublesome, riotous character" who was "in the habit of assaulting the police."(204) In August 1866 Head Constable Egan described an obstreperous prisoner as "the terror of all the police in the Pound," while a "notorious burglar" arrested in the same month had already chalked up ten prison terms for assaulting policemen.(205) A woman arrested in Corporation Street in January 1873 for being drunk and disorderly and using obscene language already had 58 convictions against her name, including 12 for police assaults; a one-armed man who

was detained in the next month severely assaulted the two R.I.C. men who arrested him. He had 32 previous convictions, 12 of which were for assaulting policemen.(206) In April 1880 a magistrate stated that William Turner, who when arrested by two sub-constables in North Street had "kicked and bit them savagely," had "systematically assaulted the police for several years."(207) On New Year's Eve, 1894, Constable Toal was attacked by two men in a Divis Street public house; one of these, Michael Gillan, had 22 previous convictions for assaulting policemen.(208)

Of course, when examining the relationship between the constabulary and Belfast's lower classes, one has to bear in mind the sectarian divisions in the city, and the fact that the Irish Constabulary had replaced an already well-established force, the Belfast Borough Police, on September 1, 1865. The borough force was composed almost exclusively of Protestants, and so was distrusted by many Catholics as being a biased body. When the denominationally-mixed Irish Constabulary took over the policing of Belfast's streets, it was inevitably resented by many Belfast Protestants as being a "Popish" force. "Papist," "Papish," "Papish looking b[ugge]r," "Fenian," "bloody lot of Fenians," "Popish rascal," "Popish pig-drivers," "a parcel of Ribbonmen," "Papist pup," "Papish brats," "a Popish set" : these were just some of the abusive epithets hurled at members of the constabulary by Protestant prisoners.(209) William Short's desire in June 1866 to "peel

the nose off the Papish Peelers" was undoubtedly shared by many of his co-religionists.(210) Not only was the new force disliked because it was believed to contain an undue proportion of Catholics, but they were believed by some to be Catholics from outside Ulster, and therefore even more repugnant to lower class Belfast Protestants. In March 1866 Archibald Marks, following his arrest for being drunk, disorderly and assaulting a woman, "cursed the police for Dublin Papists;" in October 1866 Andrew Crawford of Ballymacarrett shouted out that the constabulary were "Papishes from Tipperary, and that they had come down to Belfast to trample over the Protestants."(211) This antipathy towards a supposedly "Papist" force lasted a long time: during the Lady's Day disturbances in 1880 a newspaper commented on the "old enmity" between the Protestant rioters and the police. (212)

This hostility towards the new force was at first shared by many well-to-do Protestants. Their organ, the Belfast Newsletter, complained about the "green badge of disgrace" imposed on the city.(213) It stated in September 1865 that "Nothing could be more unconstitutional or improper than to have an armed police patrolling our streets," and alleged that 450 constabulary men were less efficient than the 160 men of the old force. In May 1866 it claimed that the new police were "by no means inclined to be civil," that they treated the public "as though they were inferior animals," and that the

men on night duty, instead of performing patrols, "congregated in fours and sixes at the [street] corners, generally supporting the wall of some house."(214) However, by the mid-1870s, the newspaper had changed its tune, possibly because by then the constabulary had proved itself capable of suppressing communal disorder on the streets, and its editorial line supported the new force. In April 1876 it stated that "respectable persons have the fullest confidence in the Royal Irish Constabulary, armed or unarmed; but it is otherwise with the roughs, who are so often in their hands." (215)

The constabulary were scarcely more popular with lower class Catholics than they were with their Protestant counterparts. Old animosities died hard, and the insults of "b[lood]y Orange pup," "set of Orange Peelers," "Presbyterian g[e]t," and "Orange pig-drovers and Orange b[ugge]rs" suggest that many Catholics were no more enamoured of the new force than they had been of the borough police.(216) A woman arrested at Peter's Hill on November 15, 1866, declared that she would "sooner have the skin of a policeman than [of] all the Orangemen in Belfast."(217) Catholic policemen were, at first, possibly marginally more acceptable to some Catholics than Protestant policemen. In July 1866 a resident of Cromac Street shouted out, "To H[el]l with the police, especially the Protestant ones," which caused a resident magistrate to remark that "she would send you all there, but the Protestants were

to get the hottest place." A man who was arrested in October 1866 in Great Patrick Street for drunkenness at first stated that he was "glad to see the good Roman catholic police on duty on the street, and not the d[amne]d Protestants who were on before they came to Belfast." However, following his arrest, he "cursed the police for d[amne]d rascals"! In December 1866 a woman shouted out, "God bless the Pope and the Tipperary Peelers, and to H[el]l with King William;" her good opinion of the "Tipperary Peelers" probably changed following her arrest for using party expressions. (218)

Sub-constable Hurley had the unusual experience of being denounced by one man as a "Papish Peeler," and of being assaulted and called "an Orange b[ugge]r" by another, on the same weekend in October 1866. (219) This in particular suggests that Belfast's lower classes were not especially aware of the religious affiliation of individual policemen; the constabulary were disliked simply because they were an unwelcome presence in working class areas, and people in these districts used their highest form of abuse, the sectarian insult, for the objects of their animosity. Justice Otway, commenting on Belfast's sectarian camps in February 1880, stated astutely that "there was nothing that united them more than this common hatred of the police." (220)

It was the Belfast riots of 1886, which left 32 people dead, most of them Protestants, that determined that Belfast Protestants were likely to have a greater aversion than

Catholics to the R.I.C. The constabulary had been withdrawn from the Shankhill Road during the riots, and before they resumed patrolling in that area posters were put up demanding that a phrenologist test each man's skull, to ensure that he was not of "murderous propensities." (221) As a result of the disturbances, the R.I.C. in Belfast were specially trained in the use of the truncheon in five-man groups, who were to be well-drilled and thus "not likely to be seized with panic" when confronted by hostile mobs. Constables were warned to use "sound discretion" before making arrests in "dangerous localities," as an unwise arrest could spark off a riot or "necessitate the use of firearms." They were told that "it is better that an offender should not be arrested, than that he should be rescued from custody after arrest," the latter outcome being of frequent occurrence in Belfast. (222)

These measures did little for the R.I.C.'s image in Protestant areas. During the period of the second Home Rule Bill, in 1893, it was the military which policed the shipyard area and kept the Falls and Shankhill mobs apart, and the Unionist mayor and magistrates showed scant sympathy for the R.I.C.'s troubles in times of exceptional tension. One magistrate remarked that the police "could learn to respect the characteristic independence of the citizens, and show them more civility and less rudeness." It is important to remember, however, that not all Protestant hostility towards the constabulary was as a result of the force's actions in the

1886 riots; although the bitter memory of the events of that year were an important factor, much animosity was also due to a natural dislike of the police in lower class city areas. Even after Partition and the establishment of the mainly Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary, relations between the Protestant working class and the Belfast police remained strained. Sam McAughtrey, recalling his youth in the 1920s in the Protestant working class area of Tiger's Bay, states that the people of the district were "distanced from the police," and that "policemen came into the area with some trepidation and they came in twos and frequently one of them had trouble making it to the other side." (223) A similar statement could have been made about the R.I.C. in working class areas of the city in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER EIGHT

¹ R.D.Storch, "Domestic Missionary;" "The Plague of the Blue Locusts: Police Reform and Popular Resistance in Northern England, 1840-57" in International Review of Social History, 20, part I (1975), pp 61-90.

² Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, p.409.

³ P.S.O'Hegarty, A History of Ireland Under the Union 1801 to 1922 (London: Methuen, 1952), pp 401-404.

⁴ 1837 Constabulary Rules, p.83; Copy of General Instructions Issued to the Royal Irish Constabulary in Reference to Carrying or Using Their Firearms H.C. 1868-69 (388) li 523.

⁵ Return Relative to Persons Who Have Been Killed or Severely Wounded in Affrays With the Constabulary Force in Ireland, Since 1 December 1830; Specifying Their Names, Date, Place of Occurrence, &c H.C. 1846 (280) xxxv 237.

⁶ Return of the Number of Cases in Which Bills for Murder or Manslaughter Against Police, Yeomen, or Military, Have Been Presented to Grand Juries in Ireland, Since the Year 1820; Specifying in Each Case Whether the Bill was Found True or Ignored; and Also Specifying the Locality in Which the Loss of Life Took Place, and the Number of Persons Killed; and Also, Whether the Parties Against Whom Bills Have Been Found, Have Been Convicted or Acquitted by the Petty Jury H.C. 1852-53 (475) xciv 637.

⁷ Belfast Newsletter (Oct.19,1866); Resident Magistrate Hill, Tuam, to chief or under-secretary (Feb.4,1870), and Resident Magistrate O'Hara, Tulla, to Chief Secretary Fortescue (Feb.8,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2757); Westmeath Select Committee, pp 139,142; 1872 R.I.C. Commission, pp 81,92,100; Gallagher, My Story, pp 90-93.

⁸ Resident Magistrate Greene, Galway, to chief or under-secretary (Feb.1,1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/2757).

⁹ Coleraine barracks journal, Feb.1837-Apr. 1839: entries for (Mar.6,1838) (May2,1838) (June28,1838) (Sept.3,1838) (Dec.25,1838) (Feb.26,1839) (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7367).

¹⁰ Ibid (Apr.18,1838).

¹¹ (S.P.O: C.C.Sol. Papers 1863/107); Freeman's Journal (May 11,1881)(Aug.16,1881)(July 11,1888)(Aug.6,1913); Cork Examiner (Jan.16,1890).

¹² Freeman's Journal (July 18,1855).

¹³ R.V.Comerford, "Patriotism as Pastime: the Appeal of Fenianism in the Mid-1860s" in Irish Historical Studies, vol. xxii, no. 87 (Mar.1981), pp 239-50; Brian Griffin, "Social Aspects of Fenianism in Connacht and Leinster, 1858-1870" in Eire-Ireland, vol. xxi, no. 1 (spring 1986), pp 16-39.

¹⁴ Fr Raymond Murray (ed), The Armagh Bullet Thrower (Cavan: Abbey Prints,1976), p.114; Michael J.Murphy, Ulster Folk of Field and Fireside (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press,1983), p.135.

¹⁵ 1883 R.I.C. Manual, p.10. It is significant that detectives in Belfast were not allowed to prosecute breaches of the Licensing Acts or charge boys for playing football in the streets, as this would have caused them to be unpopular and closed possible channels of information to them: Belfast Police Commission, 1906 - Evidence, p.11.

¹⁶ Cork Examiner (May 7,1888).

¹⁷ Coleraine barracks journal, Feb.1838-Apr.1839: entries for (May 23,1838)(June 4,1838)(Aug.11,1838)(Sept.1,1838)(Oct.6,1838)(Jan.5,1839)(T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7367).

¹⁸ Elizabeth Malcolm, "Temperance and Irish Nationalism" in Lyons, Ireland Under the Union, p.93.

¹⁹ Freeman's Journal (Apr.22,1880).

²⁰ 1877 Select Committee in Intoxicating Liquors, p.323; 1898 Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, pp 38,71,78,90,197,356.

²¹ 1898 Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, pp 82,116,118-19.

²² Ibid, pp 37,74.

²³ Ibid, pp 32,56,76,92,102,104,106,110-12,234,239-40; Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.252 (U.C.D: Dept. of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).

²⁴ 1837 petition of Hugh Connolly to Earl Mulgrave

(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/83).

²⁵ John Coffee to Inspector-general Shaw-Kennedy (Jan. 18, 1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/146/3).

²⁶ Freeman's Journal (Mar. 27, 1848).

²⁷ Ibid (Apr. 15, 1851).

²⁸ See above, pp

²⁹ Sub-inspector Croker to Inspector-general Shaw-Kennedy (Jan. 21, 1837) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1837/26/3).

³⁰ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Apr.-June, Oct.-Dec. 1842 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, nos. 275, 276).

³¹ Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1844 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 277).

³² Nation (Oct. 9, 16, 1847).

³³ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum); Constabulary disciplinary cases, Oct.-Dec. 1850 (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7376, no. 278).

³⁴ Constabulary disciplinary cases, 1848-72 (Garda Museum).

³⁵ Freeman's Journal (Dec. 9, 1848); Charles Gavan Duffy, Four Years of Irish History, 1845-49 (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1883), pp 647, 689, 722-24.

³⁶ D.M.P. report (June 1, 1867) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1867/11114); Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, 1838 to 1898 (Mariner's Harbor: published by the author, 1898), p. 260; R.I.C. Mag. (Sept. 1912), p. 344; Griffin, "Social Aspects," pp 37-38.

³⁷ Irish People (Jan. 23, 1864).

³⁸ Resident Magistrate Warburton, Limerick, to under-secretary (Jan. 6, 1870) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1870/406).

³⁹ Charles J. Kickham, For the Old Land - a Tale of Twenty Years Ago (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1886), p. 41.

⁴⁰ Michael Davitt, The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland or the Story of the Land League Revolution (London and New York: Harper, 1904), p. 317.

⁴¹ Freeman's Journal (Sept. 27, 1881).

⁴² Ibid (Oct.29,1881) (Nov.5,1881) (Dec.7,1881) (Nov.16, 1885) (May 26,1888) (June 25,1888); Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, pp 126,149-52,154,161.

⁴³ Freeman's Journal (June 9,1881).

⁴⁴ Ibid (Dec.29,1879).

⁴⁵ Ibid (Jan.5,6,1880).

⁴⁶ Ibid (Jan.17,1880); Special Commission Act, 1888, iii, p.352.

⁴⁷ Freeman's Journal (Feb.6,1880).

⁴⁸ Ibid (Mar.10,1880).

⁴⁹ Ibid (Mar.22,23,1880).

⁵⁰ Ibid (Mar.31,1880).

⁵¹ Ibid (Apr.5,9,11,12,1881).

⁵² Ibid (Apr.8,1881).

⁵³ Ibid (Apr.14,1881).

⁵⁴ Ibid (Apr.25,1881).

⁵⁵ Ibid (May 5,1881).

⁵⁶ Ibid (May 6,1881).

⁵⁷ Ibid (May 12,20,1881).

⁵⁸ Ibid (May 28,1881).

⁵⁹ Ibid (July 14,1881).

⁶⁰ Ibid (June 16,1881).

⁶¹ Ibid (July 2,1881).

⁶² Haire, "In Aid of Civil Power," pp 134-35. Haire, however, argues that the fact that the police had more contact with the public was "irrelevant."

⁶³ Freeman's Journal (Aug.16,1881).

⁶⁴ Ibid (Aug.22,1881).

- 65 Ibid (June 3, 1881).
- 66 Ibid (Sept. 27, 1881).
- 67 Ibid (Oct. 11, 1881).
- 68 Ibid (Nov. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 1881).
- 69 Ibid (Oct. 26, 1881).
- 70 Hawkins, Arnold-Forster's Journal, p. 258n.
- 71 Freeman's Journal (Dec. 9, 1881).
- 72 Ibid (Feb. 13, 18, 1882).
- 73 Ibid (Mar. 18, 21, 1882).
- 74 Ibid (Dec. 2, 4, 1882).
- 75 Ibid (Mar. 8, 1881).
- 76 Ibid (May 15, 16, 18, 21, 1881).
- 77 Special Commission Act, 1888, iii, p. 91.
- 78 Cant-Wall, Ireland Under Land Act, pp 191-92.
- 79 Freeman's Journal (Jan. 12, 1882) (Apr. 3, 11, 1882).
- 80 Crane, Memories of R.M., pp 53, 58, 61.
- 81 Ibid, p. 58.
- 82 Freeman's Journal (Apr. 15, 1881).
- 83 Ibid (Apr. 26, 1881).
- 84 Ibid (July 11, 1881).
- 85 Ibid (Aug. 13, 1881).
- 86 Cork Examiner (Sept. 28, 1881).
- 87 Ibid (Nov. 1, 1881). The same issue stated that the constable at Milford in Cork "cannot put his head outside the barrack that he is not saluted with this very popular air."
- 88 Diary of Police Magistrate William Woodlock (Nov. 3, 1871) (N.L.I: MS 3779); Freeman's Journal (Oct. 19, 31, 1871) (Nov. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 1871); Andrew Parkin (ed), Selected Plays of Dion Boucicault (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America

Press, 1987), pp 259-326; O Broin, Fenian Fever, pp 12, 137, 140, 146-47, 222.

⁸⁹ Davitt, Fall of Feudalism, p.219.

⁹⁰ Special Commission Act, 1888, iii, pp 100-101.

⁹¹ Ibid, i, p.508; United Ireland (Feb.25,1882).

⁹² Times (Dec.11,1880).

⁹³ Special Commission Act, 1888, iii, pp 100-101.

⁹⁴ Freeman's Journal (Mar.9,1881).

⁹⁵ Ibid (May 6,24,26,1881)(June 3,1881).

⁹⁶ Ibid (June 11,1881).

⁹⁷ Clifford Lloyd, Ireland Under Land League, pp 78-79.

⁹⁸ Freeman's Journal (July 1,1881); Special Commission Act, 1888 , iv, p.308.

⁹⁹ Freeman's Journal (July 16,1881).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid (Aug.23,1881); Baron E. de Mandat-Grancy, Paddy at Home ("Chez Paddy") (London: Chapman and Hall,1887, 2nd ed), pp 274-75.

¹⁰¹ Freeman's Journal (Sept.14,1881).

¹⁰² Ibid (Aug.26,1881)(Sept.20,1881).

¹⁰³ Ibid (Oct.24,1881).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid (Oct.25,1881).

¹⁰⁵ Parsonstown police reports (Oct.29,1881)(Nov.3,1881) (S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1881/43541).

¹⁰⁶ Freeman's Journal (Oct.13,1881).

¹⁰⁷ A.B.Cooke and J.R.Vincent (eds), "Select Documents XXVIII: Herbert Gladstone, Forster, and Ireland, 1881-2 (I)," in Irish Historical Studies, vol. xvii, no. 68 (Sept.1971), p.546.

¹⁰⁸ Freeman's Journal (Jan.30,1882); United Ireland (Feb.4,1882). At some time in the 1880s the names of young ladies who attended a ball in Killarney for "Balfour's bludgeonmen" were listed on the cathedral gate, and they were

warned that they would "not be forgotten:" Crane, Memories of R.M., p.99.

¹⁰⁹ Freeman's Journal (Jan.19,1882).

¹¹⁰ Special Commission Act, 1888, ii, pp 339-40,348,401-2,404.

¹¹¹ United Ireland (Apr.8,1882). Clifford Lloyd records in his memoirs that during the Land War Fr Sheehy of Kilmallock denounced two R.I.C. men as "drunken Peelers," "battalioned blackguards" and "mongrel whelps and curs of a low degree." His invective sparked off a day of attacks on the police: Ireland Under the Land League, p.178.

¹¹² Special Commission Act, 1888, i, pp 513,517,522-24.

¹¹³ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 109,112; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 75,177,187.

¹¹⁴ Freeman's Journal (June 27,1881).

¹¹⁵ Ibid (Sept.12,13,17,21,22,23,24,27,28,29,30,1881) (Oct.5,7,1881).

¹¹⁶ Ibid (Sept.13,1881).

¹¹⁷ Ibid (June 15,1881) (July 9,1881) (Mar.22,1882) (Apr.8,13,1882) (June 10,1882); 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 4,43,113,209,215,247,268-69,348,351.

¹¹⁸ Freeman's Journal (July 19,1882).

¹¹⁹ Details of the R.I.C. agitation from Freeman's Journal, Irish Times, Times and United Ireland (July 31 to Aug. 15,1882); Constabulary circulars (Aug.4,10,1882) (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7377). There was a brief sequel to the agitation later in August. On August 26 six sub-constables of the William Street station were ordered for transfer to northern counties. These men had played a leading part in the movement earlier in the month, and it was believed by the Limerick force and the R.I.C. in general that they were being transferred as punishment for their earlier activities. (However, it is probable that the real reason for their proposed transfer was that they were instrumental in the threatened resignation of the R.I.C. at New Pallas, who were angry with Special Resident Magistrate Clifford Lloyd for having quartered soldiers in their barracks). The six men at first refused to obey their transfer orders, and a meeting of 100 men threatened to go on strike unless the orders were rescinded. There was a brief stoppage for a few hours, but this hardly constituted a strike. By August 28 one of the six

men agreed to proceed to the north as ordered, and the remaining five were dismissed in the presence of Inspector-general Bruce and the Limerick county inspector. The Limerick force then left their beats and around 50 sub-constables tendered their resignations, but were prevailed upon by the inspector-general to withdraw them. When the five dismissed policemen, and another who had resigned in protest at their dismissal, left their barracks that evening they were loudly cheered by their colleagues in the presence of Colonel Bruce, and that night 58 men resigned, despite Bruce's assurance that the dismissed men had not been punished for their part in the police agitation earlier that month. However, on August 29, the day that Colonel Bruce departed from Limerick, the 58 men withdrew their resignations, and the Limerick force instead sent a memorial to the lord lieutenant asking for the reinstatement of the dismissed policemen. The reaction of the force in the rest of the country was cautious. Most telegrams received in Limerick showed that there was a lot of bitterness at the dismissals, and plans were made for a subscription for the men removed from the force, but the general feeling was also that the men had acted rashly in refusing to proceed to the north, especially as a committee of enquiry had been called to investigate the grievances of the R.I.C.: United Ireland (Sept.2,1882); Freeman's Journal (Aug.28,29,30,31,1882); Times (Aug.28,29,30,1882); Constabulary circular (Aug.28,1882) (T.C.D: Goulden Papers, MS 7377).

¹²⁰ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, p.270.

¹²¹ Special Commission Act, 1888, i, pp 640-43,650-55; ii, pp 94-96, 99, 102; iii, p.18.

¹²² Paschal Grousset, Ireland's Disease: Notes and Impressions (London: George Routledge, 1888), pp 125-26.

¹²³ Special Commission Act, 1888, iii, pp 159-69; Cork Constitution (Feb.8,1887).

¹²⁴ Midland Tribune (June 30,1887).

¹²⁵ Cork Examiner (May 5,1888); Times (Aug.15,1888) (Sept.11,28,1888).

¹²⁶ Pellew, In Castle and Cabin, pp 83-84.

¹²⁷ Times (Apr.25,26,1887).

¹²⁸ Ibid (June 11,1887); Sir Alfred A.Turner, Sixty Years of a Soldier's Life (London: Methuen,1912), pp 213-14.

¹²⁹ Colonial Office: Ireland: Confidential Print: Intelligence Notes, Miscellaneous series no. 3, p.14 (P.R.O.

(Kew): CO 903/2).

¹³⁰ L.P. Curtis, Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, 1880-1892: a Study in Conservative Administration (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp 197-200.

¹³¹ Extract from Connaught Telegraph (Jan.14,1888), in (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 903/2).

¹³² United Ireland (May 12,1888).

¹³³ G.Shaw Lefevre, Incidents of Coercion: a Journal of Visits to Ireland in 1882 and 1888 (London: Kegan, Paul and Trench, 1889, 2nd ed), p.135.

¹³⁴ Times (Feb.22,1888).

¹³⁵ Ibid (Aug.15,1888).

¹³⁶ Colonial Office: Ireland: Confidential Print: Intelligence notes, Miscellaneous series no. 7, p.88 (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 903/2).

¹³⁷ Cork Examiner (May 7,1888); Freeman's Journal (May 15, 1888) (June 6,8,11,14,16,18,19,22,25,28,1888) (July 10, 16, 25,1888); Times (June 11,1888).

¹³⁸ Freeman's Journal (July 16,1888).

¹³⁹ Ibid (Dec.11,19,1888).

¹⁴⁰ "Zeno," Ireland in '89 (Providence, R.I: E.L. Freeman, 1889), p.60n.

¹⁴¹ Belfast Newsletter (Jan.2,3,1889); Freeman's Journal (Jan.12,1889).

¹⁴² O'Shea, Priest, Politics and Society, pp 110-111, 129-33.

¹⁴³ Denis G.Marnane, Land and Violence: a History of West Tipperary From 1660 (Tipperary: published by the author, 1985), p.169.

¹⁴⁴ Colonial Office: Ireland: Intelligence notes, 1885-92, Miscellaneous prints, print no. 16, pp 71-72, 82 (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 903/1).

¹⁴⁵ Ridgeway to Chief secretary Balfour (June 14,1890) (British Museum: Add MSS 49811).

¹⁴⁶ Freeman's Journal (Feb.15,1850), reprint of undated

Limerick Reporter article.

- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid (Apr.4,1858).
- ¹⁴⁸ Mac Gabhann, Rotha Mor, p.42; Dolan, Derryveagh, p.118.
- ¹⁴⁹ Katherine Tynan, The Years of the Shadow (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1919), p.63.
- ¹⁵⁰ Freeman's Journal (June 15,1880) (Aug.16,1880) (Apr. 14,1881) (June 23,24,1881) (May 27,1887); United Ireland (Apr. 8,1882); Times (Jan.13,1887); Special Commission Act, 1888, ii, pp 104-105; Grousset, Ireland's Disease, p.154; Turner, Sixty Years, p.198.
- ¹⁵¹ Reminiscences of Martin Nolan, R.I.C., p.228 (U.C.D: Dept of Irish Folklore, MS 1264).
- ¹⁵² Freeman's Journal (Aug.6,9,1880) (Apr.14,1881); United Ireland (Jan.14,1882).
- ¹⁵³ Freeman's Journal (Jan.17,1882).
- ¹⁵⁴ Times (Mar.4,1887); Irish News (July 30.1907); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry- Evidence, p.174.
- ¹⁵⁵ Freeman's Journal (Oct.18,1881).
- ¹⁵⁶ Cork Examiner (Oct.6,8,1881).
- ¹⁵⁷ R.I.C. general register (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/21, p.21; HO 185/23, no. 44460).
- ¹⁵⁸ Freeman's Journal (Sept.23,1881) (Nov.28,1881). See also appendix xvii.
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid (Jan.26,1882).
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid (Apr.21,25,1887); United Ireland (Apr.9,16,23, 30,1887); Times (Apr.4,9,26,1887).
- ¹⁶¹ United Ireland (May 7,1887).
- ¹⁶² R.I.C. general register (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/24, pp 74,115; HO 184/26, p.106).
- ¹⁶³ Freeman's Journal (May 3,1888).
- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid (Jan.9.1889).
- ¹⁶⁵ 1882 R.I.C. Commission, pp 41,390.

¹⁶⁶ Letters From Ireland, 1886 (London: W.H.Allen, 1887), p.43.

¹⁶⁷ Wilkinson, Eve of Home Rule, p.111.

¹⁶⁸ E,G.Jenkinson to Sir Redvers Buller (Dec.2,1886) (P.R.O.(Kew): WO 132/4).

¹⁶⁹ Ridgeway to Chief Secretary Balfour (Feb.20,1888) (June 1,1890) (British Museum: Add MSS 49808, 49811); Curtis, Coercion and Conciliation, p.195.

¹⁷⁰ Freeman's Journal (Sept.12,1881).

¹⁷¹ W.H.Duignan to Joseph Chamberlain (Oct.24,1884) in Howard (ed), "Man on Tricycle," p.258.

¹⁷² Turner, Sixty Years, pp 252,257. John Regan, a Catholic cadet officer who was appointed around the turn of the century, records that when serving in Clare he had to attend at the eviction of a "frail old woman" by a grazier. The tenant lived in a cabin on a quarter acre of land, for which she paid only sixpence a week in rent, but had still fallen into arrears. The R.I.C. had to protect the bailiffs at the ejection, which took place on a snowy day. The police offered to pay the old woman's arrears, but their offer was not accepted: Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.63 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).

¹⁷³ Sub-inspector Reeves to Charles O'Hara (Nov.4,1869) (N.L.I: Charles W.O'Hara Papers, MS 20348(14)) (My emphasis in quotation); MacDonagh, Early Victorian Government, p.192.

