**HENRY (HARRY) NICHOLLS (1889-1975) ASSISTANT CITY ENGINEER AND REPUBLICAN REVOLUTIONARY.**

The surrender order that ended the Easter Rising on Saturday 29 April was communicated slowly and with difficulty to republican garrisons across Dublin City. One of the last to receive the order was the Irish Citizen Army garrison led by Michael Mallin in the College of Surgeons on St. Stephen’s Green..[[1]](#footnote-1)

 Their surrender was a disciplined affair. At 12.30 pm, Captain H.W. Wheeler took the surrender of Mallin and Markievicz and the garrison of 109 men and ten women. After surrendering arms they were marched to Richmond Barracks in Inchicore.[[2]](#footnote-2) The detectives of the G Division of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) were brought in to sift through the prisoners and identify the leaders for courts-martial.; As the 'G' men moved through the men at Richmond barracks they were surprised to identify Henry (though always known as Harry) Nicholls amongst those brought in from the College of Surgeons.[[3]](#footnote-3) Nicholls was an assistant engineer in Dublin Corporation, a graduate of TCD and a respectable professional man with a promising career ahead of him. Also, he was a Protestant, a member of the Church of Ireland. Appointed to the Dublin Corporation staff in a temporary capacity in 1913, he had, it seemed, sacrificed the prospect of a conventional and successful career in the Corporation by choosing to participate in the Easter Rising.[[4]](#footnote-4)

It was also surprising that Nicholls had been brought in with the Citizen Army men and women as he was an officer in the Irish Volunteers. Nicholls was a captain in A Company, 4th Battalion of the Dublin Brigade of the Volunteers, based at Larkfield in Kimmage under the command of Éamonn Ceannt, a clerk in the Dublin Corporation Treasury Department, and Cathal Brugha. Another member of the 4th Battalion was W.T. Cosgrave, a Sinn Féin councillor in the City Corporation. Though he had no direct knowledge of the planned Rising on Easter Sunday morning, Nicholls had been preparing to mobilise as ordered at four o’clock when Desmond Fitzgerald called to his home to tell him that Eoin MacNeill’s countermanding order, which had published in newspapers that morning, was genuine and was to be obeyed. On Easter Monday morning Nicholls went to Brugha’s house to discover what was happening, to be told that Brugha had already left to mobilise the 4th Battalion. Cycling back into the city in search of further information he saw an outpost being established at Davy’s pub on the Portobello Bridge by the Citizen Army. Continuing down along Earlsfort Terrace he met Liam O’Briain of the 2nd Battalion Irish Volunteers, who also had lost contact with his company and was on his way home to collect his rifle.

Seeing the Citizen Army under Mallin taking control of St Stephen’s Green, both men immediately decided that in a revolution it was best to fight where one could. Nicholls abandoned the search for own Battalion (which at that moment was actually seizing control of the South Dublin Union) and joined in with the Citizen Army. Initially positioned in the garden of the park-keepers house facing the junction of Cuffe Street and Harcourt Street, Nicholls then moved with the Citizen Army into the Royal College of Surgeons as the green was abandoned early the following morning. In the College they discovered a store of Lee-Enfield rifles with ammunition, so while not well provisioned, the garrison was well-armed. With Mallin and Countess Markievicz he patrolled Harcourt Street and Camden Street as far as the area under the control of the 2nd Battalion of the Dublin Volunteers under the command of Thomas MacDonagh in Jacob's biscuit factory on Bishop Street. On Wednesday morning Nicholls, in command of a combined force of about sixteen Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army, took control of the Turkish baths on Grafton Street. Apart from some exchanges of sniper fire with British soldiers on the roofs of Mercer’s hospital and the Shelbourne Hotel the position saw little action. Nicholls may well have had a chance for casual chats with a prisoner being held in the College, Laurence Kettle, who was an engineer in the Corporation's Pigeon House electrical power station. The nervous Citizen Army soldiers had arrested Kettle as a suspected spy.[[5]](#footnote-5)

