



FOOTBALL FANS

FOR FEMINIST FREEDOM

Manus O'Riordan

Cover image: Ciarán Murray

Introduction	Page 3
Bohs 'scab' allegations and Bloody Sunday	Page 5
The Dublin Derby and the 'Red Hand man'	Page 10
The feminists and the football fans	Page 12
Was it a crowd of "unsympathetic football supporters"?	Page 17
An "unusual incident": "MRS. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON IN THE CHAIR"	Page 20
Match report headline: "AMATEURS WIN BY 4-1"	Page 22



FOOTBALL FANS FOR FEMINIST FREEDOM!

MANUS O'RIORDAN writes on incidents in the politically charged year of 1913 that involved Bohemian FC and its supporters.

In his Bohemian Sporting Life blog of 2016, commemorating those Bohemian FC footballers who would swap the playing fields of Ireland for the killing fields of Europe, Gerry Farrell wrote of how Fred Morrow, the newly-signed 17-year-old who scored the Bohs goal in the drawn 1-1 match with Shels on August 30, 1913, would be dead by the age of 21, killed in action while serving with the British Army.

Bohs and Shels were the only Southern clubs involved in the Irish League of those years, as against six clubs from the North. A Dublin Derby was always keenly anticipated. But, as the blog also recorded, what happened on the Ringsend playing field during the 'friendly' match to mark the opening of Shelbourne Park, was overshadowed by the rioting on the streets outside that new stadium, only four days after Big Jim Larkin had brought ITGWU members employed by William Martin Murphy's Dublin United Tramway Company out on strike. Passions were running very high indeed.



BOHEMIANS AND SHELBOURNE MEET.

Photos by

On Saturday a large crowd turned up at Shelbourne's new ground to witness what proved to be an exciting contest between the old rivals, Bohemians and Shelbourne. The match resulted in a draw of one goal each, and was a fitting finish to a great struggle. Our photos show:—(1) The Shelbourne team (left to right)—Neave, Dunne, Leddy, Crowe, Carmichael, Watson, Scott, McLoughlin, Linkson, Osborne, McLean; (2) an anxious moment for the Bohemian defence; (3) a jump for possession; the Bohemian gets there first.

[Weekly even times.]



Bohs 'scab' allegations and Bloody Sunday

Lockout: Dublin 1913 is the title of the monumental 670-page book by Pádraig Yeates, published in 2000, which remains unequalled for the depth of social history brought to light. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that before 50 pages have been covered, the reader is presented with an apparently damning, but, in fact, inadequately researched and lopsided portrayal of Bohs. Yeates wrote that, at a meeting outside Liberty Hall on the eve of the match, Larkin had told the crowd that "the one place that they should not go next day was the soccer match in Shelbourne Park", because "the visiting team, Bohemians, included 'scabs'."

Next day, a crowd of some 6,000 spectators had come, writes Yeates, "to watch a match with Bohemians, the team Larkin had accused of using 'scabs'." Some 100 striking tramway men mounted a picket outside the Shelbourne Park entrance gates and "were jeered at by some of the football crowd", whom Yeates later referred to as a "passing crowd of football hooligans". The picketing Tramway men were joined by growing numbers of supportive locals. The arriving Bohs team was cursed, while stones were thrown at trams still bringing fans to the match. An hour later, a crowd of up to 600 laid siege to the nearby Tramway power station, and engaged in large-scale conflict with the police.

Yeates gave the impression that the Bohs team and its supporters were the sole targets of the protest. Not so! Donal Fallon would take the trouble to research what Larkin himself had actually written in the *Irish Worker* on August 27, 1913. In "The Riot in Ringsend", his "Come Here To Me!" blog post on April 7, 2013, Fallon related:

"This article aims to look at newspapers (including the organ of Larkin's movement) from the period and other sources and try to piece together just what happened in Ringsend. It seems to me, that in reality, it was not alone Bohemians but also Shelbourne who Larkin took issue with, and that the story of Bohs alone being singled out by Larkin just doesn't hold up.... Writing in his classic book *Dublin Made Me*, C.S Andrews noted that at the time of his youth 'there were only two senior soccer clubs in Dublin - Bohemians and Shelbourne - and the people on the southside followed Shelbourne.' He went on to write that 'the supporters and players of the game were exclusively of the lower middle and working classes'. The first reference to trouble at a clash between the two sides during the Lockout that I stumbled across was in the pages of Padraig Yeates' classic account... "

"Why was there a picket of striking tramway men in Ringsend that day in the first place? The answer to that is found in the pages of the *Irish Worker*, where Larkin's paper had denounced two players publicly as 'scabs'. He had also allegedly attacked this match in a speech he had delivered the night previously to it, and called on workers not to attend the clash between the sides unless to picket it. Of the two players named in the paper, only one of these players was from Bohs, Jack Millar.