¹⁷⁴ Garrow Green, In the R.I.C., pp 133-34, 151-52, 154-55.

¹⁷⁵ Freeman's Journal (Apr.20,1887).

¹⁷⁶ Crane, Memories of R.M., p.54.

¹⁷⁷ E.G. Jenkinson to Sir Redvers Buller (Nov.27,1886) (P.R.O.(Kew): WO 132/4 A); Ridgeway to Chief Secretary Balfour (Oct.2,1890) (British Museum: Add MSS 49811); Summary of Representations Made to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant by the Royal Irish Constabulary Respecting Clause 30 and Schedule 6 [of the Government of Ireland Bill] H.C. 1893-94 (336) lxxi 1011.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted by Chief Secretary Wyndham in Hansard, 4th series, vol. 111 (July 23,1902), p.1079; Gallagher, My Story, pp 42-43.

- ¹⁷⁹ 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, pp 38,57,79,84, 99, 101.
- ¹⁸⁰ Memoirs of District Inspector John Regan, p.25 (P.R.O.N.I: D.3160).
- ¹⁸¹ Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, p.199.
- ¹⁸² Comerford, Kilkenny I.R.A. Days, pp 144,490-91.
- ¹⁸³ Brendan MacLua, The Steadfast Rule: a History of the G.A.A. Ban (Dublin: Press Cuchulainn,1967), pp 27-29,32,39,41; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.172.
- ¹⁸⁴ Sinn Fein (Sept.8,1906).
- ¹⁸⁵ Comerford, Kilkenny I.R.A. Days, p.54.
- ¹⁸⁶ Freeman's Journal (Oct.15,1901) (Aug.22,1913); Irish Times (Mar.7,1906) (Jan.3,1911); Longford R.I.C. report (Dec.7, 1905) (N.L.I: Bryce Papers, MS 11012(1)); 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.171; O Maolieoin, Braon Fola, pp 14-15.
- ¹⁸⁷ Freeman's Journal (Sept.28,1888): Sinn Fein (July 21,1906).
- ¹⁸⁸ Leader (Dec.14,1901).
- ¹⁸⁹ Ibid (Mar.8,1902) (June 20,1903) (Sept.5,1903) (Mar.3, 1904) (Jan.7,14,1905) (Feb.11,1905) (Mar.18,1905) (Jan.9,1909) (Oct.2,1909) (Feb.17,1912) (June 15,1912) (Jan.17,1914).
- ¹⁹⁰ R.I.C. Mag. (Dec.1911), p.64 (May 1913), p.240 (Sept.1913), p.377.
- ¹⁹¹ Leader (Feb.15,1902) (Jan.9,1904) (Aug.27,1904) (Feb.4, 1905) (Jan.19,1907) (Sept.28,1907) (June 10,1911) (May 18,1912) (Aug.10,1912) (Nov.23,1912) (June 7,14,21,1913) (Oct.25,1913) (July 11,1914).
- ¹⁹² Ibid (Jan.14,1905).
- ¹⁹³ Ibid (Aug.23,1902) (Dec.5,1903) (Jan.7,1905) (Feb.4, 1905) (May 11,1907) (Sept.28,1907) (Feb.17,1912) (Aug.24,1912) (Jan.17,1914).
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid (Mar.18,25,1911) (July 13,1912).
- ¹⁹⁵ Ibid (Aug.23,1902); A.M.Sullivan, Old Ireland: Reminiscences of an Irish K.C. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran

& Co., 1928), pp 178-79; Mee, Memoirs, pp 23,38,40,43-44, 48-49; Neligan, Spy, p.31; Adye Curran, Reminiscences, p.236; Shea, Sound of Drums, pp 4,29; O Faolain, Vive Moi!, pp 35-36; Calton Younger, A State of Disunion (London: Fontana, 1972), pp 53,237-38.

¹⁹⁶ Storch, "Blue Locusts," passim.

¹⁹⁷ Belfast Newsletter (Jan.18,1866) (Apr.3,14,1866) (Sept. 4,18,24,25,1866) (Oct.5,30,1866) (Nov.30,1866) (Dec.20,1866) (Jan.1,10,1876) (Feb.22,1876) (Mar.3,14,27,1876) (Apr.6,1876) (Jan.15,16,1914).

¹⁹⁸ Ibid (Apr.5,1866).

¹⁹⁹ Ibid (Apr.17,1866).

²⁰⁰ Ibid (May 15,1866).

²⁰¹ Ibid (July 3,10,18,1866).

²⁰² Ibid (Jan.4,1876) (Feb.17,1880).

²⁰³ For some examples of crowd rescues or attempts at rescue, see *ibid* (Sept.28,1865) (Sept.26,1865) (Apr.4,24,1866) (Aug.7,29,1866) (Oct.9,19,30,1866) (Nov.23,1866) (Dec.20,1866) (Jan.3,1867) (Jan.20,1876) (May18,19,1876) (Jan.13,1880) (Mar.2,16,1880) (Apr.6,9,1880).

²⁰⁴ Ibid (Jan.30,1866) (Oct.16,30,1866).

²⁰⁵ Ibid (Jan.23,1873) (Feb.8,1873).

²⁰⁶ Ibid (Jan.23,1873) (Feb.8,1873).

²⁰⁷ Ibid (Apr.6,1880).

²⁰⁸ Ibid (Jan.8,1895).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid* (Sept.9,28,1865) (Jan.18,38,1866) (Feb.20,28,1866) (Mar.5,1866) (Apr.14,1866) (May 1,4,5,9,18,1866) (June 20,1866) (July3,10,11,1866) (Aug.2,15,29,1866) (Sept.4,18,25,1866) (Oct.8,20,24,27,31,1866) (Nov.27,1866) (Jan.5,1867) (Mar.3,1876) (Jan.13,1880) (Feb.11,1880).

²¹⁰ *Ibid* (June 12,1866).

²¹¹ *Ibid* (Mar.13,1866) (Oct.17,1866).

²¹² Freeman's Journal (Aug.19,1880).

²¹³ Quoted in Budge, Belfast: Approach to Crisis, p.83.

- 214 Belfast Newsletter (Sept.2,26,1865) (May 11,1866) .
- 215 Ibid (Apr.29,1876) ,
- 216 Ibid (June 5,26,1866) (July 18,19,1866) (Aug.29,1866) (Nov.27,1866) (Jan.4,1867) .
- 217 Ibid (Nov.17,1866) .
- 218 Ibid (July 28,1866) (Oct.17,1866) (Dec.28,1866) .
- 219 Ibid (Oct.30,1866) .
- 220 Ibid (Feb.18,1880) .
- 221 1886 Belfast Riots Commission, p.228.
- 222 Ibid, p.59; 1888 Belfast Police Manual, pp 13,29.
- 223 Belfast Newsletter (Jan.25,1890); Baker, "Orange and Green," pp 805-806; J.J.Tobias, "Police and Public in the United Kingdom" in Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 7, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr. 1972), p.218; Sam McAughtry, "Being Protestant in Northern Ireland" in James McLoone (ed), Being Protestant in Ireland (Belfast and Dublin: Cooperation North, 1985), pp 35-36.

CHAPTER IX

THE D.M.P. AND THE PUBLIC

Only in Dublin were relations between the police and a large section of the public as unhappy as they were in Belfast. Nigel Cochrane, the only scholar to have examined the attitudes of Dubliners towards the D.M.P., claims that certain police duties such as arresting drunks, supervising carmen or preventing children's street games might have been resented by the individuals affected, but not by the public at large, who welcomed the force's role in protecting property, preventing street nuisances, enforcing public sobriety, prosecuting dishonest bakers and discovering and fighting fires. According to Cochrane, the typical D.M.P. constable was perceived as "Bobby - somewhat slow and plodding physically and mentally, but honest and loyal, whose worst vice was flirting with servant girls," and that it was not until the police attacks during the 1913 Lock-out that "public faith in the D.M.P. was irreparably shattered."⁽¹⁾ However, as the following pages will show, Cochrane rather exaggerates the popularity of the D.M.P. with Dubliners. Most, but not all, property owners welcomed the new force, which was undoubtedly

more efficient than its predecessor, and in general one can assume that the higher up the social scale the greater was the popularity of the Dublin police; but one should not forget the opinions of Dublin's lower classes, as they had more contact with the force and were more likely to resent its activities and presence.

One needs to bear in mind that Dubliners' attitudes to the D.M.P. varied according to their class, occupation, and even their age. The more well-to-do sections of Dublin society were likely to have been impressed and reassured by newspaper descriptions of the great determination of the D.M.P. in pursuing offenders and holding onto them, often after marathon chases through the streets, fierce resistance (including one dramatic fight in the middle of the Liffey), and sometimes in the face of determined mob assault. In these accounts the Dublin police, like the Mounties, usually "got their man," one of the exceptions being a fugitive who escaped through a Lower Mecklenburgh Street yard filled with "liquid manure," causing comments that "he would have been taken by the police only that their sense of smell interfered with them in the discharge of their duty." (2) Property owners were grateful to the police when "improper characters" - prostitutes - were removed from their district. (3) The police authorities valued the favourable opinion of the well-to-do more than that of other Dubliners: only policemen with at least three years' service were placed on "important beats" such as Dame Street,

Grafton Street, Sackville Street and the principal squares of the city, where the police were "likely to hold more frequent intercourse with the respectable classes in the discharge of their duties than elsewhere." (4) The "respectable classes" - police jargon for all those above the lower or "dangerous" class - probably were gratified by these extra measures on their behalf, although they were still not entirely uncritical of the Dublin police. For instance, they found it irksome that householders and shopkeepers were brought before the magistrates and given petty fines for not having the pavements in front of their houses swept and tidy; although this was only a minor irritant, the courts were often inundated with these cases. (5) Occasionally they also complained of the absence of the police, especially when they encountered congregations of "roughs" or rowdy children on their walks. These complaints often appeared in newspapers under the heading of "Where are the police?" (an echo of the modern refrain that people can never find a policeman when they want one), which brought such answers as they were practising drill at their barracks and "amusing feather-headed officials [by] playing at soldiers," or that they were absent from their beats and courting servant maids. Rate-payers also complained about Dublin's relatively high police tax, due to the large number of police in the force. (6) However, these complaints represented only minor criticisms of what Dublin's upper bracket generally considered an admirable police force.

At the other end of the social scale, the D.M.P. found favour with Dublin's servant maids; policemen, with a steady wage and a pension, were attractive "catches" for this poorly paid group. As early as 1844 a special St Valentine's Day card was on sale in Dublin, possibly aimed at servant girls who were courting policemen. Its message was clumsy, but probably would have appealed to country-raised servants and policemen, and its amorous intent was unmistakable:

While ducks love raw potatoes,
 And foxes long for geese, man,
 I'll love no man so great as
 I love the dear policeman.(7)

British policemen were reputed to spend much of their time in courting servants, and the D.M.P. showed similar tastes. Indeed, special regulations had to be introduced to forbid constables from visiting the houses of "respectable persons" when they became acquainted with their servant women. It is impossible to know how effective the prohibition was; certainly the image of the D.M.P. constable leaving his beat for a quick snack and a bottle of XX porter from a cook or servant, while a riot ensued in the street outside, was a figure of satire in Dublin.(8)

In March 1871 Zozimus published "The Sorrowful Complaint of 98X," which related the downfall of that constable through over-indulging in the treats supplied to him by Mary Jane, a gentleman's cook:

Of sausages so many a pound,
 You gave me for to eat,
 They'd gird a hundred roods of ground,
 Or pave all Sackville Street.
 When I could hardly walk my beat,
 You tempted me with pies,
 Which were most nice and delicate,
 And good to appetize!

Oh, Mary Jane! Oh, Mary Jane!
 That did betray me so,
 I pray you may not feel the pain,
 Which to my grief I know.
 For now I lie upon my back,
 And cannot stand at all,
 For if I tried, my legs would crack,
 And down again I'd fall!

Oh, Mary dear, to me you stood,
 As long as I could stand!
 But though I ate the choicest food,
 And drank the choicest brand,
 My legs too weak they were to bear
 Their master's happiness,
 And now I lie a-dying here,
 In pitiful distress!

So now I'm going far away,
 And this to you I tell,
 Be warned by me, and Peelers gay
 Don't feed 'em quite as well.
 My comrade, Jones, keep from my fate,
 If you to him incline,
 Don't, as you did to Ninety-eight,
 Do unto Ninety-nine!(9)

There were many members of Dublin's lower classes who were less kindly disposed towards the police than servant women were. Street vendors were liable to be charged with obstructing the pavements with their baskets and wares. Constable 138C admitted in October 1838, in a case involving an old "basket woman," that this particular duty was "an irksome one," but defended his action in arresting her by pointing out that if the police did not clear street vendors

away, shopkeepers wrote to their superiors to complain about their neglect of duty.(10) While he may have been reluctant about enforcing the laws against street vendors, nevertheless the policeman as a "basket kicking gentleman" entered into the public imagination. Over 70 years later Constable 26C, who kicked the basket of a girl fishseller and arrested her, prompted a satire in the Irish Worker. It involved an over-officious policeman ordering an apple-seller along the street; when "Johnny" asked the policeman to leave her alone, "The Peeler looked round and saw Johnny was quiet, So [he] ran him in promptly for inciting to riot."(11) In 1840 a magistrate requested policemen not to waste their time in bringing herring and apple sellers before him, as he would refuse to fine any of them.(12) Pig drovers from the countryside were also liable to be charged with obstructing the pavements. In April 1838 Constable 36D arrested a Mayo drover for allowing 150 pigs to wander on the path at Whitworth Road, after they were unloaded from a canal boat. The drover explained to the magistrates:

Ah, your honours, this gentleman knows very little about the natures of them nasty brutes, the pigs. If he was but half so well acquainted with them as I he would know that a body might as well be arguing with a milestone as trying to purvail (sic) on them to go right when they take it into their heads to be contrary. I was doing my best to keep them together, but nothing would satisfy them until they should walk like Christians upon the flags.

The magistrates were more sympathetic to his plea than 36D had been, and only fined him 2s6d, on condition that he be more careful in future.(13)

In July 1949 Sergeant Gerrity, 1D, incurred the wrath of an old woman named Eliza Connolly, a professional fortune-teller, when he ordered her to move along after she gathered a crowd around her, and threatened her with arrest if she refused. Eliza, in turn, threatened the sergeant with a demonstration of her magical powers, and said she could "turn him into an elephant, or, if he preferred becoming a tom-tit, she could favour him in that way." She was arrested and fined for disorderly conduct as a result. (14) A magistrate dismissed a case against a newspaper vendor of obstructing the pavement in January 1862, and the police were criticized for "interfering in an unwarrantable manner with well conducted and industrious men, who in the discharge of their avocation really give no cause for offence." In November 1873 Constable 137B charged a small boy, a shoeblack, with obstructing the pavement, but Magistrate Dix considered that the case was "one in which police interference was altogether uncalled for," that the boy was "pursuing an honest and most useful occupation, and as long as he sat upon the Bench he would never inflict punishment in such a case." (15) The displeasure of some of the judiciary at cases of street obstruction was undoubtedly felt by all street vendors.

Dublin's carmen were another occupational group that looked on the D.M.P. with a rather jaundiced eye. The D.M.P. were responsible for checking drivers' licences, ensuring that they applied for hire only at appointed stands, charged the

correct fares, and were clean. The carmen often resented the close scrutiny of the police. Inspector Campbell admitted in January 1840 that Constable Kevlin, 58A, "had made himself unusually active of late in bringing charges against the car-drivers, and in consequence had become an object of enmity among them." In March 1843 Constable Adams was described by one driver as "the terror of all the carmen in the D division." (16) The enmity or fear generated by Dublin policemen was partly a result of the belief that they were over-officious in their car duties. In May 1838 a driver spat in Constable 178B's face and "behaved in a violent manner towards him," after the constable summonsed him, for the fourth time within a few weeks, for standing off-stand outside a house in Grafton Street. The magistrate sympathized with the driver, but nevertheless fined him for the assault. The Dublin car owners held a meeting in March 1841 to protest what they considered the excessive police interference with their trade. One driver claimed that the D.M.P. watched them as if they were "midnight assassins," and that the unfair espionage of plainclothes policemen meant that their families were "reduced to beggary." (17)

Certainly some car cases were extremely trivial. Policemen occasionally charged drivers whom they stopped outside houses for plying off-stand, despite their protests that their charges were inside the buildings. Such cases were inevitably bad-tempered, as drivers had to go to some time and

bother to prove their innocence. In February 1843 a car boy who went into a shop for a cup of coffee, because the morning was "intensely cold," was summonsed for leaving his car unattended. One driver was even charged in the same month for "whistling as he went for want of thought," which case was of course dismissed. After a number of trivial car cases in 1843, the Freeman's Journal commented that unless drivers were compensated for loss of time over such cases, they would be subject "not to regulations, but to persecution, and the police, in their zeal for the acquirement of a character for activity, will sink into informers."(18)

Carmen's attitudes towards the police were coloured by the popular, but erroneous, belief that all fines imposed on drivers were pocketed by the magistrates and the D.M.P. In fact, such fines went towards the overall up-keep of the force).(19) Sometimes the "ready wit and homespun pleading of the jarvey men succeeded in non-plussing their accusers" in court cases, but this did not render police interference any more acceptable. In June 1857 a solicitor, while defending a driver accused of plying for hire off his stand, stated that

If the petty persecution under which the carmen laboured was allowed to continue, they and their families would be driven to starvation and beggary.....The carmen of Baggot Street stand were so systematically persecuted in this way that they should at last give up their cars and horses. Men were brought to the police office day after day, and week after week, to answer paltry charges, concocted and invented, losing their time, [and] while they were there, their horses and also their large families were left at home starving.(20)

The advocate's hyperbole was an indication of the frustrations

felt by carmen under the watchful eyes of the D.M.P.

Police Magistrate Porter claimed in the next month that the police ignored cases in which drivers travelled on the wrong side of the road, and instead brought charges against them of not being "clean and decent," complaints which allegedly were unknown in London. On May 20, 1858, after disposing of 45 cases against carmen, Porter stated that they included many which the police

ought not to have brought forward at all, as they were of a very trivial nature, and that.....out of all the cases brought before him almost the only cases in which carmen had been guilty of serious breaches of the law, were those brought forward by civilians, and not by the police.(21)

One can perhaps understand the annoyance which prompted a carman named Hogan to make "an offensive movement and noise with his mouth" at Constable Reynolds, 51E, when passing him on the Rathgar Road in March 1862 (presumably this was police jargon for sticking out his tongue and blowing a "raspberry" at the constable). Hogan's action, which he unconvincingly claimed was a sneeze, cost him a fine.(22) The D.M.P. chief commissioners stated in 1871 that they were "much feared" by Dublin's car drivers, as they, through the force under their command, had the power of denying licences to the "worst conducted" at the annual review of licences.(23) It is unlikely that a section of the community which went in fear of the police would have had a very favourable opinion of the force.

Another group of Dubliners who were not overly

enthusiastic about the D.M.P were publicans and spirit grocers. Their livelihood, like that of the carmen, depended upon keeping on the right side of the police. Their licences were renewed annually by the city recorder, rather than by several local and resident magistrates as in the rest of the country. Dublin's publicans, therefore, had no opportunity of influencing the licensing process, and hence the police had a greater power over them than the constabulary had over rural traders. Their position was even more precarious, in that their customers often placed pressure on them to infringe the laws regulating drinking hours or Sunday drinking. The D.M.P., which was more effective in enforcing the laws than its predecessor, was inevitably less than popular with many involved in the drink trade. Counsel for a publican, charged who was charged with delaying to admit a policeman to his premises, complained in 1839 that the police had been "converted into spies and informers, ever on the watch to take ungenerous advantage of any publican who might unwarily infringe upon one of the many provisions of a stringent Act of parliament." Constable Caffrey of the B division was especially obnoxious to publicans in that district, as he specialized in bringing charges against traders for delaying to admit him to their premises, and his prosecutions often constituted three quarters of those at the College Street police office. (24)

A Blackhorse Lane publican, who was prosecuted in

september 1838 for selling drink during prohibited hours on a Sunday, admitted his offence but claimed in extenuation that "it was only what he was accustomed to do for the last 14 years." The Dublin branch of the Licensed Grocers and Vintners Society claimed in January 1840 that

the usual rewards for activity on the part of police sergeants was a grant of £5 for every forty publicans they succeeded in convicting; and in one case a sergeant had been paid £7 10s for convicting a publican four times within the year, for the purpose of having his license broken.

This claim, in fact, greatly exaggerated the amounts awarded to the police for checking on public houses, or indeed for other duties, but it is an indication of how unpopular the force was with licensed traders. A Barrack Street publican, who was accused by Sergeant 9D in March 1842 of transacting business with "improper characters" after legal selling hours, retorted that it was his duty to "be giving out scandal on your neighbours where it ought not to be given.....You would have no more mercy upon a poor endeavouring woman than you would have on a mad dog." When another policeman corroborated the sergeant's evidence, she exclaimed: "Oh! you are every one of you the same bad pack. The poor ould Charlies, as they were titled, it's long till they would be after treating a decent body in this way; but true is the saying, 'When the ould stock's gone there seldom comes a better.'"(26)

The police regulation of the licensed trade was even more galling when contrasted with what publicans claimed was their inability or lack of interest in prosecuting unlicensed

traders. To stimulate more police activity against shebeens, the Licensed Grocers and Vintners Society employed informers and brought a number of prosecutions against unlicensed traders towards the end of 1838.(27) Their efforts had little success, however. The illegal drink trade remained a problem which the D.M.P. found difficult to combat, especially as fines for the offence were not prohibitive, and some shebeeners continued trading even after more than 50 convictions. Shebeeners' families continued their trade when they were convicted, and convictions were difficult to secure, especially when judges and magistrates refused to accept the evidence of plain-clothesmen who ordered drink in order to bring cases against illegal traders. Usually it was difficult for the police to gain access to drinking "dens": shebeeners employed "regular pickets" to watch for the approach of uniformed constables, and often police efforts at suppression were frustrated by the fact that as many as 60 people would enter at various times into a particular house, only to arrive at the real "den" several houses away.(28) As early as 1841 publicans were adopting the shebeeners' practice of employing look-outs to warn of the approach of the police.(29)

Relations between publicans and the police remained uneasy throughout the period. The Freeman's Journal claimed in January 1843 that regular traders were "subject to the persecutions of the police," while irregular traders were largely ignored; only when a policeman wanted to build up an

impressive charge sheet was an occasional prosecution brought against the latter.(30) The Vintners Society protested in August 1855 at the activities of D.M.P. sergeants who were in the habit of visiting their premises and "intruding themselves on persons sitting therein, to see if there were any improper females among them." The association's secretary warned that if this continued there would be "unpleasant collisions with the police - for what men sitting with their female relatives would submit to such outrages on their personal liberties?" In the same month a D.M.P.who inspector brought a charge against James Cleary, a spirit grocer of Great Britain Street, for selling spirits on the Sabbath during prohibited hours (Cleary was actually dead at the time of the prosecution), maintained that "the fact of the man being dead was of no consequence," and called upon Magistrate Wyse to inflict a penalty in the case. The magistrate, however, was not inclined to agree with Inspector Fitzpatrick, and he dismissed the charge.(31)

In October 1855 the Vintners Society protested again at the excessive attentions which they were receiving from the D.M.P., and alleged that "the regular trader has his house watched, and for the infraction of a minute he is summonsed or restricted." One publican stated that he was afraid to let his brother-in-law visit his house on Sundays, for fear of being reported for selling drink during illegal hours. The Freeman's Journal commented that publicans' licences, their

livelihood, "should not be made the sport of every clever policeman and the butt of every ingenious detective."(32) It was not only publicans, whose evidence in these matters might be considered biased, or the Freeman's Journal who complained about excessive police interference with drink traders. One of the law advisors at Dublin Castle stated in March 1858 that Dublin's traders "are undoubtedly under very stringent restrictions & far more than those in London," and that "they sh[oul]d not be subjected to the capricious exercise of police powers only justifiable against the worst offenders."(33) As late as march 1900 an M.P. asserted that "a feeling of dissatisfaction prevails among the licensed traders in Dublin at the manner in which the metropolitan police exercise their right to visit public houses in search of breaches of the Licensing Laws," and that "the houses of respectable traders are being constantly visited by a sergeant accompanied by one or two constables, the customers at the bar interrogated and called upon to stand up to see if they are sober."(34)

Publicans and carmen were not the only important elements of Dublin society who were unlikely to consider the D.M.P. constable as genial "Bobby." Dublin's children learned at an early age to fear or resent the policeman's tread. Constables on the beat were instructed to prevent children from indulging in street games, and to seize boys' footballs, catapults, marbles, kites, hoops and spinning tops, and in winter to destroy slides which they made on the pavements.(35)

There is plenty of evidence to show that the D.M.P. carried out their instructions in earnest. In December 1843 the Freeman's Journal published an account of the battle of wits between Constable 184B and a chimney-sweep's apprentice intent on playing games in the street. The lengthy article is reproduced here in full, as it provides a fascinating insight into the police campaign against street games:

Master Tommy Finnegan, a curly-headed, funny-faced little boy, whose professional avocation is that of a chimney-sweep, was charged by Police Constable 184B with having to the great danger of the mouths and noses of Her Majesty's liege subjects indulged in the pastime of battle-dore and shuttle-cock, in Dame Street, at the corner of Palace Street.

The prisoner, whose head was scarcely visible above the rail of the dock, sucked a sugar-stick (genus white) with great complacency while before the magistrate and appeared to be utterly indifferent as to the charges that might be brought against him.

The constable stated that within the last three months complaints had been made to him repeatedly, in fact, almost every day, by persons residing in Palace Street, and thereabouts, who alleged that they suffered inconceivable annoyance from the bad conduct of the prisoner, and three or four other chimney-sweeps who spent all their leisure hours (and they had unfortunately for the community, many of them on their hands) in shouting uproariously and playing a variety of games in that vicinity. They sometimes played 'Scotch-hop,' sometimes 'prison-bar,' sometimes 'leap-frog,' and sometimes, as in the present instance, 'shuttlecock;' but although they displayed in these games a degree of agility well calculated to challenge admiration, the figure which they cut in so brilliant a locality was preposterous in the extreme; and the noise which they created was utterly insufferable - besides which, they broke the windows repeatedly by knocking their 'scrapers' through them in the enthusiasm of their sublime emulation, when the fortune of the game was as yet doubtful; and it was impossible to do adequate justice to the refinement of cruelty with which they treated any of the neighbours' ill-starred cats that might have the ill luck to fall into their hands. The prisoner was by far the most incorrigible of the gang. When remonstrated with on the impropriety of his conduct, he used to declare that he was his own master

after three o'clock, and that he didn't care twopence for anyone; and when threatened with confinement he would tell the constable to hold his tongue, and not to be making a Judy Fitzsimons' grandmother of himself. On Thursday [December 21], he was particularly offensive, for, taking up his position immediately opposite the hat warehouse at the corner of Palace Street, he commenced playing shuttlecock, and continued to do so for some hours, utterly regardless of the eyes he might blacken, or the hats and bonnets he might bulge with his battledore.

Prisoner: That's a lie; I never blackened any one's eye with my battledore - I'm not big enough - but often I scraped their chins, and it was fine fun, wasn't it? (laughter)

Constable: Your conduct was infamous; I never saw the like before.

Prisoner: Did you ever see the like behind? (laughter)

Constable: Hold your tongue, you urchin; my heart is fairly broken with you, you little monkey, chasing you from the corner of Palace Street every hour in the day.

Prisoner: Sarve you right - what are you paid for but to keep me and the likes of me in order? (laughter)

Constable: You're a common nuisance in the street, and ought to be taken up under the 37th Geo. iii, cap. 26, sec. 9. (laughter)

Prisoner: Where do you deal for your brass hats, horney?