On Saturday the Grafton Street post was evacuated and the men brought back to the College of Surgeons where, on Sunday morning, Mallin revealed the surrender order. He ordered Nicholls and the other officers to blend into the ranks pointing out that, though the leaders were certainly to be shot, there was no point in others sacrificing themselves unnecessarily.[[6]](#footnote-6) Nicholls was amongst those brought immediately to the North Wall for deportation, initially to Knutsford Prison on May 1st and then later to Frongoch Internment camp toward the end of June. He was elected leader of Hut 11 with Dick McKee as his deputy.[[7]](#footnote-7)

There was little in his family background to make a rebel of Harry Nicholls. Harry’s father, William (1837-1932), an inspector of national schools, was an Englishman from Shrewsbury and, as he described himself, an ardent imperialist.[[8]](#footnote-8) A widower, he married a second time to Margaret Kelly in Tuam Co Galway. She was the sister of Richard John Kelly, owner and editor of the *Tuam Herald*. The *Tuam Herald* (which remained Parnellite in the split of 1890-91) was aimed at the provincial Catholic middle class of Connacht.[[9]](#footnote-9) The Kellys were themselves a family of Catholic notables, so presumably Margaret converted to the Church of Ireland on marriage. Harry’s eldest brother, William, had a long and honourable career in the imperial service, serving in the Sudan Civil Service (considered second only to the Indian Civil Service) from 1907 until 1932.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Harry was born in Derry in 1889, making him twenty-seven years of age in 1916. As an unmarried younger son, in the mid-twenties, he was therefore typical of the first cohort of the Irish Volunteers.[[11]](#footnote-11) His childhood was spent in Templemore, Co Tipperary and in Dublin city.[[12]](#footnote-12) He matriculated from Mountjoy School in 1907 with a mathematics sizarship and junior exhibition and entered TCD as a student of civil engineering, graduating in June 1911 with a gold medal in mathematics.[[13]](#footnote-13) He was certainly unique in being the only graduate of Trinity College Dublin to be an active republican rebel in 1916.

Nicholls initial introduction to separatism was through his brother George who gave him a pamphlet on Home Rule. Harry related that on reading the pamphlet he was instantly convinced that home rule did not go far enough and that Ireland needed complete separation from Britain, an opinion reinforced by reading John Mitchel’s *Jail Journal*. George also introduced his brother to the Gaelic League. George, who hibernicised his name to Seoirse Mac Niocaill was eight years older than Harry.[[14]](#footnote-14) Both Seoirse and Harry were members of the gCúig Cúigí (Five Provinces) branch of the Gaelic League. Harry joined in 1910, when he was twenty years of age. This branch was popularly known as the Five Protestants branch, because of the number of Protestant members. It met at George Moore’s House in Ely Place with classes being held in Estelle Solomon’s studio, with Liam Shortall as teacher. He was also a member of the amateur dramatic group Na h-Aisteoirí (The Actors) and also Na Cluicheoirí (The Players), performing in the Padraig O Conaire’s play Banba Nua.