The other player, Jack Lowry, lined up for Shelbourne... One of the most interesting primary sources from the time of the 1913 Lockout is *Disturbed Dublin* by Arnold Wright, which was written in 1914 and in many ways provided an account of the dispute which was very sympathetic to the employers and police... Wright's claim that there were scabs in 'one of the teams' is at odds with the claims made in Larkin's own newspaper."

In other words, the picket was mounted against the match itself, and against both teams, as well as against both sets of supporters. Interestingly enough, while *Irish Times* soccer reports meticulously listed the line outs for each match, there is no record of a Jack Millar ever lining out in 1913 for any Bohs side, and that includes the B, C, D and E teams. Nor, for that matter, does a Jack Lowry appear in any Shels lineout. They might, of course, have played under other names. Be that as it may, whatever the facts of Larkin's Lowry/Millar allegations, the riot in Ringsend soon lost significance, since it was about to be eclipsed by what would unfold in Dublin city centre the very next day.

TEAMS

Shelbourne—Scott, Dunne, Linkson, Watson, M'Laughlin, Leddy, Crowe, M'Lean, "White, Carmichael and Neave.

Bohemian F.C.—"A" team v. Shelbourne. At Shelbourne Park. Kick-off at 3.30 o'clock—"J. Cooke; W. J. M'Connell, J. Irons, J. Rowe, A. J. Smith, B. Brennan; T. W. G. Johnson, F. R. Morrow, J. M'Donnell, J. F. West, and H. A. Willits.

Kilworth A.F.C.—There will be a general practice of above on the Fifteen Acres to-day at 3.30 p.m. Members to meet at No. 11 Ground.

Strandville A.F.C.—All members and intending members are requested to turn out to Vernon avenue for trial match to-day. Kick off at 3.30.

August 31, 1913, was to become known as Dublin's first Bloody Sunday, when peaceful citizens were brutally baton charged by the Dublin Metropolitan Police, reinforced by the Royal Irish Constabulary, as they ran amok. John Byrne, a 50-year old labourer and ITGWU member from the North Inner City's Lower Gloucester Street, was fatally bludgeoned by police batons on Sackville (O'Connell) Street.

James Nolan, a 33-year-old labourer and ITGWU member from the North Strand, was bludgeoned to death on Eden Quay. More than 10,000 accompanied his funeral to Glasnevin on September 3. William Martin Murphy's *Irish Independent*, however, chose to describe Nolan as "The Strike Victim", whereas he was, in fact, the victim of Murphy's own Lockout, murdered by the police acting in support of Murphy.

In an article published by the 1913 Committee website on December 27, 2014, Jason Walsh-McLean related how his meticulous research, drawing on many accounts, had unearthed the full story of yet another fatality from that DMP/RIC baton charge, the Fianna Éireann Boy Scout, Patsy O'Connor. Liam Mellows gave the following account in *The Gaelic American* on July 7, 1917:

"Poor Patsy O'Connor died very suddenly toward the end of 1915. During the great Dublin strike in 1913, Patsy (aged 16) received a severe blow to the head from a police baton while trying to administer first aid to an old man who had been badly hurt during one of the baton charges. After superficial treatment at a hospital Patsy thought he was all right as the wound healed up rapidly. But two years later he arrived home one evening complaining of a pain in his head and after drinking a cup of tea suddenly collapsed and died almost immediately. A clot of blood had congealed on the brain and, two years after the blow, had burst. He was a most promising boy and had been in the Fianna since he was twelve years old. His comrades gave him the first Fianna military funeral and marched with sorrowing hearts behind his coffin draped with the Irish Republican colors to Glasnevin."

To borrow the imagery of William Butler Yeats's poem, Easter 1916, a terrible beauty had been born on that Bloody Sunday. Murderous police brutality would make Larkinites out of most Dublin working-class soccer supporters, no matter which team they followed. It is worth investigating that phenomenon further, with reference to the next two matches between Bohs and Shels.

The Daily Mirror

THE MORNING JOURNAL WITH THE SECOND LARGEST NET SALE.