Constable: Your worship, this is the way he's insulting me and aggravating me every day in the year.

Prisoner: Insulting and aggravating you! Much about you, 184B. (laughter) What did I ever say to offend you?

Constable: You asked me what countryman was my mother on Wednesday, and you yesterday had the audacity to come up to me and offer me a bit of the sugar-stick you were sucking. (laughter)

Prisoner: Well! and wasn't that the hought(sic) of politeness and the crame (sic) of good breedin', you bosthoon? It's a blow of my scraper I ought to have given you - that's all about it.

Constable: Oh, indeed, you're a complete little blackguard; that's as clear as a pike-staff.

Prisoner: As clear as what?

Constable: As clear as a pike-staff.

Prisoner: Oh, you rebel! I'll tell the inspector on you, faith and word I will so. How dare you attempt for to..... talk about pike-staffs at such a time as this. (The naivety with which Master Finnegan uttered this witty remark produced a burst of laughter in court).

Constable: You beat the world for all sorts of villainy and wickedness, that's the long and the short of it.

Prisoner: By the scraper in my hand, I'll tell Inspector O'Connor on you. I'll get you broke, my boy. Nothing would do you but to talk about pike-staffs, and the whole world

turned upside-down in the regard of pikes already!

Constable: Not a word out of you, you reprobate.

Prisoner: You couldn't say, 'Plain as the nose on my face' - no, nothing would do you but the pike. Oh wait till I and the inspector are discoorsing (sic) together again.

Constable: I set you at defiance, you unsinnified little monkey. What did you do with Mrs Lydson's cat you stole on Monday night?

Prisoner: What's that to you? How bad you [a]re for knowledge. I put her in a wooden bowl, if you must know, and sent her floating down the river at Carlisle Bridge. D[evi]l a finer sight you ever set your eyes on. I dar[e] say she's at Leixlip by this time. You may walk out there and try if you like. You might as well be doing that as walking up Dame Street and spylin(sic) my divarshin.(sic) (laughter)

At this stage of the proceedings Master Finnegan's master entered the [police] office, and volunteered to enter into a bond for the boy's future good behaviour, in case the magistrate would consent to pardon him in the present instance.

Prisoner: Let me off this once, your worship, and upon my honour I'll never enter Palace Street again.(laughter) I'll play shillycock in my own place for the future.

Magistrate: Where on Earth do you live when you're at home?

Prisoner: With my master here, no. 2 Sycamore Alley, the first room, your worship, as you come down the chimney. (loud laughter) I don't blame 184B for taking me up; he's a very nice man I know, but he's not a mutton chop to 154B, that he must confess.(laughter)

On joining his master in a bond for his future good behaviour, the prisoner was released from custody, and left the office, humming the new fashionable ballad, 'Take your time, Miss Lucy.'(36)

Young Finnegan does not appear to have been particularly perturbed at police interference in his amusement, but, as we shall see, not all of Dublin's youngsters regarded the D.M.P. with such equanimity. Nigel Cochrane argues that police interruption of children's games should be discounted when discussing their image with the general public, as "school boys were only a small and unimportant section of society. (37) This argument, of course, ignores the importance of the

opinions of the parents of children who were hauled up before magistrates and fined, or even imprisoned for short periods, for playing the streets (or obstructing the pavements, as the law perceived such activity). In fact, one of the earliest assault cases on a member of the D.M.P. occurred in March 1838, after a sergeant of the B division dispersed a number of youngsters who were playing marbles at the City Quay. He went into Mrs Shannon's public house to warn her that if her children obstructed the pavement again they would be arrested; this led to an angry reaction from Mrs Shannon, and the sergeant was seized and assaulted by a number of coal porters who were present.(38) Constable 151D provoked an angry reaction in November 1842 when he arrested one of a number of young boys who persisted in playing marbles in Manor Street, despite repeated warnings from him to disperse. The constable's prisoner escaped and ran into a house in the street, and when the constable attempted to follow him he was assaulted by two women. One scratched at his face, while the other beat him on the head with an iron, at the same time calling out, "Nelly, do you tattoo his ugly phiz for him, and I'll smooth down his bumps until his own mother won't know him." The constable was rather relieved to beat a retreat and leave his quarry at large.(39)

The Nation complained in May 1844 that the D.M.P. had "pestilently interfered with the innocent pleasures of the poor - their children's games, their shows, their ballad-

singers: and these things must be redressed. Further interference will lead to their abolition."(40) It was rather premature in its prediction of the demise of either the D.M.P. or of children's games: throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Dublin police endeavoured, in vain, to prevent Dublin's youngsters from playing football, pitch and toss, marbles, cards, hopscotch, hurling, from letting off fireworks, playing around Nelson's Pillar, or from making slides and having snowball fights in snowy weather. Sometimes hundreds of children, and indeed some adults also, were arrested for indulging in the last two activities.(41)

In December 1855 the Freeman's Journal noted the damping effect which a policeman's presence had on Dublin children's activities:

The urchins who play at marbles or indulge in any other forms of amusement will be usually found to cease their games as if from instinct when a policeman is seen in the offing bearing down in their direction with stately tread; and this action on the part of the gamins may be taken as a fair indication of the awe in which the force are held when they have donned their 'war paint' and assumed all that solemn visage and sternness of mien which would seem to be [a] portion of their ritual.(42)

The satirical magazine Zozimus suggested in July 1870 that a Dublin constable should pay sixpence to a boy who called him "Bobby" - obviously, more choice epithets were directed at the D.M.P. by Dublin children.(43) Bill Kelly, who grew up in Dublin in the early twentieth century, recalls how the D.M.P dealt with Dublin's youngsters:

With a foot in the arse, or a belt of a massive glove across the head, they dispensed swift justice to the

juvenile delinquents who played football on the street with a bundle of papers tied with string, or who swung on straw ropes out of lamp-posts or played kick-the-can, or hoppin-cock-arooshie on one foot across the breadth of Dorset Street.(44)

He records that his mother was not favourably impressed with the "two huge D.M.P. men" who arrested him for playing football on the street when he was seven years old, which led to his being fined a shilling: "They must have had little to do, the big lousers," was his mother's comment.(45) Leon O Broin, who also grew up in early twentieth-century Dublin, recalls that "Some of the fellows I knew had a sort of natural dislike for the Dublin police, the D.M.P. They inveigled them into dark halls to fall over dustbins that had been piled up ready for them."(46)

It is clear that the "Bobby" image was not as widespread as Cochrane has imagined. Another group which did not look favourably upon the D.M.P., although strictly speaking they were not all Dubliners, were the troops and militia stationed in the city. Soldiers and militiamen on leave of absence often reacted aggressively when arrested by the D.M.P. for drunkenness, especially in the first half of the force's existence. As in England, a favourite military weapon when resisting arrest was the belt, which could inflict ugly wounds. When Constable Lynch, 168C, came across three disorderly soldiers in Upper Dominick Street in October 1855, he "remonstrated with them on the impropriety of their conduct." In response, the three men took off their belts and

beat him for three quarters of an hour, watched by an interested crowd. Lynch, who broke his baton while defending himself, was left "all but dead" and was hospitalized as a result of the attack. In November 1855, when Constable 132C was removing a noisy, drunken woman from Bath Avenue, he was attacked by several men of the Roscommon Militia who used their belts, which were fitted with heavy plates and buckles, as weapons, and "absolutely knouted the unfortunate constable almost within an inch of his life."(47)

These kind of attacks were particularly prevalent during the Crimean War, when a large number of troops and militiamen were stationed in Dublin. In May 1855, when Constable 126E arrested a disorderly Dublin Militia volunteer at Dolphin's Barn, he and a number of police reinforcements were assaulted and stoned by a large body of militiamen. Acting Sergeant Sheehan was permanently paralysed as a result of blows to the head from a militiaman's whip.(48) In July 1855 a militiaman and a coal porter assaulted Constable 119D after a night's drinking in Bow Street. Their action caused a crowd of 300 people to collect, "principally of persons of the lower class," who encouraged the unruly pair in their assault on the constable, and many of whom stoned him. In the same month Constable Cullen, 155D, arrested a soldier of the 96th Regiment for assaulting him at Flood Street. After a "severe struggle" he managed to convey his prisoner to Kilmainham station house, which was later attacked by over 40 of the

soldier's colleagues. The attack was eventually quelled with the assistance of other armed troops. Eight of the rioters were arrested but were later fined only five shillings each, because the magistrate considered that "it was desirable that good feeling should exist between the police and the military."(49) In November 1855 a crowd of Mayo Militiamen threatened to break down the door of Chancery Lane station house and release a comrade who had been arrested for assault; the police rejected their demand and managed to disperse their assailants "after a very severe conflict." (In the previous month, more than 100 soldiers and members of the same militia regiment had stoned the Athlone constabulary, whom they called "pig drivers," and smashed all the windows in the police barracks and a neighbouring house).(50) In December 1855 a member of the Leitrim Militia, who was arrested in Henry Street by Constable 140C for assault, was rescued from custody by 12 of his comrades.(51)

The hostility of the militia towards the police was partly due to the fact that many of them were ex-convicts: according to the inspector-general of prisons, the embodiment of the militia in 1855 had "largely contributed to thin [out] the gaols." In July 1858 the under secretary for Ireland claimed that "Many - perhaps most of them - are birds who have been in the hands of the police before they enlisted & have a grudge which they feel fired by the red coat to give vent to now." A police magistrate, many years later, considered the

Dublin City Militia "a dreadful lot - the scum of the city," and recalled that during the Crimean War it was stated that "they ought to be sent to the Crimea, for that if they couldn't take Sevastopol any other way they'd steal it." (52) Perhaps it was inevitable that recruits of this calibre should have behaved violently towards the police. The D.M.P. authorities tried to promote a better relationship between the military and their force, by forbidding constables from checking the passes of soldiers who were out of barracks at night, and ordering that drunken soldiers of the Dublin garrison were to be handed over to their regiments, rather than be brought before the city magistrates.(53) These measures appear to have succeeded, at least to the extent that military assaults on police constables were comparatively scarce after the mid-1860s. A rare instance of bad feeling towards the police occurred as late as June 1888, when Constable 90D was assaulted by a number of soldiers when he arrested one of the 4th Dragoon Guards for disorderly conduct in a Blackhorse Lane public house. Constable 147D, who came upon the scene of the attack, had to draw a revolver to keep the assailants at bay.(54)

The D.M.P. had a more serious and longer-lasting public relations problem with Dublin's lower classes. For them, the Dublin policeman was an intruder whom they resented, rather than the popular "Bobby" figure of Nigel Cochrane's argument. As with the lower classes in British cities, Dublin's working

class did not take kindly to police interference with their recreation activities. Prize fights, adult football matches in the streets, dog fights, catching seagulls along the Liffey with fishing hooks, playing dice and pitch and toss, gaming houses, swimming or bathing pets in the Grand Canal, wrestling matches, and gambling, dancing or playing music in public houses, especially on Sundays - these were all popular amusements which were frowned upon by the police, and suppressed by them whenever they became aware that they were being carried on.(55) The people who engaged in these activities obviously resented police curtailment of their enjoyment. In April 1843 Constable 210D was assaulted and stoned by "a large number of persons" in the Phoenix Park when he tried to break up a Sunday wrestling match there.(56) On September 16, 1862, a large crowd collected in Thomas Street to watch a fight between two local men. When Constable 105A arrived and was about to interfere with the proceedings, he was attacked by a knife-wielding bystander who complained that the policeman was "one of them scheming blackguards that puts a stop to such things as this."(57)

Early on the morning of July 8, 1910, three D.M.P. constables came across a crowd of around 150 men assembled for a cock-fight at Inchicore. The police were surrounded by the "hostile crowd," who threatened to tie them to trees if they did not depart. The policemen wisely made themselves scarce.(58) To evade the vigilance of the D.M.P., enthusiasts

sometimes left the metropolitan police area to indulge in their forbidden amusements in the constabulary districts. In August 1855 as many as 1,000 Dubliners, "some of the worst characters of the city and suburbs," gathered at Grange to watch a prize fight, but they were dispersed at bayonet point by the Rathfarnham constabulary. At one time the police were surrounded by the crowd, some of whom threatened to "smash their brains out, [and] others to smash their carbines on their heads," but none of the spectators braved the police bayonets. The boxing fans re-assembled near Tallaght, but they were again broken up, this time by the constabulary from a number of stations. A crowd assembled in March 1862 to watch an early morning bare-knuckle fight between Denis Wellington, the "Spring Gardens Pullet," and James Lee, the "Raheny Buttercup," which was held at the Annesley Bridge, so that the crowd could easily escape into the constabulary district should the D.M.P arrive. However, in the heat of the battle, which lasted for an hour, the two pugilists inadvertently crossed onto the city side of the bridge and were captured by the Dublin police.(59)

The D.M.P.'s suppression of the famous Donnybrook fair was the best-known example of the police crackdown on popular amusements. The fair had been in decline since before the establishment of the D.M.P., but it persisted into the post-Famine era, and still provided the Dublin courts with a crop of cases involving drunkenness, disorderly conduct, assaults,

pocket-picking, dishonest thimble-rigging and gambling. One police magistrate admitted that despite "the scenes of drunkenness, violence, gambling, and gross indecency" which characterized the fair, he was often influenced by the consideration that "when such an annual abomination was tolerated in a civilized community, it was a ground for slightly mitigating the punishments incurred by [those] yielding to its abundant temptations." (60) However, the toleration of Dublin's civic authorities for the fair diminished greatly after the Famine, and Lord Mayor Joseph Boyce finally ordered its suppression in August 1855. On "Walking Sunday," traditionally the busiest day of the fair, the Midland Great Western and the Kingstown railway companies offered half-price excursion tickets to entice those "naturally disposed to enjoy themselves on the day of rest" to venues away from Donnybrook. Drogheda, Dalkey, Killiney, and the Curragh proved to be especially popular destinations with the estimated 18,000 to 20,000 people who availed of the companies' offer; in contrast, only a "very small" number of people collected at the traditional fair grounds, and these were watched over by a "strong body of police." (61) Several efforts were made to revive the fair down to 1867, but these were sparsely attended and orderly events and were heavily policed by both the D.M.P. and the military. Once the civic authorities, backed up by the police, had set their faces against the holding of the fair, the event inevitably dwindled

away. (62)

The ending of the fair was but the most dramatic example of the D.M.P.'s role in policing popular amusements. In the early twentieth century the force tried to suppress the popular Dublin mania for betting on horse races. The police raided illegal bookmaking establishments which were run in the shops of tobacconists, newsagents, vintners, barbers and in billiard rooms, in one instance disguising themselves as a wedding party to lull the suspicions of local people as to their intentions. On one occasion an unemployed painter was prosecuted for being an illegal bookmaker. There was a certain amount of farce involved in these operations, according to T.M. Healy, M.P., as "everybody," including the police themselves, placed bets on the outcome of horse races. This claim was substantiated by David Neligan, as according to him, all the police were race followers. He records that one occasion in which there was "a wild rush out of the station" to warn a street bookmaker of an impending police raid. Police activities against bookmakers can only have served to increase their unpopularity, given the wide appeal of gambling to Dubliners anxious to make a killing on the races. (63)

The police also exerted themselves in trying to prevent fighting in the streets. Although strictly speaking this was not a form of recreation, street violence, according to one Dubliner, was "part of the daily experience" of growing up in the city, and drunken fights, especially if they involved

women, drew large and appreciative audiences. (64) In June 1881 a magistrate, despairing at the incidence of drunkenness and violence in the city, claimed that "it would be better instead of sending missionaries to the Fiji Islands to keep them at home. They would have plenty of work among the power classes in the city, many of whom were almost savages." (65) The people involved in these fights frequently forgot their mutual animosity to assault interfering D.M.P. men, partly for enjoying their enjoyment of the fight, and also because the intervention represented yet another unwarranted instance of police intrusion in their lives. In January 1840 Constable 98D was beaten up by two "weather-beaten, fierce-looking fellows," one of whom wielded an iron bar, when he interfered in their fight in Lower Dorset Street. (66) Constable Maguire, 60D, was assaulted by three men whom he prevented from fighting in Phibsborough in January 1844. In March 1844, when the police stopped a fight amongst drunken workmen at the Ballybough Bridge, they were assaulted by the combatants and later stoned by a large crowd which attempted to rescue their prisoners. Constable Fitzgerald of the B division was beaten up by a crowd in Wexford Street in December 1851 after he tried to stop some men from fighting, and in the same month Constable Ennis, 143B, was hospitalized as a result of injuries received from a crowd when he intervened to stop them from "rioting and quarrelling." Also on December 1851, Constable 83D, while on his beat in the Mary's Lane-Boot Lane area, tried to prevent

"one of those squabbles so unhappily frequent" in the city; this led to the "combatants" and some spectators kicking the policeman "senseless," and he too was hospitalized with his injuries. (67)

Constable 51E was severely assaulted by six drunken labourers when he intervened in their fight at Ballsbridge in March 1852. Constable Dagg, 145E, cautioned a group of 20 fighting men at Islandbridge on the night of March 25, 1854. On being told off by the constable, "they rushed upon him in a body, knocked him down, and kicked him brutally." The assailants left, leaving the constable lying on the ground, but he "followed the miscreants, and traced them to a house in the neighbourhood, when they spotted him, and again seized him, and after dragging him into a hall, beat and kicked him in a brutal manner, tearing his uniform in shreds of his back." Constable 148A was beaten "severely" by a large crowd in Engine Alley in August 1855 when he interfered in a fight between a family of thimble-riggers. In March 1862, when Constable 165B tried to prevent the disorderly conduct of three men in Great Brunswick Street, they kicked and knocked him down and beat him with his own baton. (68) On the night of Sunday, January 21, 1866, a sergeant and two constables removed two men for fighting in a Wexford Street public house, and took one of them prisoner. They managed to convey him as far as Cuffe Street, but there they were opposed by a crowd of about 400 people. The prisoner shouted out, "To Hell with

the horneys," and asked the crowd to rescue him. In Mercer street the crowd took over a partly-constructed house and used the stones and bricks there to attack the police who, despite drawing their swords and receiving reinforcements, were obliged to let their prisoner escape.(69) Constable 121C was assaulted by a crowd in Great Britain Street when he stopped two men from fighting there in March 1880. In the same month a sergeant and constable, while conveying a prisoner who had been arrested for fighting at Harold's Cross Bridge and for savagely assaulting a policeman, had to enter Portobello Military Barracks for fear of attack from a large and hostile crowd.(70)

Police intervention in family quarrels or assaults was another source of attacks upon D.M.P. men. Sometimes the family united to attack a policeman who intervened in their dispute, viewing this as unwelcome police interference, even when a wife or parent was receiving rough treatment at the time.(71) In October 1838 Patrick Maguire of Liffey Street, who had already been fined £5 for assaulting the police, explained why he had beaten Constable 58C with his own baton and tried to stab him with a knife supplied by either his wife (whom he had been beating before the policeman intervened) or by his brother-in-law:

I happened to be out a while that evening, and I happened to get a little tossicated or so, and when I came home my wife had not the tea made - so I fell to beating her; her brother interfered, and I knocked him down while you'd be saying 'leave that.' The policeman came in and, as the wipes were going, I gave him his share.(72)

By 1879 the D.M.P. authorities had issued instructions to their force "not to interfere between a man and his wife who are quarrelling unless it is absolutely necessary to prevent serious violence to either party."(73)

The police "move on" system caused more resentment towards policemen than did their intervention in family disputes. Constables were directed to disperse groups who collected in one spot and obstructed the footpath, and frequently members of Dublin's lower classes, like their English counterparts, resented this enough to assault policemen who intruded on what they considered their right to stand wherever they wished.(74) In April 1839, when Constable 106C ordered an old oyster seller to move along Eden Quay, which she was obstructing with her basket, she gave him a surprise box on the side of the head which "made his ears ring for several minutes afterwards."(75) One family in the 1850s constantly teased new policemen by asking them whether their mothers knew that they were absent from home, pretending that one of their family had attempted to commit suicide, or telling the police that they had neglected their duty by not arresting a lamppost for failing to move on.(76) Constable 54D told a group of men who were obstructing the pavement in Upper Dorset Street to move along in March 1881. One of the men took off his coat and assaulted the constable, for which he was arrested. This, however, caused a crowd to collect, who attacked 54D and also 187D who arrived at the scene of the

fracas. The latter constable was rendered unfit for duty due to the head wounds he received in the crowd attack. In September 1881, when Constable O'Neill, 102E, ordered a crowd of around 40 people, which had gathered at Dolphin's Barn, to disperse, he was attacked by several of the people, knocked down and struck with his own sword, and kicked in the head. He was hospitalized with "concussion of the brain and concussion of the spine" as a result.(77)

Perhaps the most unusual arrests arising from a refusal to "move on" occurred in March 1875, when two men who were in charge of a dancing bear in Pill Lane ignored a constable's order not to obstruct the thoroughfare. It was possibly this incident which prompted Chief Commissioner Talbot to order constables to arrest people who caused obstructions with performing bears; also added to the list of unwanted street nuisances were musicians with monkeys, girls dancing on poles and "other gymnastic performers." (78) Probably the oddest case of violent resistance to an order to "move on" occurred in June 1880 in Meath Street, where Constable 99A issued the oft-resented command to a number of men and women. One man named James Palles refused to go, so the policeman arrested him. Palles resisted arrest, threw himself to the ground and, to the astonishment of the constable, unstrapped his wooden leg and used it as a club to beat the policeman's head, breaking his helmet in the process. A bystander also beat the hapless constable on the back of the head with a stick.(79)

Interference with drunks and drinkers was the most common cause of assaults on the D.M.P. Police attempts at abating public drunkenness, and in preventing "tippling" in unlicensed houses or at unauthorized hours, was strongly resented by many Dubliners.(80) The old Dublin police had also directed their energies against these activities, but the D.M.P. in its first year arrested four times as many drunks as its predecessor had in its final year of existence.(81) Dublin's drinkers, who were probably a majority of the adult population, often expressed their hostility towards the D.M.P.'s more energetic exertions against their excesses. Peter Hackett and his wife, Judy, were arrested for singing "Patrick's Day in the Morning" and dancing a hornpipe while drunk in Hammond's Lane on St Patrick's Day, 1838. At first Constable Canterbury, 187D, had told them to go home quietly, but Peter had replied that "he might go be ----; he did not care the toss of a rap farthing about him, as that was Patrick's Day, and there was no law to prevent him getting drunk as a lord, if he was able." The Hacketts were arrested and sentenced to two days in prison. During his trial, Peter told the magistrate at Arran Quay police office that

The world was better off and better people in it too, before any of these outlandish laws came into vogue. A poor body cannot now observe an old custom but they are dragged off and exposed to the world, while the rich may spill as much in their necks as would float a tub, and no one be the wiser of it. There is neither rhyme or reason in what you call the law.(82)

Bridget Laffan, who was probably the most frequently

prosecuted person in Irish history, stated at one of her trials for drunkenness and assaulting two civilians and a policeman that

It's an unreasonable thing to send me to Grangegorman for six months, and to call me a pest and a disgrace to the 'varsal world. If it wasn't for me and the likes of me, that gets a bit disorderly whin we have a drop, and kicks up ructions now and then, there ud be very little call for polis magistrates and polismen, or such varmint. It's creatures like me that's yer best friends, and keeps the bread in yer mouths, and all we get for it is jailing and impudence. (83)

Many other drinkers shared Laffan's and the Hacketts' hostility to police interference in their activities. One of the first attacks on a D.M.P. constable occurred after Constable James Devine heard "great noise and singing" in a Dean Street public house, at two o'clock in the morning of January 15, 1838. When he entered and told the revellers to be quiet, he was assaulted and called "opprobrious names." Sergeant Boyes and Constable 61D were assaulted by "tipplers" whom they discovered drinking in a Church Street shebeen in July 1838. When Constable 167D entered a Church Street public house in November 1838 to arrest a man for assault, "he was assaulted in a most violent manner by several persons, who completely tore the clothes off his back." (84) In February 1840, when Constable O'Brien, 113A, told some disorderly persons gathered outside a public house to go home quietly, he was seized by the group, badly beaten with his own baton, and hospitalized with his injuries. (85) On March 3, 1844, when Constable Daly, 87A, removed some disorderly people who were

"drinking and carousing" in a Thomas Street tavern,

no sooner had he got them out in the street than they turned upon him 'with devilish intent' (to use his own emphatic phrase), kicked, cuffed, and bethumped him, dimmed for evermore the transient brilliancy of his glazed hat, tore the cape that hung gracefully on his shoulders, and gave him so many thumps that they might be faithfully represented by the figures on his collar. (86)

Constable 52D came across a drunk man stripped to the waist in Church Street and calling for a fight in December 1843. The constable tried to persuade the disorderly character to go home, but he instead knocked 52D down, saying "he would swing for a b[lood]y policeman." Constable 52D was assisted by two other constables, who were also assaulted, and they eventually made a prisoner of the drunk, John Collins, after they had batoned him and tied him with ropes. A sergeant stated that Collins was charged "at least twice a week for assaults on the police," and always promised, and failed, to take the pledge of abstinence. Collins boasted in court that "I have paid more money here for 'salts on the powlis, than any other boy in the division, and I think I ought to be let off this offer on that account." Instead, he was given a choice of paying a £1 or a month in prison. Collins replied, "I'll put in the month on the mill - what signifies it? It's only a handful of minutes, after all, and maybe I won't whop the powlis when I come out." (87) Normally the police used a stretcher, or even a wheelbarrow, to convey incapable drunks found on the streets to the station house, but disorderly drunks were also sometimes strapped to stretchers to calm them

down. However, even this form of restraint did not curb one drunk's eagerness to "whop the powlis." In October 1846 a servant arrested for drunkenness and assaulting policemen in Amiens Street was strapped to a stretcher, but when brought to the station he "attacked every one he met, and there was a probability of his having demolished the building had he not been strapped down and ironed," and even in this state he "contrived to 'mangle' the persons and clothes of some half dozen police constables." (88)

Many unfortunate D.M.P. men discovered that not all inebriated prisoners were too intoxicated to commit assaults. In August 1838 a constable was struck in the face with a hatchet and bitten in the lower lip by a drunken prostitute whom he was removing from a Montgomery Street public house. She explained that she "was tempted to give the policeman a clip on the lip for his interference with her." (89) When Constable 122D arrested a man for drunkenness in August 1843 he was thrown to the ground by his prisoner, who then painfully bit through his trousers, boot, stocking and leg! (90) Constable Edward Bowen, 38C, was slashed across the face in Cole's Lane by a "drunken ruffian" with the appropriate name of Savage. He lost his left eye and part of his nose as a result, and died in January 1847. (91) In July 1855 Val Synott, a "burley, bull-necked individual," severely assaulted Constable 22C in Thomas Street despite being "drunk to his very toe nails." William Mooney, a "battered looking"

drunk, fell into police hands in August 1858:

Constable James Dignam (E62) knocked up against him as he tacked round a corner of the street, and, seeing the state he was in, advised him to go home quietly to his family. Mooney began to curse and damn - he consigned the constable and all his family to perdition, then the whole of the E division, acting sergeants and inspectors included. Finally he dashed his worn-out coat on the pavement and challenged the constable to come on. The latter did go on, rapidly and effectively too, for he suddenly seized his man by the collar of the coat and the right arm and, turning him round, ran him at a sharp pace, and without stopping, to the College Street station. During the whole night he [Mooney] kept his face to the aperture in the cell door, threatening the various constables with the infliction of grievous bodily injuries the moment he had the pleasure of meeting them after his time was up. When asked to explain his conduct this [court] day, he began to revile the constable who stood near him in the dock - then his worship - and then everybody in court generally. He was fined 10s6d; in default he was to be imprisoned for seven days. He said he would see them all in a warm climate before he gave them 10s, and was removed, after much kicking and fighting, to the van, which was in readiness to convey him to his temporary public residence.(92)

In March 1862 John McNeill, a tinker from Monaghan, was prosecuted for illegally distilling whiskey in a stable at Anglesea Road. According to Superintendent Ryan of the G division, his whiskey was "so good that three glasses of it would set any man under sixteen stone [224 lbs] weight raving mad for at least five or six hours." McNeill had been in Dublin "for some time," according to Ryan, and "went to work vigorously, and his work throve, as a greater number of policemen got into mortal combat with disorderly citizens than usual - more men used to jump out of windows, and attempt to throw themselves into the river than usual."(93) When Constable Penrose, 71B, tried to catch an escaped drunk who

fled into a Temple Bar house on February 18, 1866, he peeped into a keyhole of the house and had a poker rammed into his eye. He went to hospital for six weeks as a result.(94) By the 1860s the struggles between policemen and drunk prisoners were apparently a source of amusement; the leading Dublin newspaper, the Freeman's Journal, referred to such fights as the "Police Polka," and often published amusing accounts of assaults on policemen.(95) When Constable 156A came to court in March 1862 to give evidence against two men for assaulting him, his appearance was "the signal for general laughter" in the courtroom. His left eye was blackened and swollen and his nose flattened as a result of the assault by the unruly pair, who considered that "all the polis were a pack of scoundrels." (96)

The above examples are merely a sample of the scores of cases of drunken assaults on policemen which were reported in the press. Taken in isolation, these attacks do not tell us much about popular attitudes towards the police, but they should be viewed in context as part of a widespread hostility towards the D.M.P. One gains an insight into lower class opposition to the force by the numerous instances of crowd rescue of prisoners and attacks on policemen. This aspect of Dublin life has been neglected or overlooked by historians; the state of hostility between a large section of the Belfast public and the police is better known, but throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a similar state of

affairs existed in the lower class areas of the capital.