 Harry Nicholls membership of the Gaelic League ultimately brought him closer radical separatism. Nicholls, along with Sean Lester, Ernest Blythe and some other Protestant members of the league, formed *Cumann Gaelach Eaglaise na hÉireann* to demand that the Church of Ireland provide texts, hymns and services in the Irish language.[[15]](#footnote-15) Early in 1912 Nicholls responded to Patrick Pearse’s call, made in the pages of his short-lived newspaper *An Barr Buadh,* for Irish speakers to work to advance Irish freedom.[[16]](#footnote-16) In response to this article Pearse, Michael (The) O’Rahilly, Éamonn Ceannt, Seán McCraith and Harry Nicholls met in the Moira hotel to found an organisation that would spread the cause of Irish separatism amongst the irish speakers, Cumann na Saoirse.[[17]](#footnote-17) Cumann na Saoirse, though its business was conducted entirely through Irish, was mainly about getting guns. Nicholls founded the North Dublin Rifle Club. Rife Clubs had gained popularity across Britain as part of the growing cult of male militarism. His Protestantism, Rathmines address and professional status provided a cover of respectability for the importation of rifles and ammunition.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Harry Nicholls spent his holidays in the Dingle area to develop his Irish, and by his own account only bagan to attain fluency in the language after he spent a fortnight the entirely Irish-speaking milieu of the Blasket Islands in 1913. [[19]](#footnote-19) Nicholls, however, did not engage in the intense squabbling between the partisans of Munster Irish, led by Fr. Patrick Dineen, and those of Connacht Irish, led by Patrick Pearse.[[20]](#footnote-20) Whilst spending time in the Dunchaoin and Blasket area Nicholls came under the influence of Sean Óg Kavanagh (Seán an Cóta) who swore him into the IRB. He joined the Teeling Circle, which organised under the cover of the Bartholomew Teeling Literary and Debating Society with Bulmer Hobson (a Quaker) as its 'centre'; Hobson described it as the ‘largest and about the intellectually toughest circle in Dublin’.[[21]](#footnote-21)

Nicholls describes Hobson as the man who was the key influence on his own republicanism. In the Winter of 1912-13 a meeting of all the Dublin IRB was held in the National Forester’s Hall on Parnell Square, the only occasion on which the entire IRB membership was to meet. Speakers at the meeting were Denis McCullough, Ulster representative on the Supreme Council and later the President of the IRB, Diarmuid Lynch, Munster representative on the Supreme Council and Bulmer Hobson, Chairman of the Dublin Centres Board. The meeting discussed the probability of war between Germany and Great Britain and the opportunity such a war might present to the IRB. It was at this meeting that Nicholls first met with Patrick Pearse. He joined A Company of the 4th Battalion of the Irish Volunteers' Dublin Brigade when it was formed in 1913, and was appointed engineering instructor to the 4th Battalion.[[22]](#footnote-22) In the light of the events of 1916 it is interesting to note that his lectures concentrated on street fighting, erecting effective barricades and on the use of explosives. His Company was largely comprised of lower middle class clerks, shop assistants, teachers, civil servants and a number of municipal officers including Ceannt Cosgrave, George Irvine and Nicholls himself. A further radicalising influence on Nicholls was the 1913 Lockout, and the leadership of Larkin and Connolly. On the Friday the 29th August he went to the meeting outside Liberty Hall where Larkin burnt the government proclamation banning the public meeting planned for the morrow. Caught in a baton-charge by the DMP on Eden Quay and beaten to the ground by constables 33B and 188B he made a formal complaint and received a grudging but formal apology from Inspector mcKaig ‘who didn’t want the police to be at loggerheads with respectable people’. Nicholls promptly brought the letter of apology to the *Irish Worker* for publication.[[23]](#footnote-23)

In June 1914 Nicholls paraded with the Irish Volunteers to the Wolfe Tone commemoration march to Bodenstown at which Pearse’s graveside speech on the “holiest place in Ireland” signalled the revival of republican separatism.[[24]](#footnote-24) When war broke out in September 1914 Nicholls was again on holiday in the Dingle area. Along with Sean Kavanagh, Ernest Blythe and Desmond Fitzgerald he organised the local Volunteers to disrupt a recruitment meeting being held by at Annascaul by ‘The McGillicuddy of the Reeks’ the local landlord.