No. 3,076.

Published by the Daily Mirror Printing Co., Ltd., 10, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1913

One Halfpenny.

MR. JAMES LARKIN, DISGUISED IN FALSE BEARD AND FROCK COAT, ARRESTED BY POLICE IN CONNECTION WITH DUBLIN STRIKE RIOTS.



Prohibited by the authorities from holding a meeting on Sunday of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, of which he is secretary, Mr. James Larkin, sought to address the dockers in the streets of Dublin, despite the fact that the police held a warrant for his arrest. By adopting the disguise in which he is seen above he was able to carry out his plans. On Sunday morning he apparently did not notice the police until

a room at the Imperial Hotel in Docklands. Shortly afterwards this venerable gentleman stepped on to the balcony and, announcing, "I am Larkin," began to address the crowd in the street below. Police immediately assumed the balcony and arrested him. The picture shows him leaving the hotel in disguise. (The smaller picture is of Mr. Larkin without disguise.—Daily Mirror photographs.)

LARGEST CIRCULATION GUARANTEED
SUPPLEMENT TO THE IRISH

PRICE $\frac{1}{2}$

INDEPENDENT

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1913.

**FIERCE RIOTS
DRAMATIC ARREST
OF JAMES LARKIN
HUNDREDS INJURED IN
BATON CHARGES
MAN DIES IN HOSPITAL
MANY ARRESTS--MILITARY CALLED OUT
PRESBYTERY WINDOWS SMASHED**



The Dublin Derby and the 'Red Hand man'

On September 27, just four weeks after the August 30 'friendly' in Ringsend, and the accompanied picketing and rioting, Shelbourne Park was once again the venue for the first Irish League competitive clash of that season between Bohs and Shels. In reporting that game under the heading of "The Dublin Derby", the soccer correspondent of the *Irish Times* played a double game himself. He began by deploring the fact that both Bohs and Shels supporters were now openly supporting Larkin's 'Red Hand' Union:

"It seems to be the correct thing to describe matches between Bohemians and Shelbourne as 'the Dublin Derby'. Why it is done we know not; but the fact remains that it is. Well, we had another of these 'Dublin Derbies' on Saturday (as a rule there are half a dozen of them each season). It was decided at Shelbourne Park, Ringsend. Soccer football depends to a great extent on the support of the working classes. That large army of toilers, at present on strike or locked out as the case may be, forms a large proportion of the paying crowd at Dalymount Park and Shelbourne Park. It was hard to realise on Saturday that there was a great shortage of cash among the workingmen. The popular parts of the ground were packed and the 'Red Hand' man seemed to be all over the place, either collecting for the unemployed or watching the match."

It was only in the next sentence, without even a paragraph break, that he finally began to report on the match itself:

"A more exciting game could not be wished for. It was full of thrills, the pace was a cracker, and at the end honours were evenly divided on a scoreless draw. Had there been a couple of forwards on either side capable of keeping their wits about them they would have reaped a harvest of goals, but they were not there. Every forward on the ground was certainly trying his best to lead up to scores or score himself, but in their excitement they invariably muddled matters, as, for instance, when Morrow, the Bohemian centre, shot yards off the post from the penalty mark, and when Johnston, Bohemians' left wing, also in the second half, failed with the easiest chance of the match from from a yard or so out. Not a goal was scored by either side..."

The next Bohs/Shels encounter took place in Dalymount Park on November 29. Under the heading of "Shelbourne win scrambling game" the *Irish Times* reported on December 1:

"Expectant of witnessing a great struggle between Bohemians and Shelbourne, a large crowd was present at Dalymount Park on Saturday. The game, however, must have proved a keen disappointment to the followers of both teams, for it is not often that the opposition of these two local rivals results in so uninteresting and scrambling a game as that which was the outcome of their efforts on this occasion. Bohemians who were defeated by a solitary goal scored in the first half, were unable to field anything like a representative side, being without Magwood, Irons, Johnston, and Willets, and the absence of these players undoubtedly lessened their chance of victory... Though defeated, Bohemians made a plucky effort to secure victory, and considering the way in which they forced their opponents to defend in the opening half, and the inability of Tuohy, their right half back, to resume in the concluding moiety, it may be safely inferred that Shelbourne were lucky not to have escaped at least a division of the points. The game was quite featureless; indeed, at intervals, it was depressingly dull..."