As early as August 1838 Police Magistrate Cole, commenting on a case in which a policeman was assaulted by a crowd in Dorset Street when he arrested two men for fighting, especially by a "parcel of women" who "stuck about him like wild cats," complained of "a disposition in this town to put down the police force." In the next month Magistrate Hitchcock stated that "ever since the institution of the new police force, an outcry and mob was raised against them whenever they were in the discharge of their duty." (97) On July 8, 1838, Constable 104B arrested a man for drunkenness, but "the prisoner's arm was not so unnerved by the whiskey as he had imagined, for he turned sharply at him and downed him with a blow." The policeman was then surrounded by a crowd and assaulted. Constable Byrne arrested two men for disorderly conduct in Great Britain Street on September 16, 1838, but quickly found himself surrounded by a "large mob" who impeded him, and one of the prisoners wrested his truncheon from his hands and beat him with it on his neck and back:

Being quite stupified and exhausted from the many blows he had received, he was unable to make further resistance, but fell on the ground; several of the mob rushed on him and kicked him violently in the back and chest, and one woman, more than thirteen stone [182 lbs] weight, jumped on him... He was no sooner up than he received a blow of a large stone in the back of the head, which felled him senseless to the ground; several of the mob continued beating him until Constable Breen came to his assistance. (98)

More than a hundred people rescued a drunk and disorderly prisoner from a policeman in James Street in August

1838. One of the crowd seized the constable's truncheon and, with the aid of several of the "rioters," gave the policeman a "severe beating." In the same month a crowd consisting of several hundred stoned Constable Conlon, 116A, in Braithwaite Street in the Liberties, and rescued a drunken prisoner from him; he was eventually recaptured, and several of the mob arrested, after the arrival of police reinforcements. When Constable Hayes, 95A, tried to bring in a drunk who had assaulted him on September 23, 1838, he was opposed by a crowd of from 100 to 200 people in Patrick Street, who pelted him with stones and other objects. Five days later a violent encounter took place in Braithwaite Street between a mob angered at rumours that the police had killed a man earlier that day, and the D.M.P. The trigger for the attack was the arrest of a drunken man. In October 1838, when a fight broke out between five policemen and three soldiers and a sailor in Dawson Street, a crowd joined in on the side of the military to attack the police, one of whom was "severely beaten." (99) In 1838, the first year of the force's existence, some 1,233 people were arrested for assaulting policemen on duty, 67 were arrested for rescuing prisoners, 172 for attempting to rescue prisoners, and 412 for obstructing the police. (100)

There were numerous instances of mass attacks on policemen, an indication that a large section of Dublin's population did not see the D.M.P. constable as "Bobby." Police Magistrate Tudor lamented in March 1840 that assaults on

policemen and the rescue of prisoners were "very prevalent" in the city.(101) A particularly vicious attack occurred in New Street on February 21, 1842, when Constable Cusack, 22A, arrested a man there for being drunk and disorderly. He was immediately set upon by a mob who rescued his prisoner. Constable Priestley, 48A, came to 22A's assistance, and the two policemen were attacked by a crowd which used bricks, sticks, stones and whips as weapons. Priestley was beaten particularly severely and was invalided with his injuries. Shopkeepers in lower class areas might well have found it prudent to publicly agree with the antipathy shown towards the D.M.P. by their neighbours and customers. When Constable 121C separated three men who were fighting in Montgomery Street in December 1842, the trio turned on him, knocked him down and kicked him about the head. The constable called out to "several respectable shopkeepers and others" to help him, but they refused, saying "The d[evi]l mend the police."(102) Constable 137C arrested a disorderly man in Mud Island in September 1843. After the arrest, "a crowd collected and commenced a desperate attack on him; they tore his clothes into pieces and battered his body almost to jelly." Constable Gannon, 94B, was attacked by a crowd in Townsend Street on March 11, 1844, after making an arrest there. The mob beat him into unconsciousness and he had to be taken to hospital; one "gentleman" had tried to intervene to save the policeman "but he was soon driven off by the crowd."(103)

A Constable Daly was killed when he interfered with a fight amongst seamen in Kingstown on September 14, 1846. During the melee the policeman was knocked to the ground and kicked in the head, receiving a fractured skull. There was little popular sympathy for the murdered policeman in the area. The coroner's inquest into the death was told that one of the original jury members, who had been arrested several times for drunkenness, had bragged in a public house that

he would not find a verdict against any man charged with assaulting or killing a policeman, that the police deserved more than they got, and that if they got a great deal more they would deserve it, and that the [deceased] man.....got only what he deserved.

The police could obtain no evidence from the witnesses to the murder, as "there was a disposition among the people to hold back and not tell what they knew of the matter." (104) When a policeman arrested a drunken man in a Parliament Street public house in June 1848, the street in front of Dublin Castle, the prisoner was rescued by a crowd. Police reinforcements, and extra crowds, gathered and a lively running battle between the two sides ensued: "the fight raged with great fury through Essex Street, Smock Alley, Copper Alley, and Fishamble Street. Bricks, kettles, old basins, bottles and the like were flung from the windows, and the police had several cuts on their heads." The battle went on into Werburgh Street, "where it really assumed a very formidable aspect," but the police managed to capture the original prisoner, as well as four of the mob. (105)

Inspector Finnamore stated in May 1849 that fishermen habitually gathered on weekend nights at Ringsend, where they generally got drunk and were "guilty of great excess." They were particularly fond of beating the police, and when fines were imposed for this offence, they raised subscriptions among their friends and were thus liberated from police custody. In August 1849 a serious riot occurred at Ringsend in which "the police were beaten in all directions." Five men - a labourer, a cooper and three fishermen - were later prosecuted as the ringleaders of the affray, which resulted in severe injuries to several policemen. According to Inspector Finnamore,

the conduct of the mob at Ringsend was very outrageous, not only on the present, but upon almost all occasions.....It was.....utterly disgraceful to a civilized city to see the conduct of certain parties at Ringsend, who seemed to have only one object in view - namely, that of insulting and annoying every respectable person who passed, and they made it a particular rule to assault every policeman that might come in their way.(106)

The D.M.P. were by then rather accustomed to meeting with opposition to their policing of the streets. In 1839 they arrested some 940 people for assaulting policemen, 31 people for rescuing prisoners, 87 people for attempting rescues and 290 people for obstructing the police on duty. In 1849 some 1,098 people were arrested for these several offences, and in the period from 1839 to 1849 inclusive, these infringements of the law accounted for 12,181 arrests altogether.(107)

The 1850s also produced a considerable number of crowd attacks on the D.M.P. For instance, in September 1851 Constable Mooney, 141A, was attacked by a mob in Bridgefort

street, his two prisoners were rescued and he was "severely beaten" and hospitalized. (108) On St Patrick's Day, 1852, when a military band marched from the Royal Hospital towards Kilmainham barracks, it was followed by a large crowd of "turbulent and disorderly persons" who stopped pedestrians and carriages, and made people take their hats off for the procession. The crowd broke up a carriage belonging to an army colonel. Police efforts to disperse the crowd were at first futile as they were heavily stoned, so they were obliged to return to their barracks, under more barrages of stones, for their swords. The rioters, who numbered at least 5,000 people, were eventually broken up by the combined efforts of the police and a detachment of the Royal Horse Artillery. (109) Two constables were attacked by a crowd of 1,500 people who were watching a fight in Moore Street in June 1854, and were saved only by the arrival of reinforcements from Frederick Lane station, who baton-charged the mob. Despite the perilous situation the heavily outnumbered police had found themselves in, a magistrate later condemned their excessive of their batons. However, he also condemned the fact that "persons in every rank were more prone to obstruct than to assist the police on occasions when a disturbance occurred." (110)

The Freeman's Journal lamented in May 1855 that "If a constable meets with a refractory character, he is generally allowed to take his chance, passers-by seldom interfering, except in cases of great emergency, when their assistance is

not enlisted on the side of law and order." In the same month the D.M.P. chief commissioners, in view of the difficulties frequently experienced by constables in conveying prisoners to station houses, especially when they were a long way from them, ordered that they should direct any passing carmen to take them to the nearest station. Such drivers were to be paid double the normal rate by inspectors or station sergeants in return for their compliance with policemen's requests and those who refused were to be reported, and would undoubtedly experience difficulty in getting their licences renewed).(111) Neither the complaints of the Freeman's Journal nor the precautions of the chief commissioners were enough to prevent attacks on D.M.P.men. In the next month a "vast crowd of persons" assembled in Grand Canal Street to try and prevent the incarceration of two men who had assaulted a constable. The police succeeded "after a severe struggle" in securing their prisoners. In July 1855 a 300-strong mob, "principally of persons of the lower class," stoned a constable who arrested two disorderly men in Bow Street.(112)

On the night of October 12, 1855, Richard Doran, who had resigned from the D.M.P. a few days earlier, was recognized in Essex Street by a woman who shouted out, "there is the b[lood]y detective." Her shouts caused a crowd to gather around Doran, and they "knocked him down, and kicked him in a brutal manner, one of them stabbing him also in the wrist with a knife, so as to cut the sinews across."(113) In

December 1855 a "gentleman" named Farrell noticed a large crowd assembled in Great Britain Street. On going to see what had attracted their attention, he found that they were watching, with interest, a man violently assaulting a Constable McGettigan. Farrell unwisely struck the policeman's assailant with a stick, and was obliged to beat a hasty retreat as a consequence, as he was chased by some of the crowd and "had a very narrow escape of being severely maltreated." The constable was beaten near to death.(114) Two B division constables were assaulted by "an immense crowd" in Gloucester Street in July 1857, after they had arrested two men for disorderly conduct. On St Patrick's Day, 1858, an "immense crowd" passed boisterously along Capel Street and Mary Street, assaulting pedestrians and breaking shop windows. On meeting Constables Donnelly and Telford, some of the crowd shouted out "horneys, horneys, block the horneys' hats" (this referred to knocking the policemen's helmets off, preferably with a stone), and when two of the crowd were arrested, the rest stoned the two policemen. Constable Michael Travers, 161A, arrested a man for assault on August 8, 1858, in Dean Street. His prisoner resisted violently, and a crowd gathered to watch the struggling pair, but they did not interfere until the policeman appeared to be getting the better of his opponent. At that stage of the fight one of the spectators hurled a brick at Travers' head, and he fell "almost senseless" to the ground, and the crowd, "incited by this

spirited proceeding, closed round the constable, and kicked and beat him with great vigour."(115)

Although Dublin in the 1860s was gripped by "Fenian fever," the various mass assaults on the D.M.P. which occurred in this decade were inspired not by political animosity but by the usual hostility of Dublin's lower classes towards the police. Constable Ward, 71E, was "violently assaulted" and stabbed on May 25, 1862, when he went to interfere with a "riotous assemblage" of 200 people at Ringsend. Another policeman who went to Ward's aid also received some rough treatment. In the next month Constables 59E and 127E were attacked by a large crowd of cockle gatherers, "mud larkers," boys "mitching" from school, carmen, vanmen, boatmen, women with children in their arms, and "all the al fresco inhabitants" of the Sandymount Green area. Constable 59E was particularly roughly used by one man in the crowd, and both policemen were showered with pavement rubble, oyster shells, cabbage stumps and other "fireworks" in the melee. When Constable William Kennedy went to quell a drunken brawl in Earl Street on April 18, 1866, he was attacked by a mob estimated by Constable 83A at 300 people, and was severely assaulted. Kennedy had been "a very fine looking young man" before the incident, but the injuries which he sustained "had the effect of bowing him like an aged man." On September 8, 1867, two B division constables were severely assaulted by a crowd whom they attempted to stop from fighting in Moss

street. Three weeks later, around seven constables were so severely attacked by a crowd in Thomas Street, after they removed three disorderly drinkers from a public house, that they drew their revolvers (with which they had been issued because of the Fenian scare) to keep their attackers at bay.(116) Assaulting D.M.P. men was so common in the 1860s that the Freeman's Journal described the activity in July 1867 as the "popular amusement."(117)

While there were many crowd attacks on the D.M.P. since the force's inception, certain individuals also proved adept at or fond of indulging in the "popular amusement." James Ellis, during the course of his arrest in September 1843 for being disorderly, repeatedly floored five or six policemen by smashing them in the face with his head. According to Inspector O'Neill, "he often had the prisoner locked up, and when he was taken by a policeman he either knocked him down with his head or attempted to eat him!"(118) In February 1848 John Garrigan, a "wicked-looking fellow," was charged by Constables 35, 39, 43, 51 and 93 of the D division with assaulting them on Constitution Hill when he was "roaring mad drunk." Constable 35D, a "Johnny Raw" or newly-appointed policeman, had his uniform torn from him in the assault. According to Sergeant Kennedy, Garrigan was "exceedingly fond of attacking newly appointed policemen.....and he used to go about looking for a Johnny Raw" to attack. He had been tried "at least" 50 times for assaults on the police.(119) Another

rather formidable character was John Neill, known to the police as "John A." Inspector Armstrong described him in July 1849 as "the greatest vagabond in the B division of police," who was "in the habit of assaulting people in the street without the least provocation, and if a policeman came in his way, the constable was sure to fall in for a broken head or black eye." (120)

A man named Patrick Downey of Ringsend was stated in May 1857 to be "constantly in the habit of assaulting the police, and [he] had been repeatedly before the magistrates for indulging his tastes in that way." (121) Lawrence Dempsey, a labourer who violently assaulted two constables when he was arrested for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in Great Britain Street in December 1864, "prided himself on being a 'rowdy' fond of pugilistic encounters with the police officers." (122) Several gangs of "roughs," with names such as the "Boltoneers" and "Georgeites," took to assaulting both civilians and policemen in the 1870s. (123) John Carty, one of Dublin's "roughs," had by June 1880 been convicted of 143 offences, mainly of assaulting policemen. According to Constable Eastwood, "he never works, and the first young constable he can meet in the street he strikes him to knock him down without saying a word to him." (124) Francis Lacy, a "stout, well-built fellow, of powerful physique," was sentenced to several prison terms, including one of five years, for assaulting D.M.P. men. According to the Freeman's

Journal in July 1880, he "has always been regarded with dread by [even] the stoutest members of the metropolitan force," and on his arrest in that month it took the entire Sackville Street station party to restrain him. Lacy was a member of the "Band Boys," a gang which specialized in assaulting policemen.(125) Attacks on policemen in Dublin's streets were, then, rather more frequent than Nigel Cochrane realizes. Members of the public rarely come to the aid of assaulted constables; perhaps understandably, given the violent characters who carried out the attacks and the popular support they often aroused. In the 1860s and 1870s the chief commissioners and the detective division even had special reward funds for awarding money to civilians who helped policemen who were attacked on the streets, a sure sign that spontaneous assistance was conspicuous by its absence.(126)

Popular hostility towards the D.M.P. increased as a result of their actions during the banned Amnesty Association meeting at the Phoenix Park on August 6, 1871. The meeting was to be held at the Wellington Memorial on the weekend at the end of the Prince of Wales' visit to Ireland, within sight of the vice-regal lodge, and was obviously designed to embarrass the government during the prince's visit. The secretary of the Office of Public Works issued a notice prohibiting the Amnesty Association from holding its meeting in the park, but the organizers, disputing his right to bar them, went ahead with their plans. When the meeting got under way, Superintendent

Hawe and a D division constable went to the leaders assembled on the steps of the obelisk, and told them to disperse; they refused, and the policemen received some rough usage at the hands of some of the crowd, but they managed to get safely away following the intervention of the meeting's organizers. Shortly afterwards, about 50 D.M.P. men armed with truncheons pushed through the crowd of approximately 5,000, and went to the obelisk. What happened next is best described by the Irish Times reporter:

Using their batons indiscriminately, the police shoved the people down the steps in a most violent manner. The rapid flight of those who were descending brought down others with dangerous precipitancy; many fell and received severe contusions, and any one made the least endeavour to assert their right to be there were mercilessly ill-treated. The slightest show of remaining near the spot brought down the constables who, discountenancing all attempts at explanation, maltreated everyone who came in their way. If two or three persons were observed standing together, half a dozen constables chased after them, and on meeting those who were retreating, tripped them up, struck them great blows on the body with their truncheons, and, evidently not caring for consequences, smote them on the heads with these weapons. Those having no connection with the affair, but who happened unfortunately to be on the spot met with similar usage, so that the only safety was in rapid dispersion.

A detective who witnessed the attack believed that some of the officers in charge of the police that day were "the worse for liquor," which perhaps explains some of the ferocity of the D.M.P.'s behaviour, but undoubtedly the long-running feud between the police and a section of Dublin's population was also a factor.

Following the clearance of the obelisk steps, some of the crowd fled from the park, but others took to stoning the

police from a distance. D.M.P. numbers at the affray increased to 200, and the crowds opposing them in the park and its environs swelled to an estimated 12,000 to 15,000; some of these tore up a road in the park for use as ammunition. A detachment of police was also attacked on the King's Bridge, and one of the policemen was "knocked down and kicked in a brutal manner about the head and face by every one who could get a chance at him." Later that evening, a large crowd proceeded from the Phoenix Park along the quays to Capel Street, and smashed the windows of every house which displayed flags in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales.(127) On September 3, 1871, the Amnesty Association held another meeting in the Phoenix Park, which was not interfered with by the D.M.P. After the meeting, crowds returning to the city attacked the police at Kingsbridge, Ellis Quay and the Brideswell Lane station, breaking most of the windows of the police station. The fight in the area lasted about an hour. A public house in Queen Street was "completely wrecked" by the rioters when rumours spread that the publican had asked the police to arrest five men in his premises after they stoned the police. Altogether, some 143 D.M.P. men were injured during the affray, including one man who received a fractured skull, and around 60 civilians were treated in hospital for their injuries.(128)

The Phoenix Park affray seriously damaged the image of the D.M.P. in Dubliners' eyes, and strengthened the hostility

of those who already resented the force's presence. Even the normally light-hearted magazine Zozimus expressed its outrage when it printed the cartoon "Rex Hiberniae," depicting a rather savage-looking D.M.P. constable, revolver in one hand and bloodied baton in the other, standing over the prostrate bodies of a woman and a child, while his colleagues beat defenceless people in the background. (See appendix xxvii). The police conduct at the Phoenix Park meeting was credited in 1882 by Acting Sergeant Dowling of Summerhill as the cause of the "bitterness" felt by "the working class" towards the D.M.P. As we have seen, such bitterness existed long before the 1871 Amnesty meeting, but the police attack of that year certainly seems to have heightened the animosity towards the force. Sergeant William Thorpe told the 1872 committee of enquiry into the D.M.P. that many men had resigned from the force to join the London police, and that "they prefer to be there, as the people are not as hostile to the police as they are here." In July 1873 Chief Commissioner Lake explained that

a very great difference exists between Dublin and any other place either in England or Scotland. In the latter the police, in case of being called on to act, very naturally look for assistance from the public, whereas in Dublin, under similar circumstances, the hand of almost every individual is against the constable and they who do not actually impede the action of the police, generally remain passive.

He appealed against proposals by the Treasury to reduce the minimum height requirements for D.M.P. recruits from 5'9", stating that a constable of that height was "far superior to one of 5'7" in dealing with a riotous mob, composed, as is

usually the case in Dublin, of enormously powerful men of the roughest and worst description, unlike a mob in any other part of the United Kingdom." Assistant Commissioner Talbot stated in 1877 that ever since the Amnesty Meeting, night patrols in the A and D divisions, which were "principally inhabited by the lower and the rougher part of the people," had to be doubled for their own protection because of the constant attacks upon them. This hostility from Dublin's lower orders persisted into the early 1880s: policemen's wives and families were insulted in shops, workers objected to work with police pensioners or policemen's sons, and married policemen often had to live "in neighbourhoods where their pay is not at all suitable for the purpose, in order that they may live in peace and quietness."(129)

The numerous crowd attacks on D.M.P. men in the early 1880s suggest that the typical Dublin policeman was not regarded as "Bobby" by a significant portion of the city's population. In February 1880 a man was arrested in Plunkett Street by Constable 100A for using obscene language, but he resisted arrest and, with the aid of a passer-by, he repeatedly and violently assaulted the policeman, who was unceremoniously dumped into a barrel in Blackhall Row, and further "ill-treated" by a crowd who had witnessed the earlier proceedings.(130) Large crowds either rioted or otherwise obstructed police attempts to arrest people at Stephens Green West in May, Winetavern Street and Meath Street in June, on

the South Circular Road, Ormond Quay and in Patrick Street in July, and in Lurgan Street in September 1880.(131) In the Patrick Street incident an A division constable had had to baton a violent prisoner on the head, while he was stoned by a crowd of 200 people on the way to the station. Police Magistrate Woodlock stated that "it was a scandalous thing that while a constable was doing his duty that he was to be treated in this way. Of course there would be a row made about the unfortunate man using his staff, but what was a man to do when set upon by a crowd?" Earlier that month Constable 64C had hospitalized an unruly "corner boy" whom he had arrested for being drunk and disorderly in Temple Street. Police Magistrate O'Donel admitted that "excessive violence" had been used by the policeman, but added that "corner boys need not expect that they are to be brought to the station by a silken thread."(132)

Such remarks from the Bench were not likely to endear the D.M.P. to Dublin's lower classes. In September 1880, when Constable 190A went to quell a disturbance in Pleasant Street, where bailiffs were taking possession of an "improper house," he was attacked by a man named Richardson, whom he had earlier cautioned for using "bad language." A crowd of 300 to 400 collected around the two combatants, and called out "Bravo Richardson" when he caused some damage to his opponent. Eventually, several of the hostile crowd joined in on the assault on the policeman. According to one witness, "For fully

twenty minutes I don't suppose there was a second passed by without the constable.....getting a blow or a kick."(133) In December 1880 another large crowd gathered to watch a dairyman violently assault Constable 103A at Mespil Road. They formed an arena around the two, but did not aid the policeman, who was hospitalized with concussion as a result of the assault.(134)

When two C division constables arrested two suspected thieves in Mecklenburgh Street on February 19, 1881, they were attacked by a crowd, their prisoners were freed, and in the words of one of the policemen, they were "walked upon" by the crowd. A few days later two constables were hospitalized in separate crowd attacks in Mabbot Street and Cumberland Street, both in the C division, and several other policemen were beaten in vain attempts to hold onto two prisoners.(135) On March 1, 1881, it took several D.M.P. men and a military detachment to convey a prisoner, arrested in South Great George's Street for drunkenness, to a police station, in the face of opposition from a brick and stone throwing crowd of 200 "roughs."(136) Two constables were assaulted and had the tunics torn from their backs by a crowd, and another policeman was merely assaulted, after they arrested a man for drunkenness in Great Britain Street in May 1881. In the same month, a police magistrate was amazed to hear that on two occasions the people of Plunkett Street, in the A division, had actually helped convey prisoners (one of whom had severely

assaulted his mother) to a station house, rather than combine to obstruct the police: his reaction shows how rarely such an event occurred.(137) In April 1881 Justice Fitzgerald, commenting on an incident in which a constable had been assaulted by a number of men in Granby Row, claimed that "in no country in the world save in this unfortunate country of ours, unfortunate in its lawlessness, were the police assailed as they were here." As if to prove his point, four "roughs", on the night of April 9, came out of a Moore Street public house and violently assaulted Constable 116C, and when Constable 174C came to his aid his truncheon was wrested from him and used freely on himself. A young gentleman who tried to protect 174C as he lay helpless on the ground was himself "severely beaten;" the melee was finally broken up by the arrival of police reinforcements, who reached the street just in time to stop two coalcart drivers who were about to drive their vehicle over the prostrated form of 174C.(138)

On June 5, 1881, a drunk and disorderly prisoner was released from Constable 141B in Parliament Street by 30 to 40 "lusty fellows," who dragged the policeman into Essex Street and kicked and beat him. On the same day three constables were set upon by a crowd in Granby Row during the rescue of a disorderly prisoner. Three days later, a stone-throwing mob attacked two constables in Winetavern Street after they arrested a man for rescuing a prisoner.(139) A crowd of from 300 to 400 people attacked four constables and a sergeant of

the C division on the North Strand on August 11, because they had arrested a drunken labourer. According to Constable 55C, "stones and sticks were used freely" in the attack, while Constable 95C, who was rendered unfit for duty as a result of the injuries he sustained, stated that one of the crowd "knocked blood nearly two yards out of his nose," while many others "walked on him." (140) On the night of September 15, a prisoner who had been arrested by two policemen in Great Britain Street called out for a rescue in Moore Street. This led to an attack by 300 to 400 people on the two policemen and on reinforcements who were rushed to the area, and Constable Daly, 117C, received a fatal wound to the head from a meat cleaver. A witness who agreed to testify to the identity of the murderer was later reported to be "in fear of his life" from workers of the Moore Street district. (141)

Perhaps the frequent crowd attacks on members of the D.M.P. help explain the ferocity of the force's actions in Sackville Street and other parts of the city centre on October 15 and 16, 1881. On October 15 the police arrested several leaders of the land agitation under the Coercion Act. Mr O'Kelly, the M.P. for Roscommon, and William O'Brien, the editor of the United Ireland newspaper, were arrested in the morning. News of the arrests brought hundreds of curious people into Sackville Street; however, there was no violence in the morning, although tension in the city was high, with squads of armed R.I.C. men and soldiers of the Rifle Brigade

posted along the quays. When John Dillon M.P. was arrested in the afternoon a "vast crowd" gathered in Sackville Street; they were largely left unhindered by the D.M.P., although some stragglers at the edge of the crowd were reportedly batoned by policemen. At around ten o'clock that night the D.M.P., in squads of from 50 to 60, set about clearing the still-thronged streets with their batons. According to the Freeman's Journal, the behaviour of the police was such as to maintain "the character which they sustained in the People's Park some years ago, for unnecessary and indiscriminating violence." It claimed that

The tactics chiefly pursued were for a policeman to select any person he found standing on the street, the persons being in the majority of cases only curious on-lookers, and then to make a sudden rush upon him. Often the unfortunate person selected had not time to move when the policeman came up, and in that case he was dealt a violent blow and knocked down; and if there was no other isolated individual standing near upon whom he might expend his violence, the constable again knocked down his victim. If the person selected for assault had time to rush off before the constable arrived, the latter pursued him and usually brought him to the ground with a kick.