In 1915 Nicholls was appointed as an Irish Volunteer member of the O’Donovan Rossa Funeral Committee. The O’Donovan Rossa funeral was a mass demonstration of armed Irish militant separatism organised by the IRB but including the Irish Volunteers, Irish Citizen Army, Sinn Féin, the labour movement and the women’s movement. After the lying-in-state of the body in City Hall the militarised funeral procession was seen as a demonstration of a united front of advanced nationalism, bringing together the IRB, the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army.[[25]](#footnote-25) Nicholls was appointed to the crucial “Funeral and Cemetery” sub-committee in charge of organising the funeral procession and the graveside guard.[[26]](#footnote-26) The graveside oration by Patrick Pearse extolling the “Fenian Dead” signalled the resurgence of armed separatism and presaged the Rising.

The smuggling and storage of guns and ammunition was a key preoccupation of Nicholls between 1913 and 1916.[[27]](#footnote-27) Of the 1916 leaders, Nicholls knew Patrick Pearse (though initially he was sceptical of Pearse’s commitment to the republican ideal), Clarke, MacDiarmadaand Ceannt, his commanding officer in the 4th Battalion. Nicholls was closest toMacDiarmada, whoengaged Nicholls for both the Howth and the Kilcoole gun-running operations. At Howth Nicholls' role was to ground the telegraph line to Dublin to prevent Dublin Castle being alerted, and then to lead in the landing and in the dispersal of the guns.[[28]](#footnote-28) The cutting of the telegraph line ensured the column of the now armed Volunteers got past the narrow isthmus at Sutton before the DMP could respond. In fact if the column had not rested at Raheny it would probably have got into the city before the DMP and military established a cordon at Fairview.[[29]](#footnote-29) At the confrontation with the police and military at Fairview Nicholls organised a fleet of taxis to take the guns and also the dispersal of the Volunteers across the open countryside. The Kilcoole operation was, in contrast, a secret operation, taking place under cover of an outing to the Rocky Valley and Kilmacanogue. The guns were landed in the night and moved under darkness to safe houses.[[30]](#footnote-30)

By 1916 the numbers in A Company were down to 56. To co-ordinate action across the depleted company ranks a Battalion Council was formed of Ceannt, Cathal Brugha, Seamus Murphy, Seamus Kenny and Harry Nicholls.[[31]](#footnote-31) He, along with the other officers of the 4th battalion (including Cathal Brugha, William Cosgrave, Douglas Ffrench Mullen, Seamus Murphy, Tom McCarthy, Con Colbert and George Irvine) were brought together some weeks before the Rising and made to understand that significant manoeuvres were planned for Easter, though no direct reference to the planned Rising was offered. The O’Rahilly gave Nicholls a list of the arms dumps in the Dublin area, though without any suggestion that they might be called on soon. Just before the Rising the officers of the 4th Battalion were subjected to an examination to ‘ascertain the officer’s capacity for higher and independent command’. In the examination, which required dealing with a tactical problem of a simple practical nature on the ground, William Cosgrave scored ‘good to fairly good’, Con Colbert was good as was George Irvine but Harry Nicholls was scored as ‘very good, displays good grasp of tactical principles and sound appreciation of the ground’.[[32]](#footnote-32) The examination was conducted by J.J. “Ginger” O’Connell, one of the Volunteer commandants with military experience, having served two years in the US army (1912-14) in the 69th New York Regiment.[[33]](#footnote-33)On St Patrick’s Day 1916 the Irish Volinteers had held a large parade in Dublin city centre. Before the parade Nicholls, along with George Irvine, went to the early morning service in St Patrick’s Cathedral in Volunteer uniform.[[34]](#footnote-34)

The secrecy that the planning of the Rising was shrouded in confused many of those not in the inner circles, such as Nicholls. Though his parents could not have been unaware of his involvement in the Volunteers, the elaborate excuses he devised to cover his more militant activities indicate his certainty of their strong disapproval. When Nicholls was interned in Frongoch, his parents wrote to the authorities to assert that their son had been either fooled or press-ganged into the ‘insane enterprise’ by the republicans, which was of course far from the truth.[[35]](#footnote-35)

At Frongoch he was part of a group of Protestant rebels that included Arthur Shields, Ellet Elmes, Sam Ruttle of Tralee and Alf Cotton of Belfast. He used his Protestantism to vex the authorities by insisting on access to a Protestant Minister and a Bible. The artist Micheál Ó Ceallaigh drew a fine pencil sketch of Nicholls , who now sported a beard. His contribution to the Frongoch autograph book was the well-known line from Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*:

‘Hereditary Bondsmen! Know ye not,

Who would be free themselves must strike the blow’.