Dubliners who read this account of the riots were even less likely to be enamoured of the D.M.P. when they read that some of the policemen "signalised their powers by selecting children of tender age to cuff, kick, and shake the life of." There was a repeat of the onslaught by hundreds of D.M.P. men in Sackville, Earl and Abbey Streets on the following night, and there were also sporadic clashes between police and crowds in various parts of the city on October 18 and 19. A constable who refused to attack people whom he regarded as inoffensive

claimed that many of the police who committed assaults had been drinking before going out on duty.(142)

Popular rumour undoubtedly magnified the instances of police brutality during the October riots, which certainly did nothing towards creating a "Bobby" image of the Dublin policeman in the eyes of the city's lower classes. In 1882 the D.M.P. complained that there was a huge gulf between the way the public viewed the police in London and Dublin: the latter had to be doubled when they entered the "lower" or "rougher" parts of the city, because of the danger of crowd attacks when prisoners were made.(143) On Christmas Eve, 1881, a sergeant and constable were severely beaten by a crowd of 100 people in Kilmainham, after they had arrested a man for disorderly conduct. Their lives were saved due to the quick thinking of a publican named Kelleher and his friends, who pulled the policemen into Kelleher's public house.(144) A crowd of from 200 to 300 people stoned an A division sergeant and constable in Chancery Lane in January 1882, after they arrested a drunken man, and Constable 214B was "pelted" with stones by a crowd in South Great George's Street on February 26 for a similar reason.(145) The arrest of a man in Kevin Street in April 1882, for calling out "Buckshot" at the police, led to an affray between 200 to 300 stone-throwers and an unknown but large number of D.M.P. men. Constable 47A, one of the many policemen involved in the fight, later told a magistrate that "paving stones were hopping off his back" during the

incident." (146)

A week later, the police arrested the bandmaster of the "Star of Freedom" band of the St Joseph's Total Abstinence Society for obstructing the thoroughfare. The band had played such tunes as "Harvey Duff" through D'Olier Street, Sackville Street and Great Britain Street, followed by 500 to 1,000 of the "worst scum and raff of the city." The bandmaster's arrest sparked off a riot against the police by the band's followers. (147) Constables 51E and 129E were surrounded by a crowd of several hundred people at Harold's Cross when they arrested a man for "using profane and insulting language" on May 21, 1882. Many of the assembly attacked the policemen and released their prisoner, and according to 129E, the crowd "cheered warmly" whenever the police were knocked down during the assault. The Lord Chief Baron told the Dublin Commission Court in June 1882 that "there was absolutely a state of war prevailing in certain parts of the city, in which there was on one side a certain class against the police, who represented law and order." The Freeman's Journal repeated the martial imagery when it described a man who assaulted two A division constables in Heytesbury Street as a "street guerilla." According to 36A, the "corner boy" who assaulted them was "in the habit of lurking in doorways and pelting the police with bricks." (148) On July 16, Constables 180A and 174A were "severely kicked and beaten" by a "large crowd" at Watery Lane, Kilmainham, and two disorderly prisoners were rescued

from them. At the end of that month, Constables 86C and 186C passed through Gloucester Place in Summerhill. They were dressed in plain clothes, but were recognized as policemen by a "corner boy", who hit 186C with a brick. When they arrested their assailant a large collected, rescued their prisoner and beat the constables.(149)

There was still a strong element of bitter hostility towards the D.M.P. in the late 1880s. Following an incident in Great Brunswick Street on April 21, 1888, in which a crowd of fishsellers and others assaulted Constable 125B for arresting a drunk, a magistrate lamented that it frequently occurred that "when a constable arrested a ruffian in the street he was left to be half murdered, and a crowd collected, and their sympathies were in favour of the ruffian and against the peace officer in the discharge of his duty."(150) On May 14, 1888, a prostitute who had been convicted 76 times for drunkenness resisted arrest for a similar offence, and assaulted Constable 51B in Upper Merrion Street. The magistrate who adjudicated against her stated that "In this class of case, the crowd generally took the part of the prisoners against the police, and he was of [the] opinion that the police underwent greater dangers than soldiers in battle." In the following month, Constable 92A was knocked down and kicked by a large crowd in Stamer Street after he arrested a "rough-looking fellow" for being drunk and disorderly, but he was saved from suffering severe treatment by the arrival of

police reinforcements.(151)

On July 27, 1888, two D.M.P. men, when returning in plain clothes from a leave of absence in Clontarf, were recognized as policemen by a number of prostitutes at Elliott Place. They were chased and stoned down Mecklenburgh Street by a large mob who cried out, "They are horneys - they are Balfour's watch-dogs - lie into them." When Constable 156B arrested two men for assaulting an old lady in Great Brunswick Street and stealing her umbrella, he was attacked by a large crowd and had to take refuge in an nearby shop, where he remained until reinforcements arrived.(152) A woman who gave evidence against members of a crowd which attacked a number of constables in Upper Abbey Street in July 1888, disabling one of them, was beaten up in July and September and was "constantly called an informer."(153) A crowd of 200 people "obstructed and ill-used" two A division constables who arrested a drunken man in Dean Street on August 26. In October 1888 Bride Street, also in the A division, was pointed out by one magistrate as an area where D.M.P. men were "frequently assaulted."(154)

Did hostility to the D.M.P. decline in the last quarter of our period? Official statistics of people prosecuted for assaulting policemen certainly show that these had declined greatly since the 1840s. From 1895 to 1912 the numbers prosecuted ranged from a high of just 319 in 1897 to a low of just 209 in 1910, with the annual average for the period being

only 264.(155) However, one should bear in mind that the D.M.P. of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were much bigger men than the Dublin policemen of earlier decades, and undoubtedly even those who were extremely hostile towards the police would have been reluctant to attack the "giants" of the later era. It was simply not as easy to assault one of these policemen: James Joyce's Leopold Bloom felt that the best time to attack one was after he had eaten, when a "punch in his dinner" might prove effective. Otherwise the police were "nasty customers to tackle."(156) Leon O Broin records that Dubliners had "a very healthy respect for the Dublin police who were more than able to look after themselves in tough situations."(157) Statistics which show a huge decline in assaults on policemen do not, then, necessarily indicate a greater acceptance or popularity of the force; while this may have been the case, the statistical evidence is not conclusive.

It may not be coincidental that works of fiction written in this period allude to the unpopularity of the D.M.P. Joyce's Joe Hynes makes a revealing remark when his drink is given to him in Barney Kiernan's public house: "That's mine, says Joe, as the devil said to the dead policeman."(158) James Stephens, who would have been familiar with the views of Dublin's lower classes towards the police, wrote The Charwoman's Daughter in 1912. In that work, Mrs Cafferty is assured by her young lodger that

policemen are not able to fight at all singly, but only in squads, when their warfare is callous and ugly and conducted mainly with their boots.....A policemen, he averred, would arrest a man for next door to nothing, and any resistance offered to their spleen rendered the unfortunate prisoner liable to be man-handled in his cell until their outraged dignity was appeased. The three capital crimes upon which a man is liable to arrest are for being drunk, or disorderly, or refusing to fight, and to these three perils a young man is peculiarly susceptible, and is, to that extent, interested in the force, and critical of their behaviour.(159)

However, one does not need to turn to fiction to find intimations that the hostility of many in the lower classes towards the police persisted into the twentieth century. In October 1901, the Freeman's Journal described a scene at Christchurch where "a policeman lying on the broad of his back in the mud and a man on top of him pummelling him with all his might" formed "the centre of an interested crowd, who contented themselves with looking on." The constable was rescued by several policemen who arrived later.(160) The unhelpful attitude of the crowd does not suggest that the larger D.M.P. constables of that period were any more popular than their smaller predecessors had been.

In July 1911, two years before the Lock-Out attacks which allegedly ushered in a new phase of relations between the D.M.P. and the Dublin public, the Irish Worker, edited by Jim Larkin, published an article entitled "Our Police" which portrayed the D.M.P. in a very unflattering light:

What a skulking bully he looks as he lounges against the street corners of our city - how important he seems when the inspector appears in sight!! What a gigantic column of ignorance to be placed over the people of our metropolis to administer law and order as it is known

under the so-called stainless flag of British justice. We are certainly a tame crowd in this ancient city of Dublin to remain so long under the heel of this most detestable creature..... Is the country gossoon, with the smell of the peat fresh upon him, going to sink citizenship into the depths of insignificance? How different is this 'limb of the law' to the popular 'copper' of London or any of the great English cities, how civilly the latter answers a question when asked, what pains he will take to try and please everyone, what an odious comparison between this paid servant of the English public, and the 'basket-kicking gentleman' of our streets, with his deep contempt for the Eighth Commandment. He is 'earning' a decent wage, he is clothed and fed on the best (judging from his Jack Johnston appearance), yet, when he is quite urgently required, he is never to be found within the radius of a mile. If you are fortunate enough to find 'Robert' at the end of this distance, he is probably waiting to pounce on, with the fury of a lion, a band of playful schoolboys, about to indulge in a miniature cup final, with a penny ragball.(161)

Given the popularity of Jim Larkin and of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (founded in 1908) with Dublin workers, it is likely that a considerable portion of the city's population shared his hostility towards the police. Of course, much of this resentment can be attributed to the fact that in the increasing number of employee-employer disputes in this period, the D.M.P. were often used in a role which weakened the effectiveness of strikes. The relatively new trades union animosity was easily grafted onto an instinctive lower class aversion towards the police.

The R.I.C. also came in for its share of abuse from Larkin's newspaper. In July 1911 it published a fictionalized account of "Edward Martin, R.I.C.", which explained how Martin - an uncouth, lazy, thieving, money-grubbing railway porter - joined the constabulary after he had been caught stealing. In

March 1912 it included an article from a Limerick correspondent, who claimed that the police in rural districts had little with which to occupy their time beyond flirting with farmers' daughters, holding dances in their barracks, and manufacturing crime to justify the force's continued existence. (162)

But most of Larkin's anti-police propaganda targeted the D.M.P. The Irish Worker depicted the Dublin police as a force which discriminated against its Catholic members, who were "driven mad to perjure themselves and commit crime;" which was cowardly, drunken, prone to assaulting civilians, hostile to the working class (or at least to Larkin's trade union), and incompetent - Constable Woodenhead A1 was one of the figures lampooned. (163) In August 1911 Constables Cotter and Malcolmson of the College Street station were singled out for attack. The former, who was "inclined to be a bit shy of the crowds - especially on Saturday nights," had allegedly fainted when he discovered a suicide in Dawson Street: "Yet in the police station he was brave enough to twist an already exhausted man into semi-consciousness. Isn't he the broth of a gossoon? Give him a leather medal." Constable Malcolmson was satirized as

a great lady killer, and the sight of him in cycling attire while minding the decorations during the king's visit was enough to set all the ladies' hearts in a twirl - that is, of course, all the ladies whom he has not already passed through his hands.

He also attended meetings of the Plymouth Brethren in Merrion

Hall, and the Irish Worker commented that if people could hear the manner in which he sang hymns, "they would scarcely believe that he would stealthily creep into a police cell and wantonly kick an innocent man black and blue."(164)

The 1913 Lock-Out, and the accompanying clashes between police and civilians, were preceded by some 30 strikes from the end of January to the middle of August. The labour agitation entered a new phase with the strike by several hundred employees of the Dublin United Tramways Company on August 26, 1913. The dispute spread rapidly throughout the city, as thousands of workers either struck in sympathy with the tram men, or were locked out by their employers in an attempt to break the back of Larkin's union. It was a particularly bitter dispute, and the D.M.P. (as well as several hundred R.I.C. men drafted into the city as reinforcements) earned a special hatred for their role in protecting tram cars and "scab" workers who were brought into the various firms affected by the Lock-Out. This hatred was heightened by the well-known police baton charge on the crowd which gathered in Sackville Street on Sunday, August 31, to hear an address by Larkin from the Imperial Hotel. The Sackville Street scenes, and the descriptions of police brutality from Dubliners of all classes, were very reminiscent of the 1871 Phoenix Park affray and the October 1881 city-centre baton charges. The Sackville Street clash was but the best known of 14 serious confrontations that weekend between

strikers, their numerous lower class sympathizers, and the D.M.P. On August 30 there were three large scale riots in Ringsend, Great Brunswick Street, and at Beresford Place and the quays along Liberty Hall, the last of which resulted in two civilians being batoned to death.

On the next day, in addition to the Sackville Street affray, there were serious riots in the area of the Cornmarket, Thomas Street and adjoining streets; at Aungier Street, Redmond's Hill and Cuffe Street; at Corporation Street, along Gloucester Street, Gardiner Street and Parnell Street; from Mary Street and Chancery Lane along the northern quays to Queen Street, and at George's Quay and at Moss Street. On the next day Redmond's Hill, Wexford Street, Camden Street and the neighbouring areas, and Capel Street were also the scenes of vicious fighting between the D.M.P. and mobs which often consisted of local people allied with strikers. The last major confrontation, which, in its determination to clear the police from the streets was probably the most serious in the sequence, occurred in Townsend Street on September 21.

It was surprising, given the venom of the attacks made upon them, that no policemen were killed during the disturbances. Constable England, 133A, had perhaps the closest brush with death. On the evening of Sunday, August 31, he was alone on beat duty in Francis Street when he was suddenly confronted by a crowd of 200 people coming from the Cornmarket

riots and kicking a policeman's helmet in front of them. He bravely, but foolishly, tried to disperse this crowd, but he was hit on the head with a brick, knocked down, and surrounded by the mob, who would probably have kicked the life out of him were it not for the action of a local woman, who threw herself across the battered policeman. She threatened to inform the police of the names of those in the crowd whom she recognized if they did not spare the constable, and this, surprisingly, was enough to end the assault. Constable England was nevertheless hospitalized for several weeks.

While the Lock-Out was a dispute between employers and Larkin's union, the violence which accompanied it was not confined to a confrontation between strikers and the police. It is true that rioters often concentrated their attacks on trams or newspaper vans belonging to William Martin Murphy, but the intensity and widespread nature of the violence can be understood only by a realization of the part played in it by those members of Dublin's lower classes who already had a long-standing grudge against the D.M.P. It is impossible to differentiate between rioters who took to the streets as part of a bitter trade dispute, and those who took advantage of the breakdown in law and order to indulge in attacks in accustomed opponents, the police.

The parliamentary report on the Dublin clashes stated of the riots which occurred in Gloucester Street, Waterford Street, Gardiner Street, Parnell Street and Cumberland Street

that

This disturbance was spread over the entire district, and the serious feature of it was the readiness of the occupants to shelter escaping rioters and to join them in attacking the police from the upper stories of many houses. Some baton charges were made, but as a rule these were useless, as the crowds fled before the police and took refuge in houses which were open to receive them.

Constable Dockery said of the riots which occurred on the same evening in the Thomas Street area that "there is a very dangerous class of people there, and the crowd was mostly composed of them - a crowd that never work." Similar complaints were made about the rioters at Redmond's Hill and other areas of the Liberties. The D.M.P. substantiated their claims of the communal nature of the anti-police violence by an analysis of the missiles thrown at them. In addition to the bricks, stones and bottles which one would have expected from an unruly mob, the police were showered with domestic slops, tumblers, cups, saucers, earthenware pots, frying pans, teapots, chamber pots, religious statues, chairs, parts of stairways and even a bath filled with water!(165) No doubt many of the attackers were relatives of men involved in the dispute, but one should not underestimate the participation of those who were merely giving vent to their dislike of the police.

The much-publicized instances of police brutality during the Lock-Out, and especially that of the Sackville Street attack, increased the animosity towards the D.M.P. Chief Commissioner Ross declared gloomily that the speed with which

the government had agreed to hold an enquiry into the disturbances, and especially into the behaviour of the police, had "prejudiced all reasonable men against them." (166) While the events of August and September 1913 did great damage to the D.M.P.'s image, they were merely an episode in the long-running feud between the police and Dublin's lower classes. One historian dubiously argues that the D.M.P. had been motivated by feelings of jealousy towards supposedly better-off workers during the trade dispute. (167) An awareness of the persistent unpopularity of the Dublin police with the city's lower orders suggests much more about the reasons for the ferocity of their actions during the Lock-Out.

ENDNOTES OF CHAPTER NINE

¹ Nigel I. Cochrane, "Public Reaction to the Introduction of a New Police Force" in Eire-Ireland, vol. xxii, no. 1 (spring 1987), pp 72-85.

² The latter incident is recorded in Freeman's Journal (Dec.1,1864). See also ibid, (Aug.21,1838) (Mar.20,1839) (Dec.27,1851) (May 6,1854) (Oct.16,1855) (Feb.13,1863) (July 13,1880) (Oct.11,1880).

³ Ibid (Aug.17,1843) (June 30,1855).

⁴ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.65; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.304.

⁵ Freeman's Journal (Feb.25,1839) (Jan.29,1840) (Feb.13,1840) (Feb.24,28,1842) (Feb.14,1843) (Jan.1,1844) (Dec.31,1851) (Jan.12,1852) (Dec.17,1858) (Jan.26,1870) (Feb.27,1875) (Feb.13,21,1880) (Nov.16,1898); 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, p.46; Storch, "Domestic Missionary," p.509n1.

⁶ Freeman's Journal (Aug.30,1855) (July 6,9,18,1857) (Apr.7,1875) (May 28,1880) (June 1,1880) (Aug.17,1881) (Feb.3,13,14,1882) (Apr.13,17,27,1882); R. Barry O'Brien, Dublin Castle and the Irish People (Dublin: M.H.Gill, 1909), pp 196-98; Irish Times (Sept.16,1910).

⁷ Freeman's Journal (Jan.26,1844).

⁸ Denis Hole, A Little Tour in Ireland. Being a Visit to Dublin, Galway, Connamara, Athlone, Limerick, Killarney, Glengarriff, Cork, etc etc etc (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1859), p.194; 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.14; Zozimus (Sept.7,1870), p.192 (Sept.14,1870), p.198; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.290.

⁹ Zozimus (Mar.29,1871), p.123.

¹⁰ Freeman's Journal (Oct.18,1838).

¹¹ Irish Worker (July 29,1911) (July 13,1912) (Aug.10,1912).

- ¹² Cochrane, "Public Reaction," p.77.
- ¹³ Freeman's Journal (Apr.24,1838).
- ¹⁴ Ibid (July 18,1849).
- ¹⁵ Ibid (Jan.4,1862) (Nov.27,1873).
- ¹⁶ Ibid (Feb.1,1840) (Mar.6,1841).
- ¹⁷ Ibid (May 29,1838) (Mar.6,1843).
- ¹⁸ Ibid (Feb.3,6,7,15,17,1843).
- ¹⁹ Ibid (July 7,1843).
- ²⁰ Ibid (Oct.31,1851) (June 13,1857).
- ²¹ Ibid (July 4,1857) (May 21,1858).
- ²² Ibid (Mar.24,1862).
- ²³ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the Year 1871 (Dublin: Alexander Thom,1872), p.5.
- ²⁴ Freeman's Journal (June 2,19,1838).
- ²⁵ Ibid (June 15,1838).
- ²⁶ Ibid (Sept.10,1838) (Jan.29,1840) (Mar.7,1842).
- ²⁷ Ibid (Sept.15,1838) (Nov.8,9,10,22,1838) (Dec.10,15,18,1838).
- ²⁸ Ibid (Jan.30,1840) (Feb.3,1840) (Mar.7,1850) (Aug.14,1888); 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, pp 33, 65,121.
- ²⁹ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.128.
- ³⁰ Freeman's Journal (Jan.13,1843).
- ³¹ Ibid (Aug.25,1855).
- ³² Ibid (Aug.31,1855) (Oct.13,1855).
- ³³ William Ferguson to Lord Naas (May 31,1858) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11022(20)).
- ³⁴ Hansard, 4th series, vol. 81 (Mar.22,1900), p.54.
- ³⁵ 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 16-17; 1870 D.M.P.

supernumeraries' Book, pp 14,27,43.

³⁶ Freeman's Journal (Dec.22,1843).

³⁷ Cochrane, "Public Reaction," p.83.

³⁸ Freeman's Journal (Mar.28,1838).

³⁹ Ibid (Nov.29,1842).

⁴⁰ Nation (May 11,1844).

⁴¹ Freeman's Journal (Jan.16,17,1843) (Oct.28,1843) (Apr. 2,1844) (Feb.12,14,1855) (Apr.26,1858) (Sept.21,1858) (Oct.19,1858) (Dec.19,20,1859) (Jan.24,1865) (Feb.15,1870) (Feb.25,1875) (Feb.4,1880) (Mar.22,1880) (May 21,1880) (June 1,1880) (Sept.7,1880) (Feb.8,1882) (Dec.12,1885) (Jan.1,1889); Diary of Police Magistrate Woodlock (Dec.13,1879) (Jan.18,1881) (N.L.I: MSS 4509, 4513); Irwin, Betrayal, p.9.

⁴² Freeman's Journal (Dec.25&26,1855).

⁴³ Zozimus (July 6,1870).

⁴⁴ Bill Kelly, Me Darlin' Dublin's Dead and Gone (Swords: Ward River Press, 1983), p.12.

⁴⁵ Idem, "We had the Best of Sport," in Evening Press (July 25,1988), p.6.

⁴⁶ Leon O Broin, Just Like Yesterday : an Autobiography (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan,n.d.), pp 2-3.

⁴⁷ For these and other assaults on D.M.P. men by soldiers and militiamen see Freeman's Journal (May 21,1839) (Jan.5,1848) (May 17,30,1855) (June 5,1855) (Oct.27,1855) (Nov. 3,10,1855) (July 14,22,1858) (Feb.14,1860) (May 5,1862) (Mar.24,1866) (July 2,1867) (Oct.1,1901). See also Storch, "Blue Locusts," p.74n2.

⁴⁸ Freeman's Journal (May 21,1855) (June 7,1855).

⁴⁹ Ibid (July 10,17,1855).

⁵⁰ Ibid (Oct.10,1855) (Nov.14,1855).

⁵¹ Ibid (Dec.3,1855).

⁵² Ibid (July 13,1857); Thomas Larcom to Lord Naas (July 14,1858) (N.L.I: Mayo Papers, MS 11190(11)); Diary of Police Magistrate Woodlock (July 27,1888) (N.L.I: MS 4522).

53 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 20,171.

54 Freeman's Journal (July 3,1888).

55 Ibid(Aug.9,1838)(Apr.5,1843)(Sept.21,1847)(Mar.15,1853)(Feb.22, 1860)(Mar.13,21,22,1860)(Mar.7,1866)(May 1,1866)(May 11,27, 1888)(June 22,1880)(June 7,1881)(June 27,1882)(Jan.3,1903); 1865 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 49,129;
1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 265-66.

56 Freeman's Journal (Apr.25,1843).

57 Ibid (Sept.17,1862).

58 Irish Times (July 16,1910).

59 Freeman's Journal (Sept.3,1855)(Mar.11,1862). Harold's Cross Bridge was a popular venue for fight competitions in the early 1880s. On one occasion the D.M.P. needed the assistance of 50 troops to break up the fights: ibid (June 28,1881).

60 Ibid (Aug.30,1838)(Aug.22,23,25,26,28,1843)(Aug.24,25,1853); Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, pp 286-87.

61 Freeman's Journal (Aug.25,1855).

62 Ibid (Aug.27,30,1858)(Aug.21,1865); Rodenberg, Pilgrimage, p.33; D.M.P. reports (Aug.28,1864)(Sept.3, 1867)(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1864/18623, 1867/15516).

63 Freeman's Journal (Sept.14,30,1901)(May 26,1911); Irish Times (Jan.27,1905)(July 14,1910)(Aug.17,19,1910); Neligan,Spy, p.51. For the intense interest of Dubliners in betting on horse races at this period, see Jim Phelan, The Name's Phelan (London: Sidgwick and Jackson,1948), pp 106-107.

64 Freeman's Journal (Feb.26,1850)(Feb.10,1858)(May 4,19,20,1858)(July 26,1858)(Apr.24,1880)(June 10,1880)(Sept. 3,1880)(Dec.4,16,1880)(Aug.25,1881); Andrews, Dublin Made me, p.31.

65 Freeman's Journal (June 29,1881).

66 Ibid (Jan.4,1840).

67 Ibid (Jan.9,1844)(Mar.21,1844)(Dec.27,29,31,1851).

68 Ibid (Apr.1,1852)(Mar.27,1854)(Aug.4,1855)(Mar.25,1862).

69 Ibid (Jan.22,25,1866).

⁷⁰ Ibid (Mar.16,23,1880).

⁷¹ For some assaults on policemen who intervened in family disputes, see *ibid* (Sept.15,19,1838) (Mar.16,1844) (May 7,1849) (Sept.25,1851) (Oct.20,1851) (Mar.11,1862) (Feb.26,1863) (May 30,1865) (Aug.7,1865) (Jan.30,1866) (July 7,1880) (Sept.14,1880) (June 10,1881) (Sept.16,1882) (Sept.25,1901). In February 1848 a Cavan sub-constable was shot and blinded after intervening in a family quarrel: *ibid* (Feb.18,1848).

⁷² *Ibid* (Oct.9,1838).

⁷³ 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.18.

⁷⁴ 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.42; Freeman's Journal (Mar.31,1840) (May 9,1843) (Mar.11,1847) (Dec.27,1851) (Aug.24,1858) (Sept.30,1862) (Sept.13,1867) (July 27,1880) (Mar.9,1881) (June 22,1881) (Nov.1,1881) (Apr.24,1882) (June 15,1882) (Nov.22,1898); Storch, "Blue Locusts," p.80.

⁷⁵ Freeman's Journal (Apr.30,1839).

⁷⁶ *Ibid* (Apr.14,1855).

⁷⁷ *Ibid* (Mar.15,1881) (Sept.7,1881).

⁷⁸ *Ibid* (Apr.2,1875); 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, pp 10,13.

⁷⁹ Freeman's Journal (June 8,1880).

⁸⁰ For examples of police action against "tippling," see *ibid* (Apr.14,1840) (Feb.14,1843) (Apr.26,1843) (June 27,1843) (May 8,1848) (Sept.24,1851) (Jan.11,1865).

⁸¹ Palmer, Police and Protest, pp 158,406.

⁸² Freeman's Journal (Mar.21,1838).

⁸³ Porter, Twenty Years' Recollections, p.105.

⁸⁴ Freeman's Journal (Jan.16,1838) (July 5,1838) (Nov.8,1838).

⁸⁵ *Ibid* (Mar.11,1840).

⁸⁶ *Ibid* (Mar.5,1844).

⁸⁷ *Ibid* (Dec.4,1843).

⁸⁸ Incident described in *ibid* (Oct.12,1846). For other

examples of the use of stretchers see ibid (Aug.22,1838) (Jan. 7,1842) (Mar.30,1843) (Dec.30,1843) (Jan.22,1856) (Mar.5,1858) (Oct.14,1862) (May 20,1865) (Apr.11,1866), as well as Head, Fortnight, p. 106 and 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.319.

⁸⁹ Freeman's Journal (Aug.28,1838).

⁹⁰ Ibid (Aug.8,1843).

⁹¹ Ibid (Jan.30,1847).

⁹² Ibid (July 14,1855) (Aug.4,1858).

⁹³ Ibid (Mar.6,1862).

⁹⁴ Ibid (Apr.7,1866).

⁹⁵ Ibid (Jan.14,1862) (Feb.5,18,1862) (June 11,1862) (Feb. 17,1863) (Mar.21,1866).

⁹⁶ Ibid (Mar.27,1862).

⁹⁷ Ibid (Aug.21,1838) (Sept.26,1838). D.M.P. constables were warned not to summon help with their rattles (whistles were introduced later), as the commotion often caused obstructive crowds to collect. If policemen were assaulted it was considered best, by the 1879 book of instructions, not to make an arrest "during the excitement of an affray or disturbance when resistance by others, as well as by the [apprehended] persons themselves, may be caused by the attempt to take into custody:" 1837 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.39; 1879 D.M.P. Instruction Book, p.17.

⁹⁸ Freeman's Journal (July 10,1838) (Sept.21,1838).

⁹⁹ Ibid (Aug.17,30,1838) (Oct.9,10,12,1838).

¹⁰⁰ Number of Persons Taken Into Custody by the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and the Results in the Year 1838 (Dublin: Alexander Thom,1839), p.4.

¹⁰¹ Freeman's Journal (Mar.26,1840).

¹⁰² Ibid (Feb.23,1842) (Dec.14,1842).

¹⁰³ Ibid (Sept.26,1843) (Mar.13,1844).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid (Sept.16,19,1846).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid (June 28,1848).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid (May 31,1849) (Aug.25,1849).

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- 127 Irish Times (Aug.7,1871); Freeman's Journal (Aug.7, 8,9,14,1871); Frederick Moir Bussy, Irish Conspiracies: Recollections of John Mallon (the Great Irish Detective) and Other Reminiscences (London:Everett,1910), p.18.
- 128 Freeman's Journal (Sept.4,5,1871); D.M.P. report (Sept.14,1871)(S.P.O: C.S.O.R.P. 1871/16701).

¹²⁹ 1872 D.M.P. Commission, pp 12,18; Chief Commissioner Lake to Under-secretary Burke (July 9,1873) (P.R.O.(Kew): CO 904/172, no. 347); 1877 Select Committee on Intoxicating Liquors, p.46; 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 80,94,118.

¹³⁰ Freeman's Journal (Feb.3,1880).

¹³¹ Ibid (May 4,1880) (June 15,1880) (July 1,6,7,13,31,1880) (Sept.14,1880).

¹³² Ibid (July 7,13,1880).

¹³³ Ibid (Oct.1,1880).

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¹³⁶ Ibid (Mar.7,8,1881).

¹³⁷ Ibid (May 17,21,24,1881).

¹³⁸ Ibid (Apr.11,1881).

¹³⁹ Ibid (June 9,25,1881).

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¹⁴² Freeman's Journal (Oct.17,18,19,1881); deposition of James Hackett, ex-D.M.P. constable, in Cork Examiner (Nov.1,1881).

¹⁴³ 1882 D.M.P. Commission, pp 89,221.

¹⁴⁴ Freeman's Journal (Dec.27,1881).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid (Jan.28,1882) (Feb.28,1882).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid (Apr.11,1882).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid (Apr.18,1882).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid (May 23,26,1882) (June 9,10,1882).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid (July 26,31,1882).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid (Apr.26,1888).

¹⁵¹ Ibid (June 6,7,1888).

- ¹⁵² Ibid (July 31,1888) (Aug.7,1888).
- ¹⁵³ Ibid (Aug.8,9,1888) (Sept.10,1888).
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid (Aug.28,1888) (Oct.16,1888).
- ¹⁵⁵ Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (1895-1912) (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1896-1913, published annually).
- ¹⁵⁶ Joyce, Ulysses, p.162.
- ¹⁵⁷ O Broin, Just Like Yesterday, p.2.
- ¹⁵⁸ Joyce, Ulysses, p.331.
- ¹⁵⁹ James Stephens, The Charwoman's Daughter (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan,1974), pp 105-106. The reference to mistreating prisoners who resisted arrest is interesting, as Leopold Bloom also thought that if "a fellow gave them trouble being lagged they let him have it hot and heavy in the bride-well:" Joyce, Ulysses, p.162.
- ¹⁶⁰ Freeman's Journal (Oct.2,1901).
- ¹⁶¹ Irish Worker (July 29,1911).
- ¹⁶² Ibid (July 8,1911) (Mar.6,1912).
- ¹⁶³ Ibid (May 25,1911) (June 3,1911) (July 1,8,15,1911) (Aug.19,26,1911) (Nov.18,30,1911).
- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid (Aug.5,1911).
- ¹⁶⁵ Details of the Lock-Out dispute and its associated violence from Report of the Dublin Disturbances Commission H.C. 1914 Cd. 7269 xviii 513; Appendix to Report of the Dublin Disturbances Commission. Minutes of Evidence and Appendices H.C. 1914 Cd. 7272 xviii 533; O'Brien, Dear Dirty Dublin, pp 224-230.
- ¹⁶⁶ Draft of letter from Sir John Ross of Bladensburg to Lord Aberdeen (Nov.27,1913) (P.R.O.N.I: Papers of Sir John F.G. Ross of Bladensburg, D.2004/4/71C).
- ¹⁶⁷ Brady, Guardians, pp 16-17.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Nineteenth-century policemen are rather anonymous entities in Irish historiography. While historians have long been aware of the importance of the police in Irish society, there is a remarkable paucity of scholarly writing devoted to this significant element of the population. The author hopes that this dissertation will help to rescue the men of the D.M.P. and the R.I.C. from their undeserved obscurity. Policemen, especially the armed constabularymen, are crudely caricatured in the traditional nationalist version of history. They exist mainly as the political arm of the British government, helping to suppress rebellion or popular dissent, or else they are treated as the creatures of the landlords, turning against their own people at evictions. Such views create a greatly distorted image of the Irish police. They are based on the assumption that Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was in a constant ferment of social or political unrest, with only the police and the army preventing the fulfillment of the popular will. Both the extent and the frequency of disturbance have been exaggerated,

especially concerning post-Famine Ireland: it is apparent from this study that the Irish policeman usually had much more mundane matters than suppressing conspiracies with which to occupy his time.

While the author questions the old caricature, he has gone to some pains not to construct another, equally invalid, one. It was difficult to avoid the trap of distortion. When generalizing, as one inevitably does when writing history, one can easily fail to present the complexities of one's topic. This dissertation portrays the police experience in a broad fashion, dealing with wide-ranging subjects such as pay, training, recruitment, duties, popularity and discipline; but it also emphasizes the many-faceted nature of the Irish police experience, showing how it varied over time, from district to district, and often from individual to individual to individual. Tens of thousands of young Irishmen joined the R.I.C. and the D.M.P. Obviously they did not all have the same motivation for enlisting, nor was each man's period of service a carbon copy of that of his colleagues. This study is an attempt to put a human face on this mass of Irishmen. Much of the discussion focusses on the "typical" policeman, but numerous examples of disciplinary cases, differing conditions in police barracks and disparate duties are cited to show how varied the lot of the "typical" policeman could be.

Members of the D.M.P. and R.I.C. came from various backgrounds, ranging from schoolteachers, clerks and seminary

students to weavers and artisans. Most, however, came from the rural working class, comprising both labourers and small farmers' sons. They were mainly Catholic, tended to join in their early twenties and were, with the exception of some of the early D.M.P. men, unmarried when they enrolled. They were generally better educated and larger in stature than their British counterparts. In the first 50 years of its existence, the Dublin force consisted overwhelmingly of Leinster recruits. In the same period, between two fifths and two thirds of the D.M.P. came from just five counties - Meath, Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare and Queen's County. It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, after parliament had granted the Dublin police significant improvements in pay and other benefits, that the proportion of recruits from the rest of the country increased substantially. Although the Irish Constabulary's recruiting returns were not dominated by any particular region, it is notable that counties with a high proportion of small farms - for instance, the southern Ulster counties of Fermanagh, Monaghan and Cavan, the eastern Connacht counties of Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon, and the nearby Leinster county of Longford, had a noticeably higher rate of representation in the force than counties with large urban populations, such as Antrim, Dublin and Cork.

Once they were accepted into the police, the recruits underwent a longer and more comprehensive training than constables in Britain. They were instructed in their codes of

regulations with their myriad of rules, and they were also taught their duties, and how these were defined by the law. R.I.C. men received firearms training. Both forces had, at least on paper, formidable disciplinary codes. Drinking was particularly frowned upon, as was a wide range of other amusements. There were also certain restrictions placed upon the economic activities of policemen and their wives and families, and indeed the right to marriage itself was more strictly curtailed in the R.I.C. and D.M.P. than in any British police force. A system of punishments that included fining, disrating and dismissal was maintained to ensure that the regulations were upheld. Indulgence in alcohol constituted the largest single disciplinary problem. R.I.C. records show that as the nineteenth century progressed, fewer constables received punitive sentences from their superiors for breaches of discipline. The evidence suggests that this was not as a result of the later constabulary's being better behaved, but rather that the district inspectors, who included fewer ex-military officers and more promoted head constables than before, took a more lenient view of transgressions than their predecessors had. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the D.M.P. authorities also showed a surprising tendency to overlook flagrant breaches of the regulations by their men.

Young men opted to join the police for many reasons. For some, the belief that conditions in the service were

considerably easier than life on a farm was a strong factor; for others, membership in the D.M.P. or R.I.C. was the only alternative to emigration. Some joined to emulate their fathers. The main reasons for joining were that the police offered steady employment, and usually paid comparatively well. They also offered, in the long term, the prospect of a pension. The latter benefit was unlikely to have been uppermost in a policeman's mind in his first years of service, but obviously grew more important after he got married, or approached retirement age. At first constables were usually entitled to pensions only after their health had broken down, or after they had served for an extremely long time. The rules regulating pensions were quite complicated, but did not deter policemen from attempting to circumvent red-tape and securing retirement pay prematurely. The Pension Act of 1883, which allowed R.I.C. men to voluntarily retire on pension after 25 years' service, and granted their D.M.P. counterparts a similar privilege after 30 years, obviated the necessity of such subterfuge. Thereafter, removals by pension almost invariably accounted for more withdrawals from the police than did departures by resignation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, police pensioners continued to play an important role in Irish society. Having themselves experienced upward social mobility by joining the R.I.C. or D.M.P., they aspired to advance their children into the professional or middle classes. The police pensioner who owned

a shop or public house, and strived to secure a good education for his children as a prelude to their ascent of the social ladder, became a common feature in Irish towns and villages.

The most important inducement for recruits was the policeman's pay. This was very attractive in the 1830s and 1840s, especially when contrasted with labourers' wages. After the Famine both forces, and especially the constabulary, experienced difficulty in enticing recruits to and retaining policemen in their ranks. Post-Famine price increases led to a fall in policemen's living standards, and many members and potential members opted to emigrate rather than join or remain in the police. Married men were particularly badly affected by the decline in the value of real wages. There were several efforts to augment pay from the mid-1850s onwards, but it was not until the early 1870s that the problem of poor remuneration was solved to policemen's satisfaction. From that time onwards, the resignation rate from the R.I.C. declined remarkably, and both forces attracted recruits with ease, with the exception that recruiting difficulties recurred in the years before World War I, when price increases again made policemen's wages appear relatively unattractive. Generally speaking, however, the R.I.C. or D.M.P. man was amongst the elite of Irish workers.

It was necessary to write a separate chapter about the officers of the R.I.C., as their origins and daily concerns were quite different from those of the rank and file. Only a

minority of sub or district inspectorships were filled by promoted head constables. Most went to gentlemen cadet officers, whose families were not wealthy enough to maintain them in the army. Young, mostly Irish and Protestant, these well-educated gentlemen had to have a certain amount of influence in order to compete in the cadet examination, nominations for which were a part of the patronage of the chief secretary for Ireland. They were expected to administer their districts and discipline their men, as well as attend at Petty Sessions and keep on good terms with the local gentry. With luck they could advance to the socially prestigious position of resident magistrate. The cadet officers were a unique caste in the police forces of the United Kingdom. Much of the rationale behind their existence was that the Irish Constabulary, as an armed establishment, required an officer group modeled on that of the British army. Their daily round differed considerably from that of the rank and file. Much of their time was devoted to socializing with local landed families, a milieu in which most cadet officers would have felt at ease.

Historians, and especially those with a political axe to grind, have emphasized the political role of the R.I.C. and D.M.P. in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its extent in the policeman's daily activity has been greatly exaggerated: most policemen spent most of their careers performing mundane, non-political tasks. The Irish police

carried out a myriad of duties, from Famine relief to inspection of weights and measures, from catching pickpockets to collecting census statistics, from the suppression of illicit distillation to arresting drunks and enforcing the Sunday drinking laws. It is true that they were also occasionally active against various political conspiracies in this period, but most Irish people's lives were affected to a far greater extent by their non-political activities. One needs to examine the daily responsibilities of the police to fully appreciate the manifold tasks which they performed. This helps us to place the political role of the R.I.C. and D.M.P. in perspective.

How popular were the Irish police? The evidence suggests that in times of comparative calm, they were fairly popular with their neighbours in the towns and rural areas of Ireland. Certain activities, such as enforcing the drinking laws or prosecuting the owners of strayed animals, were disliked, but the Irish Constabulary as a force was accepted as part of the normal fabric of life. Nevertheless, in times of increased social tension, such as during the Famine or the Land War, the police found themselves on the receiving end of popular hatred. Such instances of widespread antipathy were exceptional, however. The numerous public subscriptions for retiring R.I.C. men at the turn of the century are testimony to the transient and uncharacteristic nature of these anti-police feelings.

A communal dislike of the police persisted only in Belfast and Dublin. The R.I.C. and D.M.P. encountered hostility from the working classes of Ireland's two leading cities from the moment that they became responsible for their policing. In Belfast the antipathy was partly fuelled by sectarian considerations. The denominationally-mixed Irish Constabulary replaced the almost exclusively Protestant Belfast Borough Police in 1865, and thus was considered a "papist" force by many Belfast Protestants. However, the new force encountered brutal opposition from the working classes on both sides of the sectarian divide, as the police were viewed as hostile interlopers in lower-class areas. This perception of the police was also common in the industrial cities of Victorian Britain. Following the riots of 1886, in which the R.I.C. shot dozens of Protestants dead, Protestant hatred towards the force was particularly strong. Dublin's widespread slum warrens also provided an arena for frequent expressions of lower-class opposition towards the police. The D.M.P.'s attempts at suppressing popular recreations, and especially its interference with Dublin's drinkers, earned it few friends among the city's lower orders. Historians have pointed to police brutality during the 1913 Lock-out as the catalyst which soured relations between the D.M.P. and Dublin's citizenry; in fact, communal violence and antipathy towards the force had been a feature in the capital since the inception of the Dublin Metropolitan Police in 1838.

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Return of the Number of Soldiers Quartered in the United Kingdom; Giving Comparative Numbers of Married and Single Men; Number of Days' Absence From Duty During a Period of One Year, Distinguishing the Married and Single Men, and Stating Respectively the Percentage of Those Absent From Duty on Account of Ordinary or Particular Illness: and, Similar Return in All Respects of the Police Force of the United Kingdom H.C. 1864 (409) xxv 599.

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Nominal List of Officers, Head and Other Constables in Ireland, Actually Under Fire in the Defence of Their Barracks, or in Collisions Outside Thereof, on the Occasion of the late Fenian Outbreak, With the Approved Distribution of the Sum of £2000 Voted as a Reward by Parliament; and, Copy of Correspondence Between the Irish Government, and the Inspector-general of Constabulary, and the Treasury, on the Subject of the Above-mentioned Rewards H.C. 1867 (525) lvii 835.

Return of the Number of Police Barracks in Each County in Ireland in a Satisfactory Condition, Both as to the Security and Health of the Constabulary; Number the Defective Condition of Which Has Been Represented to the Government; Number Which the Landlords Have Agreed to Fortify on the Government Plan; and, Average Cost of Defences of Each Barrack Completed H.C. 1867-68 (291) lvii 499.

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Report of the Commissioners Appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to Inquire Into the Condition of the Civil Service in Ireland on the Dublin Metropolitan Police: Together With the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices H.C. 1873 (c.788) xxii 69.

Report From the Select Committee on Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill; Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix H.C. 1877 (198) xvi 1.

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Report of the Committee of Inquiry Into the Royal Irish Constabulary; With Evidence and Appendix H.C.1883 (c.3577) xxxii 255.

Return of the Number of Sub-inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary, Specifying Those Who Have Been Stationed Over 10 Years in Any One County or District, and in All Cases Where the Period Has Exceeded the Term of 20 Years, Stating the Grounds of Departure From the General Practice; and, Average Number of Years That Sub-inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary Have Been Stationed in the Same County or the Same Station H.C. 1884-85 (28) lxiv 329.

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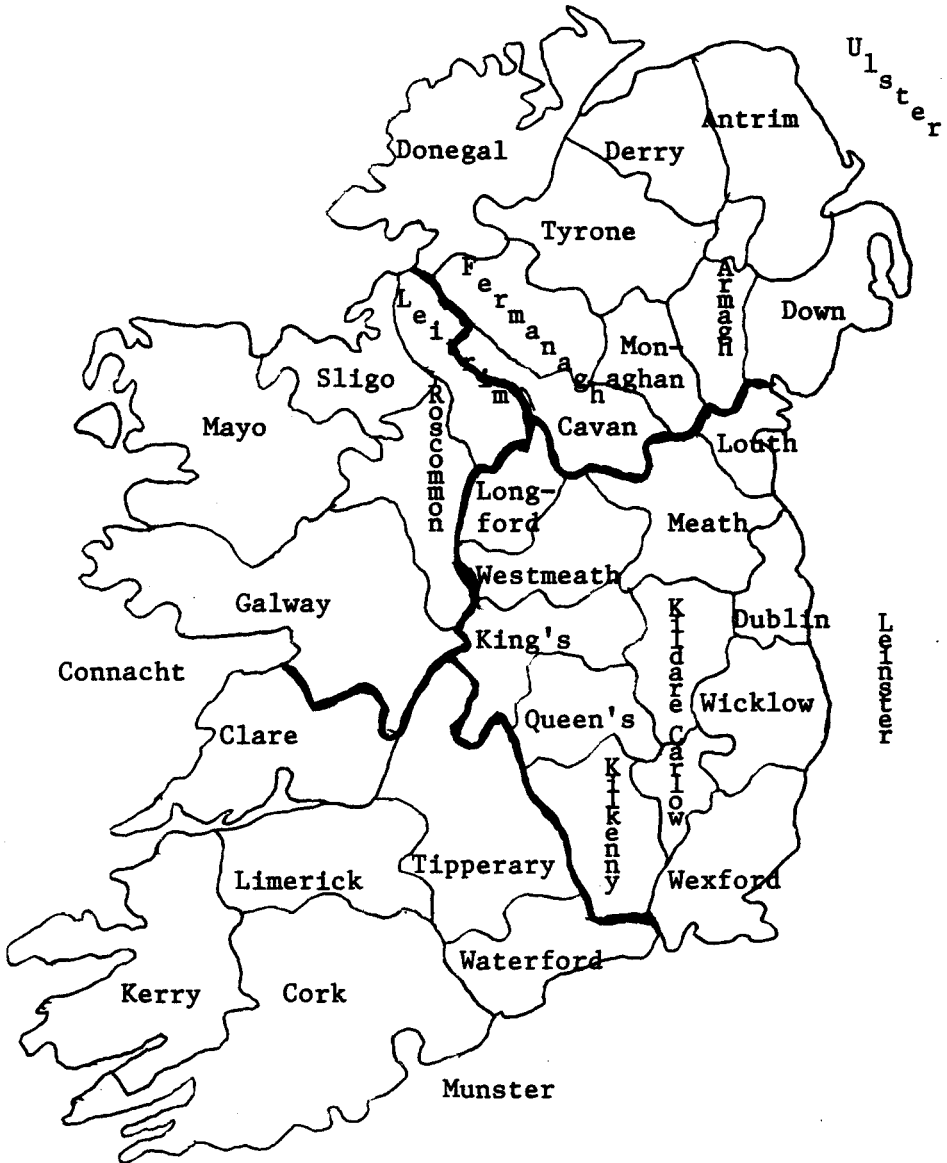
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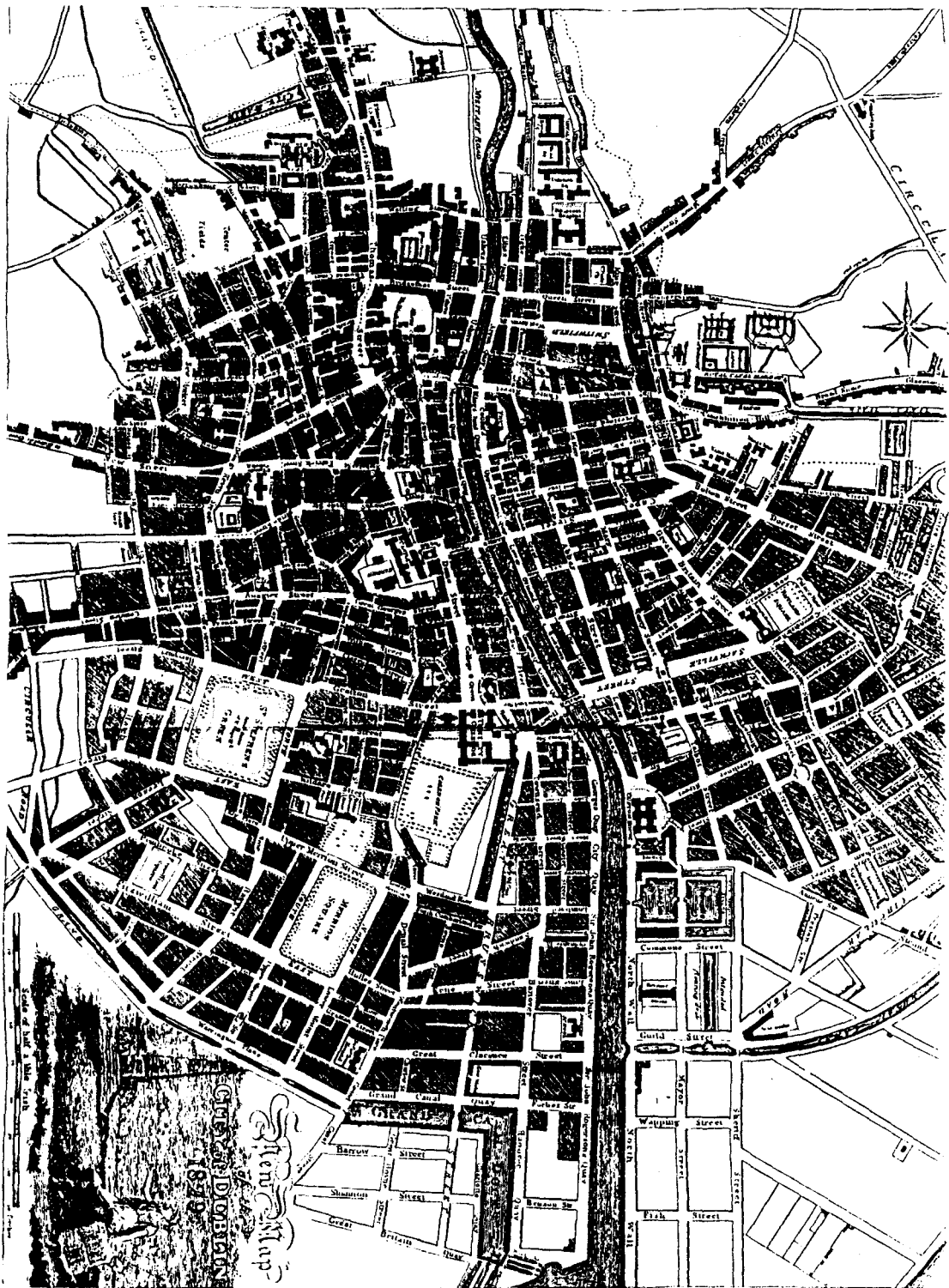
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APPENDIX I

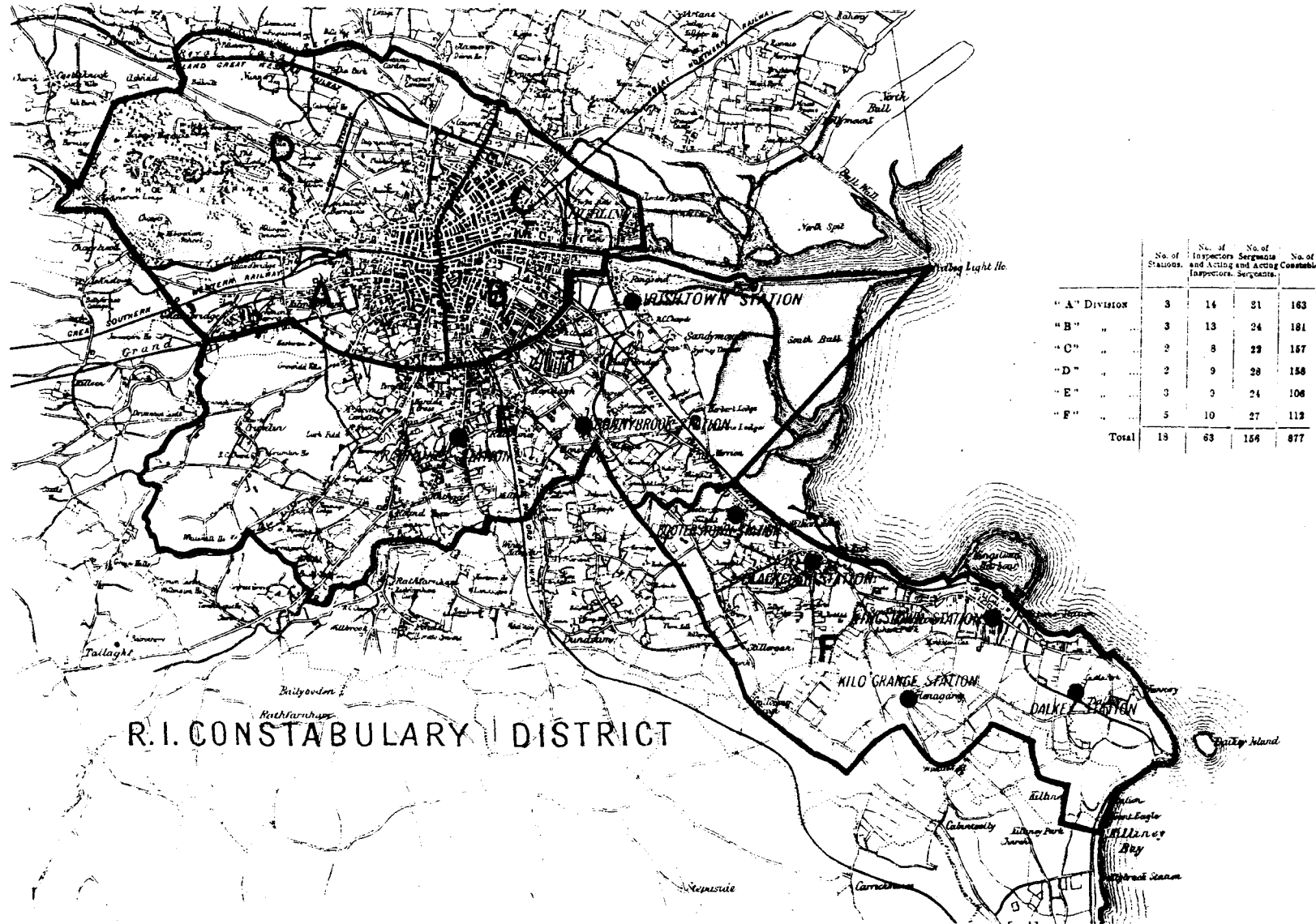
Nineteenth-century Ireland: provinces and counties



APPENDIX II



APPENDIX III



	No. of Stations.	No. of Inspectors and Acting Inspectors.	No. of Sergeants and Acting Sergeants.	No. of Constables.
"A" Division	3	14	21	163
"B" "	3	13	24	181
"C" "	2	8	23	157
"D" "	2	9	28	158
"E" "	3	9	24	106
"F" "	5	10	27	112
Total	19	63	164	877

APPENDIX IV

Proportion of D.M.P. recruits from five selected counties,
1837 to 1914.