Nicholls was not amongst those early releases approved by the Sankey Commission that investigated the internee’s role in the Rising and assess their suitability for release. He was taken to Wormwood scrubs to be questioned by the Commission but his unapologetic account of his activities ensured his continued detention. He had to wait until Christmas 1916 to return to Dublin, even though the Chief Commissioner of the DMP objected to his release.[[36]](#footnote-36)

 It might be expected that Nicholl’s would have lost his job in the corporation as a result of either his participation in the Rising or his lengthy absence. In fact, on his release from Frongoch and return to Dublin he enjoyed an immediate improvement in his position, when it was proposed and seconded by Councillors P.V. Mahon and John Foley that Nicholls, formerly a temporary appointment to the engineering staff, be moved to a permanent position.[[37]](#footnote-37) Mahon, a councillor for Mountjoy Ward, was a member of the IRB and the printer of the *Irish Volunteer* newspaper. Foley was a councillor for the more middle-class Clontarf Ward. The motion to appoint Nicholls was passed 30 for and 9 against. Those against included the established Nationalist councillors Keogh, Flanagan, Reigh, Moran, Cummins and Monks and the Unionists Fox, Dinnage and Beattie.[[38]](#footnote-38) Amongst the Councillors who voted against Nicholls was Michael ‘Bird’ Flanagan of Usher’s Quay Ward, a prosperous market gardener and supporter of the Redmondite Parliamentary Party. (He was also the father of Louisa Flanagan, the future wife of W.T. Cosgrave).[[39]](#footnote-39) The re-employment and promotion of Harry may well signal the shift in public opinion that was already visible on the streets and was now filtering through to the Corporation.

Nicholls remained active in the Irish Volunteers and the Gaelic League, organising a meeting in memory of Thomas Ashe at Dingle in September 1917. In the years after 1916, however, he was perhaps more prominent as a trade unionist then a republican

Nicholls, like Eamonn Ceannt, was a member of the Dublin Municipal Officers Association (DMOA) founded in 1901 by a group of senior corporation officials.[[40]](#footnote-40) The DMOA was traditionally a conservative association, but in in early 1917 a group of activists, many of them IRB men and some of whom had participated in the Rising, took control of the DMOA, using it to launch the Irish Local Government Officers Trade Union (ILGOU) as a national trade union of local government officials that would support the new Dáil Éireann department of local government, founded in 1919 and headed by Nicholl's former Volunteer comrade W.T. Cosgrave, as the only legitimate authority of its kind in Ireland. At the head of this group was Harry Nicholls.

Nicholls addressed the first annual conference of the ILGOU in November 1920. Local government had been transformed by the June 1920 County Council and Rural District Council elections. Sinn Féin, as the primary vehicle for republican political ambitions in the years after 1916, now controlled 208 of the 33 county councils and 172 of the 206 rural councils.[[41]](#footnote-41) In this speech Nicholls drew together his labour and republican radicalism.

Some years ago the formation of a trade union by public officials would have been regarded as a seven-day’s wonder, but the world has grown considerably since then. The wonder now is that there should still be officials who are not members of our Union. The economic struggle has become so acute that the unorganised workers must go inevitably to the wall. People have come roughly under two heads, employers and employed, and those who do not stand with the section to the which they belong are in danger of being crushed between the two parties.

 He then went on in his conference speech to firmly align the ILGOU and the local government officials with Dáil Éireann.