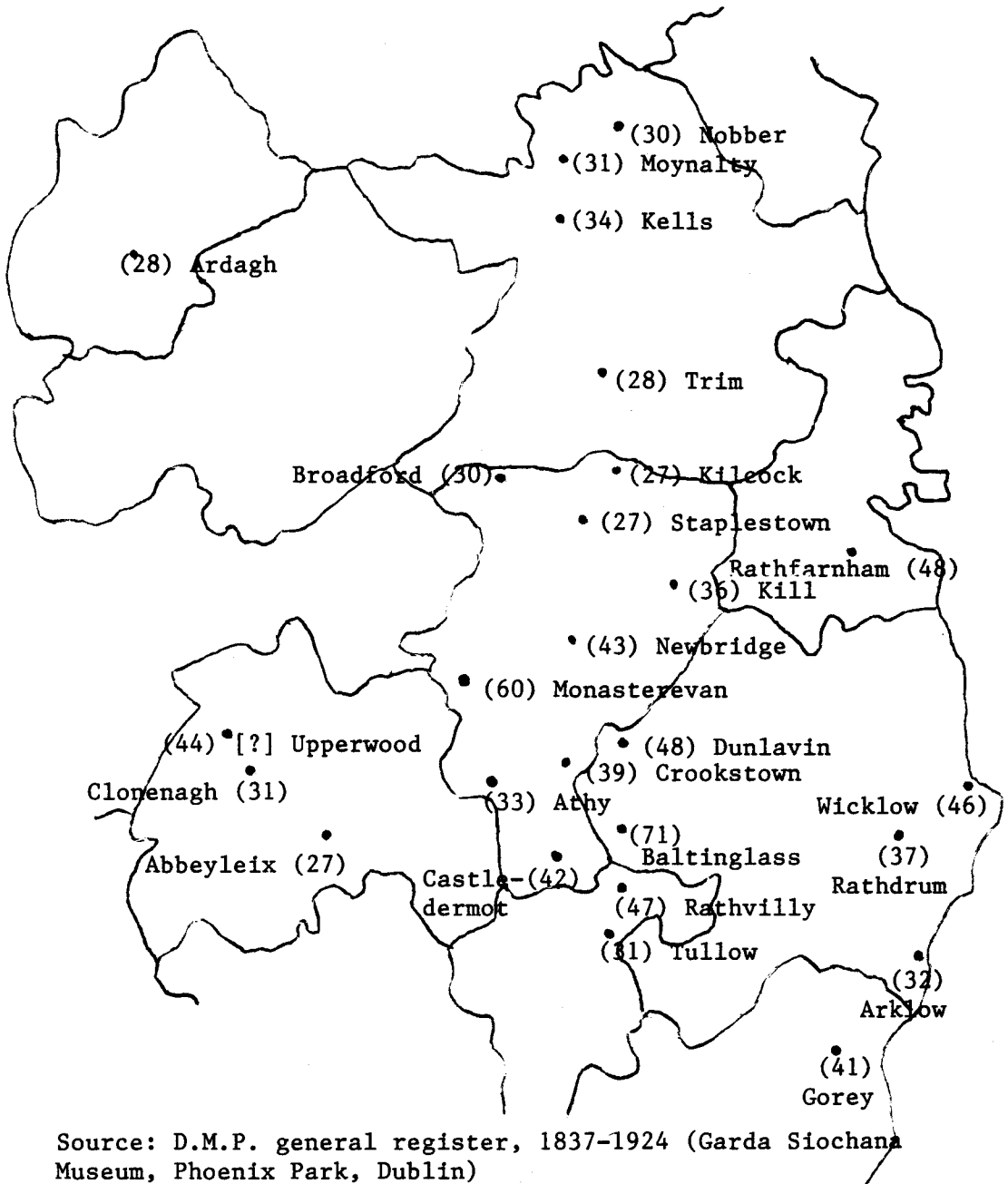
County	1837-38	1839-40	1850-59	1860-69
Meath	99	169	119	163
Dublin	176	159	179	101
Wicklow	123	173	177	192
Kildare	99	189	222	232
Queen's	117	149	99	118
Total	614	839	796	806
	40.96%	43.2%	48.04%	62.67%

County	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-1914
Meath	97	65	27	31
Dublin	84	45	28	31
Wicklow	139	83	34	44
Kildare	123	49	12	38
Queen's	70	74	33	64
Total	513	316	134	208
	44.96%	32.81%	19.76%	19.95%

Source: D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix park, Dublin).

APPENDIX V

Parishes with highest level of recruitment to D.M.P., 1837-1869



APPENDIX VI

Origins of R.I.C. recruits in selected years, 1850-1902.

Province	1850-52		1860-62		1870-72	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ulster	904	30.72*	818	28.02	857	30.63
Munster	792	26.91	623	21.34	431	15.4
Leinster	832	28.27*	835	28.61*	860	30.73*
Connacht	393	13.35	623	21.34*	625	22.33*
Britain	13	0.44	15	0.51	19	0.68
Other	9	0.31	5	0.17	7	0.25
Total	2943		2919		2799	

Province	1880-82		1890-92		1901-1902	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ulster	1680	28.79	448	29.13	473	24.74
Munster	1428	24.47	334	21.72	487	25.47
Leinster	1329	22.78	249	16.19	309	16.16
Connacht	1334	22.86*	485	31.53*	625	32.69*
Britain	55	0.94	18	1.17	16	0.84
Other	9	0.15	4	0.26	2	0.1
Total	5835		1538		1912	

*denotes when a province is over-represented when compared with its proportion of the general population.

Source: Constabulary personnel registers, 1816-1922 (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/7-9, 14-15, 19-21, 24-26, 28-29, 31-32).

APPENDIX VII

Origins of D.M.P. recruits - provinces, 1837-1914.

Province	1837-38		1839-49		1850-59		1860-69	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Leinster	962	64.17*	1330	68.48*	1166	70.45*	1094	85.06*
Munster	180	12	193	9.93	185	11.17	59	4.58
Connacht	84	5.6	104	5.35	86	5.19	37	2.87
Ulster	227	15.1	289	14.88	211	12.74	95	7.38
Outside Ireland	29	1.9	17	0.87	7	0.42	1	0.07
Not Stated	17	1.1	9	0.46				
Total	1499		1942		1655		1286	

Province	1870-79		1880-89		1890-99		1900-1914	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Leinster	817	71.6*	529	54.93*	250	36.87*	423	40.36*
Munster	130	11.39	143	14.84	187	27.58*	349	33.3*
Connacht	92	8.06	98	10.17	69	10.17	132	12.59
Ulster	98	8.58	184	19.1	160	23.59	125	11.92
Outside	4	0.35	9	0.93	12	1.76	19	1.8
Total	1141		963		678		1048	

Source: D.M.P. general register, 1837-1914 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix Park, Dublin).

*denotes when a province is over-represented relative to its proportion of the general population.

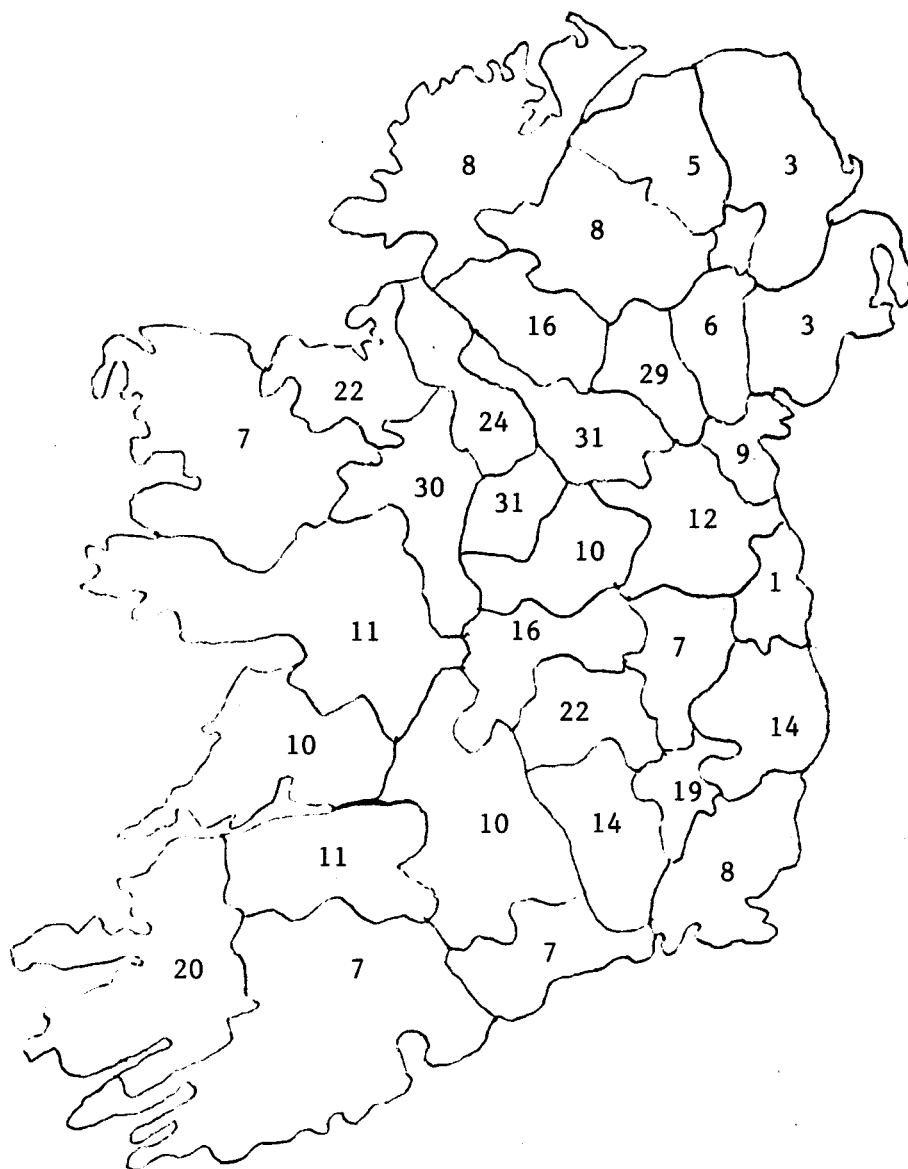
APPENDIX VIII

APPENDIX IX

APPENDIX X

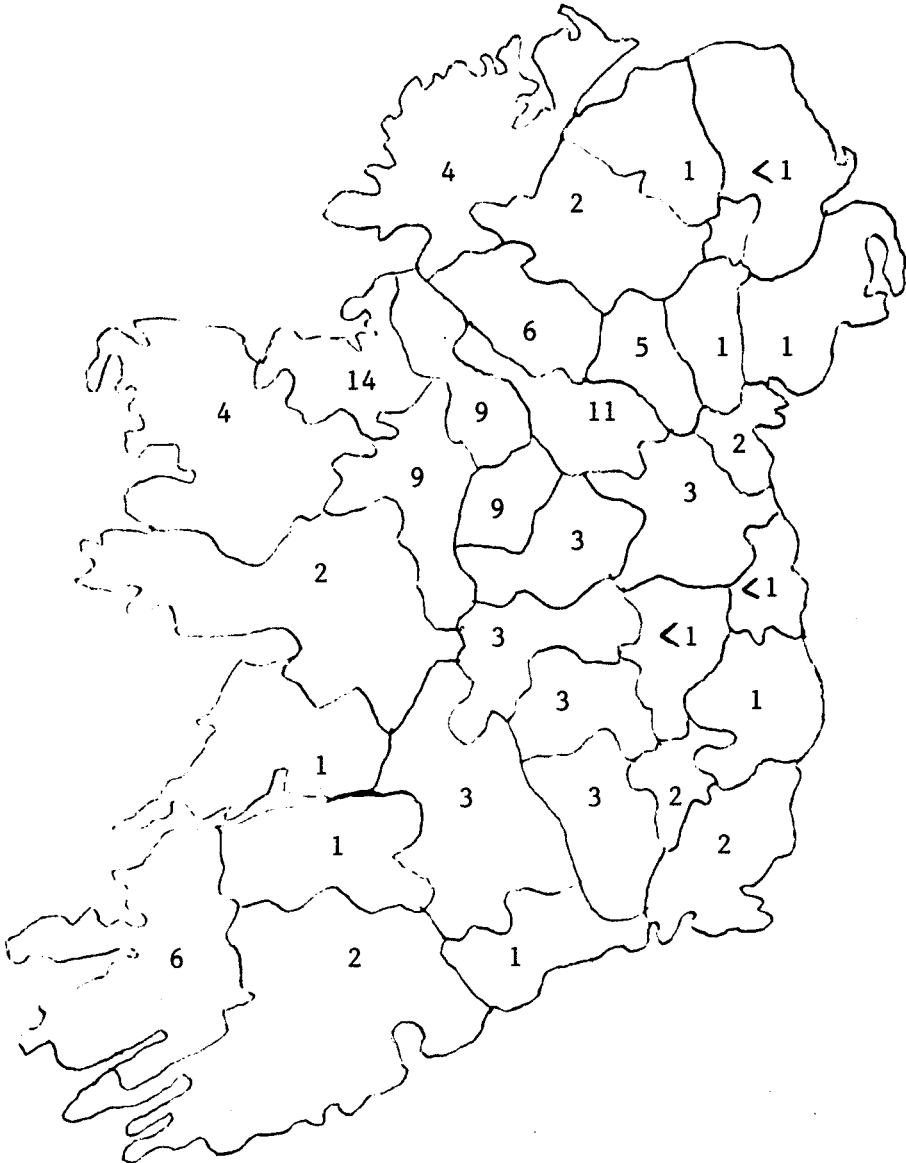
APPENDIX XI

1880-82: Number of Royal Irish Constabulary recruits,
per 10,000 of county population



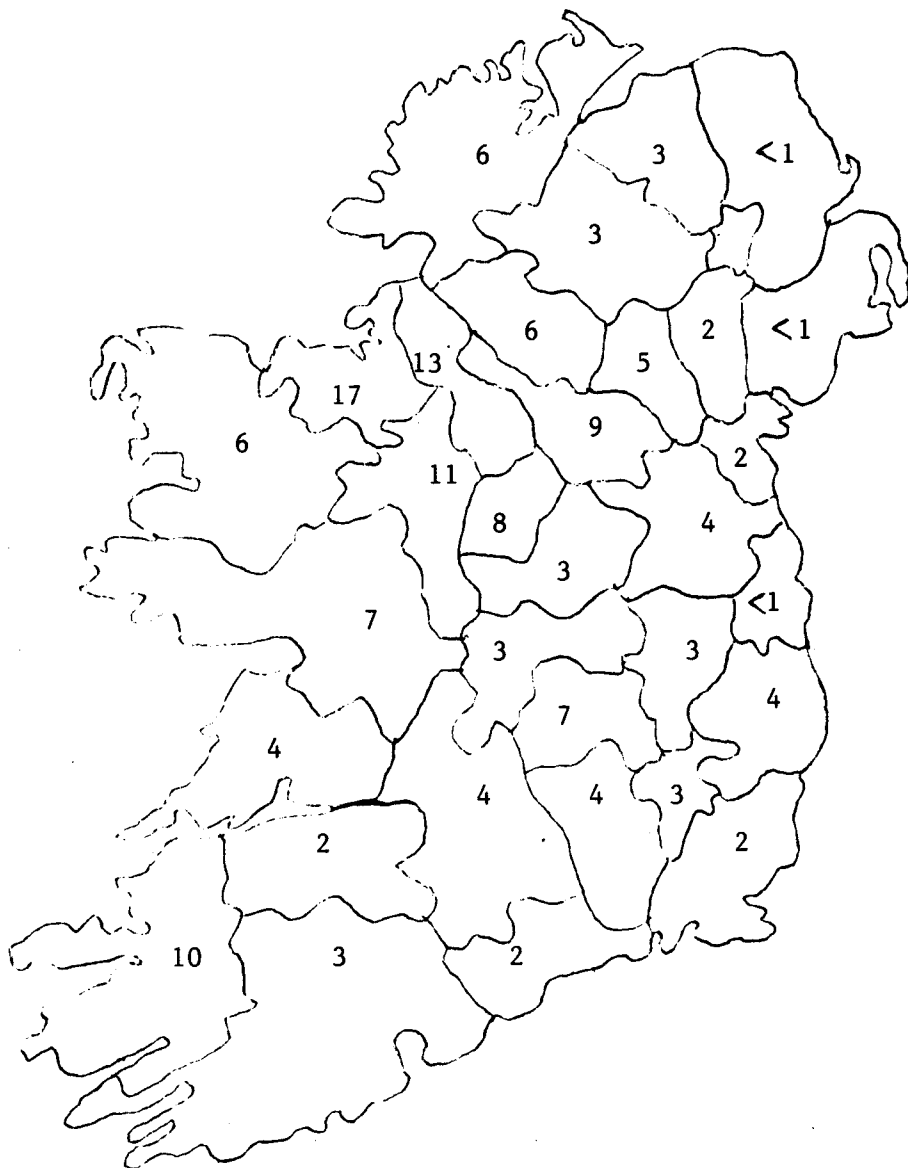
APPENDIX XII

1890-92: Number of Royal Irish Constabulary recruits,
per 10,000 of county population



APPENDIX XIII

1900-1902: Number of Royal Irish Constabulary recruits,
per 10,000 of county population



APPENDIX XIV

Occupations of R.I.C. recruits for selected years, 1850 -1902.

Occupation	1850-52		1860-62		1870-72	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourer	2426	82.43	2452	84	1300	46.45
Farmer	16	0.54	20	0.69	630	22.51
Shepherd	4	0.14	9	0.31	18	0.64
Gardener	15	0.51	24	0.82	33	1.18
Artisan	95	3.23	126	4.32	103	3.68
Weaver	42	1.43	45	1.54	36	1.29
Servant	33	1.12	58	1.97	83	2.97
Clerk	54	1.83	43	1.47	47	1.68
Teacher	20	0.68	20	0.69	41	1.46
Shopkeeper/ assistant	41	1.39	75	2.57	72	2.57
Other	43	1.46	46	1.58	110	3.93
None	1	0.03	1	0.03	324	11.58
Not stated	153	5.2			2	0.07
Total	2943		2919		2799	

Occupation	1880-82		1890-92		1900-1902	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourer	922	15.8	104	6.76	126	6.59
Farmer	2970	50.9	924	60.08	1147	59.99
Shepherd	53	0.91	18	1.17	16	0.84
Gardener	77	1.32	16	1.04	11	0.58
Artisan	203	3.48	32	2.08	51	2.67
Weaver	20	0.34	1	0.07		
Servant	96	1.65	14	0.91	10	0.52
Clerk	122	2.09	42	2.73	69	3.61
Teacher	87	1.49	34	2.21	21	1.1
Shopkeeper/ assistant	226	3.87	51	3.32	129	6.75
Other	268	4.59	62	4.03	145	7.58
None	791	13.56	240	15.6	187	9.78
Total	5835		1538		1912	

Source: Constabulary general register, 1816-1922 (P.R.O. (Kew): HO 184/7-9, 14-15, 19-21, 24-26, 28-29, 31-32.

APPENDIX XV

Occupations of D.M.P. recruits, 1839-1914.

Occupation	1839-49		1850-59		1860-69		1870-79	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourer	1711	88.11	1503	90.82	1149	89.35	732	64.15
Farmer	10	0.51	29	1.75	9	0.7	211	18.49
Shepherd	1	0.05	2	0.12	1	0.08	5	0.44
Gardener	8	0.41	5	0.3	15	1.17	19	1.67
Artisan	97	4.99	27	1.63	41	3.19	35	3.07
Weaver	22	1.13	12	0.73				
Servant	4	0.21	14	0.85	4	0.31	22	1.93
Clerk	7	0.36	13	0.79	17	1.32	31	2.72
Teacher			5	0.3	18	1.4	9	0.79
Shopkeeper/ assistant	30	1.54	19	1.15	14	1.09	34	2.98
Porter	1	0.05	4	0.24			2	0.17
Warder							1	0.09
Other	17	0.88	19	1.15	16	1.24	25	2.19
None	29	1.49	3	0.18	1	0.08	13	1.14
Unknown	5	0.26			1	0.08	2	0.17
Total	1942		1655		1286		1141	

Occupation	1880-89		1890-99		1900-1914	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourer	309	32.09	68	10.03	443	42.27
Farmer	442	45.9	421	62.09	160	15.27
Shepherd	10	1.04	3	0.44	7	0.67
Gardener	12	1.25	6	0.88	10	0.95
Artisan	31	3.22	19	2.8	32	3.05
Servant	6	0.62	15	2.21	6	0.57
Clerk	21	2.18	16	2.36	22	2.1
Teacher	5	0.52	12	1.77	9	0.86
Shopkeeper/ assistant	16	1.66	24	3.54	18	1.72
Porter	5	0.52	3	0.44	12	1.15
Warder	1	0.1	3	0.44	15	1.43
Other	39	4.04	30	4.24	70	6.68
None	61	6.33	58	8.55	244	23.28
Unknown	5	0.52				
Total	963		678		1048	

Source: D.M.P. general register, 1837-1924 (Garda Siochana Museum, Phoenix park, Dublin).

APPENDIX XVI

Removals from (Royal) Irish Constabulary, 1841-1914.

Cause	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1847	1848	1849
Pension	214	58	45	61	115	214	130	126
Gratuity	53	194	89	174	191	279	114	127
Resigned	211	181	119	140	234	526	315	283
Deserted		5	3	4	6	21	10	14
Dismissed	229	183	162	184	215	211	335	340
Death	57	58	40	36	57	224	150	221
Other			71	52	103	32	21	14
Total	764	679	529	651	921	1507	1075	1125

Total, 1840-49 %

Pension	963	13.28
Gratuity	1221	16.83
Resigned	2009	27.7
Deserted	63	0.86
Dismissed	1859	25.63
Death	843	11.62
Other	292	4.04

Total **7251**

Cause	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857
Pension	76	141	104	215	146	111	106	189
Gratuity	99	112	133	128	129	87	64	161
Resigned	324	418	540	775	749	720	525	765
Deserted	11	16	6	14	12	14	11	13
Dismissed	298	238	219	250	220	196	158	181
Death	100	102	74	107	92	97	80	61
Other	10	8	76	95	76	78	64	63
Total	918	1035	1152	1584	1424	1303	1008	1433

Cause 1858 1859 Total, 1850-59 %

Pension	152	118	1358	11.21
Gratuity	97	71	1081	8.92
Resigned	438	462	5716	47.21
Deserted	7	7	111	0.91
Dismissed	197	212	2169	17.91
Death	88	85	886	7.31
Other	187	128	785	6.48

Total **1166** **1083** **12106**

Cause	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
Pension	183	155	168	163	116	199	188	196
Gratuity	64	70	57	71	36	54	38	27
Resigned	565	436	579	569	675	672	441	339
Deserted	17	18	12	11	17	10	4	11
Dismissed	154	134	163	137	195	165	158	181
Death	79	79	100	80	85	109	97	111
Other	109	65	62	56	43	68	86	68
Total	1171	957	1141	1087	1167	1277	1012	933

Cause	1868	1869	Total, 1860-69	%
Pension	205	215	1788	16.74
Gratuity	28	21	466	4.36
Resigned	371	353	5000	46.83
Deserted	8	17	125	1.17
Dismissed	174	239	1700	15.92
Death	113	83	936	8.76
Other	70	34	661	6.19
Total	969	962	10676	

Cause	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877
Pension	247	237	257	361	324	451	365	322
Gratuity	35	36	28	18	23	10	26	19
Resigned	492	647	643	285	180	173	182	139
Deserted	15	31	22	9	7	4	9	13
Dismissed	260	259	195	290	294	301	220	103
Death	87	71	120	78	62	86	66	63
Other	98	134	78	94	97	101	95	67
Total	1234	1415	1343	1135	987	1126	963	726

Cause	1878	1879	Total, 1870-79	%
Pension	316	311	3191	30.74
Gratuity	24	14	233	2.24
Resigned	160	113	3014	29.04
Deserted	11	10	131	1.26
Dismissed	109	104	2135	20.57
Death	80	73	786	7.57
Other	71	53	888	8.55
Total	771	678	10378	

Cause	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887
Pension	234	290	204	313	310	252	223	189
Gratuity	18	32	22	38	34	48	50	48
Resigned	155	352	471	293	128	122	132	153
Deserted	18	16	23	15	14	12	7	15
Dismissed	114	116	148	144	128	81	78	61
Death	77	78	84	84	69	76	71	68
Other	83	223	310	139	70	106	164	82
Total	699	1107	1262	1026	753	697	725	616

Cause	1888	1889	Total, 1880-89	%
Pension	247	220	2482	30.29
Gratuity	52	63	405	4.94
Resigned	101	100	2007	24.49
Deserted	8	9	137	1.67
Dismissed	66	56	992	12.1
Death	66	62	735	8.97
Other	135	125	1437	17.54
Total	675	635	8195	

Cause	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
Pension	154	294	366	311	363	429	428	327
Gratuity	49	56	52	40	36	26	27	25
Resigned	135	117	84	81	65	55	72	57
Deserted	4	8	6	14	10	7	5	9
Dismissed	56	64	47	27	35	32	33	21
Death	48	87	57	57	74	69	69	63
Other	99	123	97	104	21	136	144	30
Total	545	749	709	634	604	754	778	532

Cause	1898	1899	Total, 1890-99	%
Pension	364	354	3390	52.94
Gratuity	25	21	357	5.53
Resigned	67	65	798	12.37
Deserted	9	6	78	1.2
Dismissed	46	31	392	6.07
Death	62	55	641	9.93
Other	27	14	795	12.32
Total	600	546	6451	

Cause	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Pension	346	210	330	323	307	378	491	550
Gratuity	25	23	22	22	31	20	16	11
Resigned	93	117	156	83	75	57	46	102
Deserted	6	8	6	11	8	13	6	4
Dismissed	29	42	34	39	21	12	16	46
Death	59	47	61	57	40	47	47	50
Other	23	32	16	24	24	7	5	13
Total	581	479	625	559	506	534	627	776

Cause	1908	1909	Total, 1900-1907	%
Pension	279	299	3513	61.33
Gratuity	23	25	218	3.8
Resigned	124	116	969	16.91
Deserted	3	2	67	1.16
Dismissed	27	16	282	4.92
Death	40	55	503	8.78
Other	16	16	176	3.07
Total	512	529	5728	

Cause	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total, 1910-14	%
Pension	282	347	298	332	207	1466	45.54
Gratuity	17	26	42	34	22	141	4.38
Resigned	142	163	221	303	245	1074	33.36
Deserted	8	6	8	6	5	33	1.02
Dismissed	13	11	5	8	5	42	1.3
Death	56	43	40	46	43	228	7.08
Other	13	17	15	10	180*	235	7.3
Total	531	613	629	739	707	3219	

Data from (Royal) Irish Constabulary numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1919 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54). Data for 1846 not available.

*Includes reservists called to the colours, and volunteers for the Irish Guards.

APPENDIX XVII

Annual removals from (Royal) Irish Constabulary, 1841-1919,
as a percentage of the force.

1 = total removed; 2 = pensioned; 3 = retired on gratuity;
4 = resigned; 5 = deserted; 6 = dismissed; 7 = died; 8 =
other.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1841	9.08	2.54	0.63	2.51		2.72	0.68	
1842	7.98	0.68	2.28	2.13	0.06	2.15	0.68	
1843	6.1	0.52	1.03	1.37	0.03	1.87	0.46	0.82
1844	7.33	0.69	1.96	1.58	0.05	2.07	0.41	0.59
1845	10.11	1.26	2.1	2.57	0.07	2.36	0.62	1.13
1847	13.94	1.98	2.58	4.86	0.19	1.95	2.07	0.3
1848	9.07	1.1	0.96	2.67	0.08	2.83	1.27	0.18
1849	9.06	1.01	1.02	2.28	0.11	2.74	1.78	0.11
1850	7.38	0.61	0.8	2.6	0.09	2.39	0.8	0.08
1851	8.42	1.15	0.91	3.4	0.13	1.94	0.83	0.07
1852	9.43	0.85	1.09	4.42	0.05	1.79	0.61	0.62
1853	13.02	1.77	1.05	6.37	0.12	2.06	0.88	0.78
1854	12.03	1.23	1.09	6.33	0.1	1.86	0.78	0.64
1855	11	0.94	0.73	6.08	0.12	1.65	0.82	0.66
1856	8.57	0.9	0.54	4.46	0.09	1.34	0.68	0.54
1857	12.07	1.59	1.36	6.44	0.11	1.52	0.51	0.53
1858	9.9	1.29	0.82	3.72	0.06	1.67	0.75	1.59
1859	8.94	0.97	0.59	3.81	0.06	1.75	0.7	1.06
1860	9.59	1.5	0.52	4.63	0.14	1.26	0.65	0.89
1861	7.89	1.28	0.58	3.6	0.15	1.11	0.65	0.54
1862	9.4	1.38	0.47	4.77	0.1	1.34	0.82	0.51
1863	9.04	1.36	0.59	4.73	0.09	1.14	0.67	0.47
1864	10.01	1	0.31	5.79	0.15	1.67	0.73	0.37
1865	11.12	1.73	0.47	5.85	0.09	1.44	0.95	0.59
1866	8.88	1.65	0.33	3.87	0.04	1.39	0.85	0.75
1867	7.99	1.68	0.23	2.9	0.09	1.55	0.95	0.58
1868	8.02	1.7	0.21	3.07	0.07	1.44	0.94	0.58
1869	7.68	1.72	0.17	2.82	0.14	1.91	0.66	0.27
1870	9.81	1.96	0.28	3.91	0.12	2.07	0.69	0.78
1871	11.52	1.93	0.29	5.27	0.25	2.11	0.58	1.09
1872	11.18	2.14	0.23	5.35	0.18	1.62	1	0.65
1873	9.96	3.17	0.16	2.5	0.08	2.54	0.68	0.82
1874	8.81	2.89	0.21	1.61	0.06	2.62	0.55	0.87
1875	10.18	4.08	0.09	1.56	0.04	2.72	0.78	0.91
1876	8.81	3.34	0.24	1.66	0.08	2.01	0.6	0.87
1877	6.67	2.96	0.17	1.28	0.12	0.95	0.58	0.62
1878	7.05	2.89	0.22	1.46	0.1	1	0.73	0.65
1879	6.21	2.85	0.13	1.03	0.09	0.95	0.67	0.49
1880	6.27	2.1	0.16	1.39	0.16	1.02	0.69	0.75
1881	9.55	2.5	0.28	3.04	0.14	1	0.67	1.92
1882	10.02	1.62	0.17	3.74	0.18	1.18	0.68	2.46
1883	7.05	2.15	0.26	2.01	0.1	0.99	0.58	0.95
1884	6.04	2.49	0.27	1.03	0.11	1.03	0.55	0.95

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1885	5.42	1.96	0.37	0.95	0.09	0.63	0.59	0.82
1886	5.73	1.76	0.4	1.04	0.06	0.62	0.56	1.3
1887	4.87	1.5	0.38	1.21	0.12	0.48	0.54	0.65
1888	5.41	1.98	0.42	0.81	0.06	0.53	0.53	1.08
1889	5.08	1.76	0.5	0.8	0.07	0.45	0.5	1
1890	4.37	1.23	0.39	1.08	0.03	0.45	0.38	0.79
1891	6.01	2.36	0.45	0.94	0.06	0.51	0.7	0.99
1892	5.77	2.98	0.42	0.68	0.05	0.38	0.46	0.79
1893	5.26	2.58	0.33	0.67	0.12	0.22	0.47	0.86
1894	5.06	3.04	0.3	0.54	0.08	0.29	0.62	0.18
1895	6.34	3.61	0.22	0.46	0.06	0.27	0.58	1.14
1896	6.63	3.65	0.23	0.61	0.04	0.28	0.59	1.23
1897	4.58	2.82	0.22	0.49	0.08	0.18	0.54	0.26
1898	5.42	3.29	0.23	0.61	0.08	0.42	0.56	0.24
1899	5	3.24	0.19	0.6	0.05	0.28	0.5	0.13
1900	5.32	3.17	0.23	0.85	0.05	0.27	0.54	0.13
1901	4.39	1.92	0.21	1.07	0.07	0.38	0.43	0.29
1902	5.7	3.01	0.2	1.42	0.05	0.31	0.56	0.15
1903	5.12	2.96	0.2	0.76	0.1	0.36	0.52	0.22
1904	4.81	2.92	0.29	0.71	0.08	0.2	0.38	0.23
1905	5.31	3.76	0.2	0.57	0.13	0.12	0.47	0.07
1906	6.46	5.06	0.16	0.47	0.06	0.16	0.48	0.05
1907	8.01	5.68	0.11	1.05	0.04	0.48	0.52	0.13
1908	5.06	2.76	0.23	1.23	0.03	0.27	0.4	0.16
1909	5.05	2.85	0.24	1.11	0.02	0.15	0.52	0.15
1910	5.07	2.69	0.16	1.36	0.08	0.12	0.53	0.12
1911	5.87	3.32	0.25	1.56	0.06	0.11	0.41	0.16
1912	6.06	2.87	0.4	2.13	0.08	0.05	0.39	0.14
1913	7.1	3.19	0.33	2.91	0.06	0.08	0.44	0.1
1914	6.89	2.02	0.21	2.39	0.05	0.05	0.42	1.75

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary numerical returns of personnel, 1841-1914 (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/54). Data for 1846 not available.

The calculations are made as a percentage of the force on the first day of each year.

APPENDIX XVIII

Pay of the (Royal) Irish Constabulary non-officer ranks, 1836-1914.

Rank	1836	1866	1872
Head constable, major	£70	£80	£104
Head constable, 1st class	£60	£76 14s	£91
Head constable, 2nd class	£50	£65	£83 4s
Constable	£32 7s	£49 8s	£72 16s
Acting constable*	£30	£44 4s	£67 12s
Sub-constable, 1st class	£27 14s	Sub-constable 20 yrs+ £42 18s 12-20 yrs £41 12s	Sub-constable 20 yrs+ £62 8s 14 yrs+ £59 16s
Sub-constable, 2nd class	£24	6-12 yrs £39 6 mths - 6 yrs £36 Under 6 mths 12s weekly	8 yrs+ £57 4s 4 yrs+ £54 12s 6 mths+ £52 Under 6 mths 12s weekly
Rank	1882		1908
Head constable, major	£104		£104
Head constable	6 yrs+ in rank £104 3 yrs+ in rank £97 10s Under 3 yrs in rank £91		5 yrs+ in rank £104 Under 5 yrs in rank £97 10s
Sergeant	4 yrs+ in rank £80 12s Under 4 yrs in rank £75 8s		4 yrs+ in rank £83 4s Under 4 yrs = £78
Acting sergeant	£72 16s		£75 8s
Constable	20 yrs+ £70 4s 15 yrs+ £67 12s 12 yrs+ £65 9 yrs+ £62 8s 7 yrs+ £59 16s 4 yrs+ £57 4s 6 mths+ £54 12s Under 6 mths 15s weekly		25 yrs+ £72 16s 15 yrs+ £70 4s 13 yrs+ £67 12s 11 yrs+ £65 7 yrs+ £62 8s 4 yrs+ £54 12s 6 mths+ £54 12s Under 6 mths 15s weekly
*Rank created sometime between 1836 and 1842.			

APPENDIX XIX

Pay of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1838-1914.

Rank	1838	1839	1840	1841	1855-66
Chief Supt.			£200	£200	£286 10s
Supt.	£150	£150	£150	£150	£181 6s*- £206 10s
Inspr, 1st	£75	£75	£85	£95	£121 1s*
" 2nd			£75	£85(b)	£113 9s*
" 3rd				£75(a)	£105 11s*

Acting inspector					£66 15s*- £67 12s
Sergeant	£45 10s	£52	£54 12s	£54 12s	£63 14s*- £65
Acting sergeant					£50 1s- £50 14s
Const, 1st	£36 8s	£40 19s	£43 11s	£43 11s	£48 2s-15s
" 2nd		£36 8s	£39	£39	£43 11s
" 3rd		£27 6s	£29 18s	£29 18s	£39
" 4th					£29 18s
Supernumerary	7s weekly	7s weekly	7s weekly	7s weekly	10s weekly (from 1859)

a and b: wages were raised in 1848 to £85 and £90 respectively.

c: In 1849, superintendents received annual increments of £5, up to a maximum salary of £175.

The table of D.M.P. salaries is continued on the next page.

Rank	1867-72	1873-80	1883-1914
Chief supt.	£286 10s	£330	£400-£15-£500
Superintendent	£180-£210	£220-£250	£250-£10-£320
Inspector, 1st	£123	£160	Inspector
" 2nd	£115	£150	£120-£6-£160
" 3rd	£107	£137	
-----			Station sergeant-
Act. inspector	£67 12s	£93 12s	£104
			Sergeant
Sergeant	£65	£89 12s	5 yrs+ £98 16s 2-5 yrs £93 12s Under yrs £88 8s
Act. sergeant	£52	£84 10s	Constable
Constable, 1st	£49 8s	£75 8s	15 yrs+ £78
" 2nd	£45 10s	£71 10s	8-15 yrs £75 8s
" 3rd	£43 11s	£67 12s	3-8 yrs £70 4s
" 4th	£40 6s	£59 12s	1-3 yrs £65
			Under 1 yr £1 3s weekly
Supernumerary	10s weekly	15s6d weekly	15s6d weekly

Table does not include the pay of the G or detective division.

APPENDIX XX

Removals from the Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1872-1913.

Cause	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879
Pension	20	24	25	19	10	29	19	8
Gratuity	15	9	10	13	6	8	6	7
Resigned	75	19	21	26	31	27	29	15
Discharged ¹		1			1	2	5	3
Dismissed ²	37	34	32	50	63	41	42	29
Died	13	4	5	5	7	6	11	10
Total	160	91	93	113	118	113	112	72

Cause	1880	1881	Total, 1872-81	%
Pension	17	19	190	17.79
Gratuity	7	9	90	8.43
Resigned	23	19	285	26.69
Discharged ¹	3	3	18	1.69
Dismissed ²	52	27	407	38.11
Died	6	11	78	7.3
Total	108	88	1068	

Cause	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
Pension	29	24	31	27	16	16	31	23
Gratuity	6	13	8	8	11	8	17	14
Resigned	35	28	14	24	13	15	15	19
Discharged ¹		3	2	9	3	1	3	4
Dismissed ²	24	24	29	12	11	30	19	17
Died	9	11	9	11	6	8	5	10
Total	103	103	93	91	60	78	90	87

Cause	1891	1892	Total, 1883-92	%
Pension	24	25	246	28.94
Gratuity	9	7	101	11.88
Resigned	11	12	186	21.88
Discharged ¹	1		26	3.06
Dismissed ²	21	11	198	23.29
Died	11	13	93	10.94
Total	77	68	850	

Cause	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Pension	28	34	30	30	24	28	20	25
Gratuity	16	8	9	5	7	15	8	9
Resigned	7	5	15	3	6	11	10	32
Discharged ¹					1			1
Dismissed ²	7	6	14	14	12	14	11	14
Died	11	12	6	11	13	9	12	13
Total	69	65	74	63	63	77	61	94

Cause	1901	1902	Total, 1893-1902	%
Pension	32	24	275	38.68
Gratuity	4	12	93	13.08
Resigned	12	14	115	16.17
Discharged ¹			2	0.28
Dismissed ²	12	21	101	17.58
Total	67	78	711	

Cause	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Pension	37	21	32	24	37	36	35	27
Gratuity	5	6	11	6	9	5	5	4
Resigned	9	5	9	8	12	9	9	14
Dismissed ²	15	13	7	13	13	4	9	6
Died	9	9	4	7	8	5	9	6
Total	75	54	63	58	79	59	67	57

Cause	1911	1912	1913	Total, 1911-13	%
Pension	22	12	13	296	44.51
Gratuity	9	3	2	65	9.77
Resigned	15	13	13	116	17.44
Discharged ¹	2			2	0.3
Dismissed ²	11	18	8	117	17.59
Died	6	2	4	69	10.38
Total	65	48	40	665	

Sources: 1882 D.M.P. Commission, p.220; 1901 D.M.P. Commission - Evidence, p.21; Statistical Tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1872-1913 (Dublin: Alexander Thom).
 Statistics for 1882 not available.

¹ Men discharged without gratuity.

² Includes those who were compelled to resign.

APPENDIX XXI

Annual removals from the D.M.P., as a percentage of the force,
1872-1913.

1= total removed; 2= pensioned; 3= discharged on gratuity; 4=
resigned; 5= discharged without gratuity; 6= dismissed
(including those compelled to resign); 7= died.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1872	15.01	1.88	1.41	7.04		3.47	1.22
1873	9.06	2.39	0.9	1.89	0.1	3.39	0.4
1874	8.51	2.29	0.91	1.92		2.93	0.46
1875	10.34	1.74	1.19	2.38		4.57	0.46
1876	10.8	0.91	0.55	2.84	0.09	5.76	0.64
1877	10.26	2.63	0.73	2.45	0.18	3.72	0.54
1878	10.07	1.71	0.54	2.61	0.45	3.78	0.99
1879	6.46	0.72	0.63	1.35	0.27	2.6	0.9
1880	9.6	1.51	0.62	2.04	0.27	4.62	0.53
1881	7.82	1.69	0.8	1.69	0.27	2.4	0.98
1883	8.84	2.49	0.52	3		2.06	0.77
1884	8.44	1.97	1.06	2.29	0.25	1.97	0.9
1885	7.76	2.59	0.67	1.17	0.17	2.42	0.75
1886	7.62	2.26	0.67	2.01	0.75	1	0.92
1887	5.03	1.34	0.92	1.09	0.25	0.92	0.5
1888	6.58	1.35	0.68	1.27	0.08	2.53	0.68
1889	7.68	2.65	1.45	1.28	0.26	1.62	0.43
1890	7.53	1.99	1.21	1.64	0.35	1.47	0.87
1891	6.72	2.09	0.79	0.96	0.09	1.83	0.96
1892	5.95	2.19	0.61	1.05		0.96	1.14
1893	6.02	2.44	1.39	0.61		0.61	0.96
1894	5.67	2.96	0.7	0.44		0.52	1.05
1895	6.99	2.62	0.77	1.31		1.22	0.52
1896	5.46	2.6	0.43	0.26		1.21	0.95
1897	5.52	2.1	0.61	0.53	0.09	1.05	1.14
1898	6.73	2.45	1.31	0.96		1.22	0.79
1899	5.23	1.72	0.69	0.86		0.94	1.03
1900	8.27	2.2	0.79	2.81	0.09	1.23	1.14
1901	5.87	2.8	0.35	1.05		1.05	0.61
1902	6.66	2.05	1.02	1.19		1.79	0.6
1903	6.39	3.15	0.43	0.77		1.28	0.77
1904	4.6	1.79	0.51	0.43		1.11	0.77
1905	5.36	2.72	0.94	0.77		0.6	0.34
1906	4.86	2.01	0.5	0.67		1.09	0.59
1907	6.67	3.13	0.76	1.01		1.1	0.68
1908	5.03	3.07	0.43	0.77		0.34	0.43
1909	5.67	2.96	0.42	0.76		0.76	0.76
1910	4.82	2.28	0.34	1.18		0.51	0.51
1911	5.41	1.83	0.75	1.25	0.17	0.92	0.5

1912	5.47	2.39	0.26	1.11	1.54	0.17
1913	5.97	3.67	0.17	1.11	0.68	0.34

Sources for appendix 21 are the same as for appendix 20 above.

Data for 1882 not available.

APPENDIX XXII

Employment of R.I.C. pensioners, 1901 and 1914.

1901

County	No. of Pensioners	Total Employed		Self-Employed		Otherwise Employed		Not Employed	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Louth	122	55	45.08	23	18.85	32	26.23	67	54.92
Meath	98	47	47.96	27	27.55	20	20.41	51	52.04
Dublin Co.	91	48	52.75	13	14.29	35	38.46	43	47.25
Wicklow	77	46	59.74	14	18.18	32	41.56	31	40.26
Wexford	116	61	52.59	26	22.41	35	30.17	55	47.41
Kildare	91	64	70.33	31	34.07	33	36.26	27	29.67
Carlow	62	30	48.39	16	25.81	14	22.58	32	51.62
Kilkenny	154	77	50	43	27.92	34	22.08	77	50
Queen's	151	80	52.98	44	29.14	36	23.84	71	47.02
King's	163	72	44.17	49	30.06	23	14.11	91	55.83
Longford	110	53	48.18	43	39.09	10	9.09	57	51.82
Westmesth	107	50	46.73	29	27.1	21	19.63	57	53.27
Waterford	173	89	51.45	31	17.92	58	33.53	84	48.55
Cork (East)	421	228	54.16	69	16.39	159	37.77	193	45.84
Cork (West)	114	55	48.25	38	33.33	17	14.91	59	51.75
Kerry	155	86	55.48	42	27.1	44	28.39	69	44.52
Clare	132	51	38.64	29	21.97	22	16.67	81	61.36
Limerick	234	106	45.3	35	14.96	71	30.34	128	54.7
Tipperary	264	117	44.32	62	23.48	55	20.83	147	55.68
Galway	359	173	48.19	99	27.58	74	20.61	186	51.81
Mayo	223	134	60.09	97	43.5	37	16.59	89	39.91
Sligo	176	75	42.61	52	29.55	23	13.07	101	57.39
Leitrim	147	78	53.06	68	46.26	10	6.8	69	46.94
Roscommon	218	116	53.21	92	42.2	24	11.01	102	46.79
Donegal	168	80	47.62	53	31.55	27	16.07	88	52.38
Derry	149	87	58.39	34	22.82	53	35.57	62	41.61
Antrim	103	54	52.43	28	27.18	26	25.24	49	47.57
Belfast	387	166	42.89	26	6.72	140	36.18	221	57.11
Down	104	49	47.12	31	29.81	18	17.31	55	52.88
Armagh	134	87	64.93	47	35.07	40	29.85	47	35.07
Monaghan	107	60	56.07	45	42.06	15	14.02	47	43.93
Tyrone	121	64	52.89	46	38.02	18	14.88	57	47.11
Cavan	181	118	65.19	102	56.35	16	8.84	63	34.81

1901 continued

Province	No. of Pensioners	Total Employed		Self-Employed		Otherwise Employed		Not Employed	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Leinster	1342	683	50.89	358	26.68	325	24.22	659	49.11
Munster	1493	732	49.05	306	20.5	426	28.53	761	50.97
Connacht	1123	576	51.29	408	36.33	168	14.96	547	48.71
Ulster	1595	860	53.92	500	31.35	360	22.57	735	46.08
Ireland	5553	2851	51.34	1572	28.31	1279	23.03	2702	48.66

1914

County	No. of Pensioners	Total Employed		Self-Employed		Otherwise Employed		Not Employed	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Louth	149	83	55.7	29	19.46	54	36.24	66	44.3
Meath	104	72	69.23	42	40.38	30	28.85	32	30.77
Dublin Co.	77	57	74.03	14	18.18	43	55.84	20	25.97
Wicklow	123	74	60.16	26	21.14	48	39.02	49	39.84
Wexford	154	99	64.29	56	36.36	43	27.92	55	35.71
Kildare	93	64	68.82	29	31.18	35	37.63	29	31.18
Carlow	80	41	51.25	19	23.75	22	27.5	39	48.75
Kilkenny	146	64	43.84	33	22.6	31	21.23	82	56.16
Queen's	144	74	51.39	41	28.47	33	22.92	70	48.61
King's	178	90	50.56	51	28.65	39	21.91	88	49.44
Longford	115	62	53.91	56	48.7	6	5.17	53	46.09
Westmeath	142	82	57.75	50	35.21	32	22.54	60	42.25
Waterford	215	104	48.37	32	14.88	72	33.49	111	51.63
Cork (East)	507	275	54.24	91	17.95	184	36.29	232	45.76
Cork (West)	166	103	62.05	73	43.98	30	18.07	63	37.95
Kerry	248	141	56.85	74	29.84	67	27.02	107	43.15
Clare	138	68	49.28	47	34.06	21	15.22	70	50.72
Limerick	234	114	48.72	45	19.23	69	29.49	120	51.28
Tipperary	270	147	54.44	60	22.22	87	32.22	123	45.56
Galway	362	180	49.72	119	32.87	61	16.85	182	50.28
Mayo	223	121	54.26	91	40.81	30	13.45	102	45.74
Sligo	199	86	43.22	56	28.14	30	15.08	113	56.78
Leitrim	150	82	54.67	75	50	7	4.67	68	45.33
Roscommon	241	145	60.17	116	48.13	29	12.03	96	39.83

1914 continued

County	No. of Pensioners		Total Employed		Self-Employed		Otherwise Employed		Not Employed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Donegal	184		102	55.43	68	36.96	34	18.48	82	44.57
Derry	154		88	57.14	33	21.43	55	35.71	66	42.86
Antrim	116		77	66.38	39	33.62	38	32.76	39	33.62
Belfast	596		326	54.79	27	4.54	299	50.25	269	45.21
Down	143		98	68.53	50	34.97	48	33.57	45	31.47
Armagh	120		99	82.5	64	53.33	35	29.17	21	17.5
Monaghan	148		113	76.35	95	64.19	18	12.16	35	23.65
Tyrone	167		110	65.87	83	49.7	27	16.17	57	34.13
Fermanagh	142		93	65.49	80	56.34	13	9.15	49	34.51
Cavan	208		142	68.27	135	64.9	7	3.37	66	31.73

Province	No. of Pensioners		Total Employed		Self-Employed		Otherwise Employed		Not Employed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Leinster	1505		862	57.28	446	29.63	416	27.64	643	42.72
Munster	1778		952	53.54	422	23.73	530	29.81	826	46.46
Connacht	1175		614	52.26	457	38.89	157	13.36	561	47.74
Ulster	1977		1248	63.13	674	34.09	574	29.03	729	36.87
Ireland	6435		3676	57.13	1999	31.06	1677	26.06	2759	36.87

Sources: 1901 R.I.C. Commission - Evidence, p.226; 1914 R.I.C. and D.M.P. Enquiry - Evidence, p.339.

APPENDIX XXIII

Origins of (Royal) Irish Constabulary cadets and directly commissioned officers, 1836-1914.

Origin	Pre-1836		1836-45		1846-55		1856-65		1866-75	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ulster	27	19.01	21	16.8	10	9.01	16	12.9	21	24.71
Munster	30	21.18	40	32	30	27.03	38	27.03	15	17.65
Leinster	38	26.76	31	24.8	41	36.94	39	31.45	28	32.94
Connacht	28	19.72	17	13.6	21	18.92	21	16.94	12	14.12
Britain	12	8.45	12	9.6	5	4.5	7	5.65	9	10.59
Other			2	1.6	3	2.7	3	2.42		
Unknown	7	4.93	2	1.6	1	0.9				

Total 142 125 111 124 85

Origin	1876-85		1886-95		1896-1905		1906-1914	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ulster	14	14.29	14	18.67	10	21.28	10	23.26
Munster	12	12.24	16	21.33	8	17.02	5	11.63
Leinster	34	34.69	23	30.67	9	19.15	13	30.23
Connacht	6	6.12	7	9.33	4	8.51	5	11.63
Britain	31	31.63	13	17.33	14	29.79	7	16.28
Other	1	1.02	2	2.67	2	4.26	2	4.65
Unknown							1	2.32

Total 98 75 47 43

Origin	Pre-1866			Post-1865		
	No	% of pre-1866 total	% of prov-ince's total	No.	% of post-1865 total	% of prov-ince's total
Ulster	74	14.74	51.75	69	19.83	48.25
Munster	138	27.49	71.13	56	16.09	28.87
Leinster	149	29.68	58.2	107	30.75	41.8
Connacht	87	17.33	71.9	34	9.77	28.1
Britain	36	7.17	32.73	74	21.26	67.27
Other	8	1.59	53.33	7	2.01	46.67
Unknown	10	1.99	90.91	1	0.29	9.09
Total	502			348		

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register, 1817-1921, volumes i-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-47).

APPENDIX XXIV

Service record of constabulary cadet and directly commissioned* officers, 1836-1914.

	Appointed pre-1836 %	1836-45 %	1846-55 %	1856-65 %	1866-75 %
Died	28.16	29.6	30.63	29.03	14.12
Pensioned	57.04	40.8	36.94	37.1	50.59
Gratuity	2.1	1.6	5.41	0.81	
Resigned	3.5	9.6	10.81	6.45	8.24
Dismissed	3.5	8.8	9.91	11.29	4.71
Promoted R.M.	4.2	4.8	3.6	8.87	17.65
Discharged ¹				1.61	
Other		0.8		1.61	1.18
Unknown	1.4	4	2.7	3.23	3.53
	1876-85 %	1886-95 %	1896-1905 %	1906-1914 %	
Died	18.37	9.33	19.15	16.28	
Pensioned	47.96	57.33	61.7	62.79	
Gratuity				2.33	
Resigned	17.35	12	10.64	16.28	
Dismissed	2.04	5.33			
Promoted R.M.	8.16	14.67	6.38		
Discharged ¹				2.33	
Other	1.02				
Unknown	5.1	1.33	2.13		

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register, 1817-1921, volumes i-iii. This table does not include the service records of directly commissioned officers such as constabulary paymasters (rank abolished in 1851), or the depot riding masters.

¹ Discharged without gratuity.

APPENDIX XXV

Religious affiliation of sub and district inspectors, 1850-1914.

Years appointed	Promoted head constables				Cadets					
	Prot.		Cath.		Prot.		Cath.		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1850-59	10	50	10	50	98	77.78	27	21.43	1	0.79
1860-69	10	43.98	13	56.52	92	80.7	22	19.3		
1870-79	12	55.55	10	45.45	45	90	5	10		
1880-89	19	46.34	22	53.66	100	89.29	12	10.71		
1890-99	16	40	24	60	51	77.27	15	22.73		
1900-1914	22	34.92	41	65.08	42	63.64	23	34.85	1	1.52
Totals	89	42.58	120	57.42	428	80.15	104	19.48	2	0.37

Promoted head constables and cadets

Years appointed	Protestants		Catholics		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1850-59	108	73.97	37	25.34	1	0.68
1860-69	102	74.45	35	25.55		
1870-79	57	79.17	15	20.83		
1880-89	119	77.78	34	22.22		
1890-99	67	63.21	39	36.79		
1900-1914	64	49.61	64	49.61	1	0.78
Totals	517	69.58	224	30.15	2	0.27

Source: (Royal) Irish Constabulary officers' register, 1817-1919, volumes i-iii (P.R.O.(Kew): HO 184/45-47).

APPENDIX XXVI



THE STATE OF IRELAND.

Even the innocent infant children of Evictem Grindem, Esq., of Grindem Hall; are obliged to take their daily airings under protection of a police escort, as above depicted; in consequence of a warning letter sent to their father by some of Rory's gang.

[Exultation of Sub-Constable Mooney and Mary, the Nurse, who concocted the letter between them, "for reasons of their own."]

APPENDIX XXVII



REX HIBERNIÆ: 1871 ;
OR, THE MONARCH AND THE SCEPTRE IN IRELAND.
DRAWN FROM LIFE BY KIND PERMISSION OF HIS MA'ESTY.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Brian Griffin has been read and approved by the following committee:

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Professor, History, Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Jo N. Hays
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Professor, English, Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with regard to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 18, 1990
Date

Lawrence J. McCaffrey
Director's signature