Within the last twelve months there has been a revolution in the composition of the great majority of public boards in Ireland. Moat of them ave now acknowledged Dáil Éireann as its supreme authority and have repudiated the Local Government Board, and for us, as servants of the public through their elected representatives, the matter has a personal as well as a national significance….We officials are, in the first place, servants of the public and as such, have a duty to the public. The majority of the people of Ireland have declared at the recent Municipal and Poor Law elections that they wish the local government of their country to be carried out in a certain way. It is therefore, I conceive, our duty to assist them in their work in every possible way…

Given the nature of the Irish War of Independence by November 1920, with British paramilitaries behaving in an increasingly brutal fashion, this was a dangerous or even foolhardy speech to deliver..[[42]](#footnote-42)

Though the Dáil could issue decrees and the Sinn Féin councils could pass motions, only the salaried officials could actually make a national local government system function. Nicholls speech proposed that local government officials would act as administrators in support of a Sinn Fein revolution. Nicholls even persuaded the members to defer the pay increases recently won to prevent the collapse of Dublin Corporation. By the end of 1920 the corporation faced bankruptcy as the British state withheld its funds. On behalf of the ILGOU, Nicholls agreed that the officials would loan money to the corporation by allowing it withhold a quarter of wages until the following April, thus ensuring its survival. When a dispute arose on sick leave entitlements Nicholls referred the case to the Dáil Éireann courts despite the protests of the official who had initiated the dispute. The official in question was fearful of attracting the attention of British forces if word got out that he had appealed to the underground courts. When the Kells’ town clerk queried the legality of an increase won for him at a Dáil Éireann arbitration court by the Union, he got a frosty reply that the legality of a Dáil appointed body could not be questioned by the Union. Nicholls also refused to allow the union represent or act on behalf of any official that continued to support or obey the British Local Government Board. The assistant town clerk John Flood was dismissed by Dublin Corporation for refusing to record votes in Irish and Henry Campbell, the town clerk, was also dismissed for maintaining contact with the British authorities. Nicholls had little sympathy for either man, though both were members of the union.[[43]](#footnote-43)

Other assistance that Nicholls provided to the revolutionary Dáil was less public but no less vital. When the new union required a permanent general secretary Nicholls appointed Eamonn Price,a former civil servant dismissed for being active in 1916 and who had been interned in Frongoch along with Nicholls. His job as general secretary of the union was to travel the country setting up new branches. Price was an effective general secretary, bringing a new and refreshing lack of deference to meetings with the Corporation.[[44]](#footnote-44) However Price was, in a sense, double-jobbing for he was also Director of Organisation of the IRA. His post as general secretary of the union was most likely nothing more than a convenient cover under which he could travel the country on IRA business. In 1920 he left the ILGOU and became a fulltime civil servant of the Dáil until he was captured and imprisoned. Price had acquired sufficient trade union consciousness of the value of his labour however to demand an increase in his Dáil salary of £270 per annum to bring him up to the £350 per annum he would have enjoyed had he stayed with the local government officials trade union.[[45]](#footnote-45) Nicholls employment of Price and the movement of Price from the ILGOU to the revolutionary Dáil, along with Nicholls alignment of the ILGOU with the Dáil government, strengthens the probability that Nicholls was part of Michael Collins’ strategy of encouraging an IRB capture of the Irish trade union movement in support of the national movement.[[46]](#footnote-46)

Harry Nicholls did not apply for the pension offered to 1916 participants by the first 1924 Military Service Pensions Act, but did under the Fianna Fáil 1934 amended Act. This suggests that he did not regard the Treaty settlement and the Free State as legitimate inheritors of the republican struggle but did regard the de Valera government as legitimate. For Nicholls it was not the money. As a public servant he would not have actually received any award granted. Rather it was about status and a measure of recognition for his part in the independence struggle. However, the verbatim notes of his interview convey the scepticism, poor understanding and often boredom of the assessors that reviewed his request. The response to his application, which was ‘final, conclusive and binding’, infuriated him as he was refused recognition for the period of his imprisonment in Frongoch and was also refused recognition of his rank as Captain, being granted the lowest ranking “E” allowance.[[47]](#footnote-47)

Sometime around 1966, against the backdrop of the 50th anniversary of the Rising, Harry Nicholls wrote an account of what he and his fellow IRB men had hoped for in the Rising and what had been achieved. He writes that in the aftermath of 1916 the principles of republicanism came into open discussion within the IRB, ‘many of us felt that this was a very conservative country and that in the early years of independence this conservatism would hold sway’. Nicholls had hoped for a republic that was Irish-speaking, egalitarian and liberal in its outlook. He then listed the disappointed hopes he had alluded to; an education system that remained conservative and elitist, the continued decline in the Irish language, the degraded condition of women in the State that was an insult to republicanism, and the stupidity of censorship. Yet he expressed no regrets and remained optimistic on the development of independent Ireland.[[48]](#footnote-48) We may wonder if now, on the 100th anniversary of the Rising, Harry Nicholls, Dublin City engineer, protestant republican and rebel, would recognise in today’s Dublin City the egalitarian and liberal Ireland he fought for?

1. Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916 The Irish Rebellion* (2005) Penguin Allen Lane, pp 243-68; Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising Ireland: Easter 1916* (2010) Oxford University Press, pp247-54. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Seán Enright, *Easter Rising 1916 The Trials* (2014) Irish Academic Press, pp 190-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Nicholls activism in the revolutionary movement can be tracked through the various sources in National Archives Ireland [NAI], Bureau Military History [BMH] witness statement 296, Harry Nicholls, Military Service Pensions File MSP34REF15964 “Henry Nicholls”; NAI Chief Secretary’s Office Registered Papers (CSORP) 16628/1918 part II, 21699/Henry Nicholls; National Library Ireland (NLI) ms. 10,915/11 ‘personal narrative of events of the Easter Rising’; Military Archives, Cathal Brugha barracks Dublin, Holmes/Nicholls papers. Harry Nicholls was an occasional columnist in the newspaper and the Holmes/Nicholls papers in the Military Archives contains cuttings of many of these columns, a typescript memoir and other notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Dublin City Library and Archive, Dublin Corporation minutes, 1913, item 2682; Martin Maguire, ‘Harry Nicholls and Kathleen Emerson: Protestant Rebels’ in *Studia Hibernica* no. 35, 2008-2009, pp. 147-166. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Padraig Yeates, *A City in Distress Dublin 1914-18* (2011, Dublin) Gill & Macmillan, p.112. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Military archives, Holmes/Nicholls papers, typescript memoir. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. NAI, BMH witness statement 411 ‘Eamon Markham’; witness statement 388 ‘Joseph Good’. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. NAI, Chief Secretary Office Registered Papers [CSORP], 1916 internees files, 16628/1918,ii, Henry Nicholls. *Letter W. Nicholls to H.E.Duke, 11 Dec. 1916*. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Patrick Maume, ‘Richard Kelly’ in *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Sudan Political Service: a preliminary profile* (Oxford 1982); G.W. Bell & A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Sudan Political Service 1902-1952, a preliminary register of second careers* (Oxford 1989); additional information provided by Annabelle May, London, daughter of William Nicholls. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Peter Hart, ‘Youth culture and the Cork I.R.A.’ in D. Fitzpatrick (ed) Revolution? Ireland 1917-1923 (Dublin, 1990) pp. 15-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. NAI, 1911 Census returns, Dublin 60/52, Church Avenue Rathmines. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Military Archives, Cathal Brugha barracks Dublin, Holmes/Nicholls papers, *Irish Times* cutting 13 June 1911; typescript memoir. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. León Ó Broin, *Just Like Yesterday an autobiography* (1985) pp 66-9; Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis A Dó 1882-1982* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1990), ll, 64-5,MacNiocaill, Seoirse. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Ristéard Ó Glaisne, *Dúbhglas de hÍde Ceannróidaí Cultúrtha 1860-1910* (1991) Conradh na Gaeilge, p174; Séamas Ó Maitiú, ‘A spent force? An Claidheamh Soluis and the Gaelic League in Dublin 1893-1913’ in Francis Devine (ed) *A Capital in Conflict: Dublin City and the 1913 Lockout* (Dublin 2013) Dublin City Council, pp. 281-310, p. 289. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Joost Augusteijn, *Patrick Pearse The Making of a Revolutionary* (2010) Palgrave Macmillan, pp229-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. *Evening Press* 3 Jan 1964, article by Cathal O’Shannon. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Military archives, Holmes/Nicholls papers, typescript memoir. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ó Maitiú, ‘ASpent Force? An Claidheamh Soluis and the Gaelic League in Dublin’ p. 305. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Quoted in Marnie May, *Bulmer Hobson and the Nationalist Movement in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (2009, Manchester) Manchester University Press, p. 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. NAI, BMH WS 300 ‘Captain Henry S. Murray’; WS 1756 ‘Seamas Murphy’. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Military Archives, Holmes/Nicholls papers, typescript; ‘Henry Nicholls’ in Donal Nevin (ed) *1913 Jim Larkin and the Dublin Lockout* (1964, Workers’ Union of Ireland). [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Military Archives, Holmes/Nicholls papers, typescript. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Augusteijn, *Patrick Pearse*, pp. 268-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *O’Donovan Rossa Funeral Souvenir Programme Centenary Edition.* [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. NAI, BMH, WS.254 ‘Joseph Murray’. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. NAI, BMH, WS. 327 ‘Patrick Egan’; Harry Nicholls, ‘With the IRB at Howth and Kilcoole’ in F.X. Martin (ed) *The Howth and Kilcoole Gun-Running recollections and documents* (2014) pp. 168-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Hay, *Bulmer Hobson*, pp. 160-1 [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. NAI, BMH, WS 307 ‘Thomas McCarthy. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Military Archives, Holmes’/Nicholls papers ‘Further report on officer’s examination 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade’. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Marie Coleman, ‘O’Connell, Jeremiah Joseph (J.J., Ginger)’ *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Military archives, Holmes/Nicholls papers, typescript memoir. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. NAI, Chief Secretary Office Registered Papers [CSO], 1916 internees files, 16628/1918,ii, Henry Nicholls. *Letter W. Nicholls to H.E.Duke, 11 Dec. 1916*. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. NAI, CSORP 21699 Henry Nicholls file; ‘report of chief commissioner (File 22055)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Dublin City Archives, council minutes 1917, 290; Reports and printed documents of the Corporation of Dublin. Vol. 1 1917, no. 48, p. 373. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Ibid., Joseph V. O’Brien*, “Dear Dirty Dublin” a city in distress 1899-1916* (1982) appendix C, pp. 266-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Laffan, *Judging WT Cosgrave*, pp 62-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Martin Maguire, *‘Servants to the Public: A History of the Local Government and Public Services Union 1910-1990* (1998, Dublin) IPA. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland The Sinn Féin Party 1916-1923* (1999, Cambridge) pp.326-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Maguire, *Servants to the Public*, Appendix 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Ibid., pp. 43-50; Padraig Yeates, *A City in Turmoil Dublin 1919-21* (2012) pp. 155-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Ibid., pp. 221-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. NAI, DE2/159, ‘personnel file E. Price’. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Padraig Yeates, ‘Craft workers during the Irish revolution, 1919-22’ in *Saothar 33* Journal of the Irish Labour History Society 2008, pp. 37-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. BMH, Military Service Pensions File MSP34REF15964 “Henry Nicholls”. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
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