As that Dublin Derby ended, Shels fans would have headed southwards and eastwards. Those Bohs fans heading northwards along Phibsboro Road would have encountered a large force of police who, however, were not gathered there to confront the fans themselves - at this stage at least - but to prevent another gathering from exercising its right to peaceful assembly and free speech. At the centre of this was Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, the women's suffrage campaigner, then in Mountjoy Female Prison.



The feminists and the football fans

In 1908 Hanna Sheehy Skeffington had been the founding secretary of the Irish Women's Franchise League, while in 1912 her husband, Francis, became founding co-editor of the IWFL's newspaper, *Irish Citizen*. Socialists, freethinkers, feminists and suffragists alike, each adopted the other's surname on marriage. On November 28, 1913, Hanna began a second period of imprisonment for her activities, and also embarked on her second hunger strike. On that day, the British Tory Party Leader Andrew Bonar Law, accompanied by the Irish Unionist Party Leader, UVF founder and MP for Trinity College Dublin, Sir Edward Carson, had been visiting Dublin to address a Loyalist rally at the Theatre Royal, preceded by a lunch at the St Stephen's Green residence of Guinness Brewery's Lord Iveagh. On that afternoon of November 28, IWFL activist Margaret Connery made an unsuccessful attempt to give women's suffrage leaflets to both leaders as they emerged from Iveagh House. Hanna related what happened as a result of her own attempt at leafleting:

"With the customary sheaf of leaflets and the *Irish Citizen* placard with its appropriate legend 'Questions for Bonar Law' ... we were the uninvited, undesired Banquo - the Irishwomen whom Mr Bonar Law had refused to receive in deputation... The leader of the Opposition found time for addresses yards long from loyalists, men and women of North and South - we saw them pouring down the steps, their faces radiant from the presence - but for the three Irish suffrage societies he could not

spare a moment. Hence our presence as a reminder that the Irish Women's Franchise League is not accustomed to take 'no' for an answer..."

Hanna recalled her arrest - "The Sergeant's autograph, one purple thumb-mark and four red-angry finger-nails, did not fade from my left arm till Christmas" - and her resulting imprisonment as follows:

"I got a week for giving out leaflets outside Lord Iveagh's house to Sir Edward Carson. One Sergeant Thomas grabbed my arm as I flung them towards the carefully posing statesman on the steps, and when I tried to wrench myself free, the clutch tightened and the Sergeant, angry, marched me off, entering a charge against me of assault. I was considerably bruised and battered, and tried, (in vain, of course) to enter a counter-charge. I was to learn that a Sergeant's word is one that is implicitly believed against any prisoner. 'She bit me, your worship, and tried to throw me', swore the gallant DMP officer, whose belt came to my forehead. A titter went round the Court, but was instantly suppressed... Then came the sentence ... 'In view of the fact that it was against a Sergeant, I must pass a sentence of one week. Remove the prisoner.' Back to the 'Joy' in dark November, alone this time. Another hunger-strike, and this time I was held for five days. Then the Aberdeens intervened and I was released. (Lord Aberdeen was Britain's Viceroy of Ireland.) I promised myself that never again would I go to prison without doing something to justify detention, if I had to throw a stone at the judge's head."



In her biography of Francis Sheehy Skeffington the late Leah Levenson related what happened on Phibsboro Road on Saturday, November 29, 1913, and how Bohs football fans came to support his right to free speech:

"Immediately upon Hanna's removal to Mountjoy, the Irish Women's Franchise League organised a public meeting to be held at 4 pm the next day in Royse Road, separated only by the canal from the Female Prison. Since Royse Road was a cul-de-sac, no obstruction could result from the gathering. The police, however, chose to prohibit the meeting, and so notified Skeffington and other supporters that morning. By 3.30 pm, a large cordon of police had taken their stations, and members of the IWFL were walking about distributing leaflets. At first the crowd was small, but it was soon augmented by people coming from the football match in Dalymount Park. By the time Skeffington arrived at 4.00, the crowd was about two hundred strong. They attempted to break through the police cordon but were pushed back. Skeffington, according to an account in the *Freeman's Journal* (December 1, 1913), was 'flung into Phibsboro Road'. He protested loudly, saying he was entitled to enter the road, but the police ignored him. Trying again to break through, he was roughly handled, and one policeman grabbed him by the throat. The crowd was by then very large and, seeing his struggles, protested vehemently. Skeffington meanwhile was telling the police that, if he was doing anything illegal, he should be arrested, not manhandled. He shouted, 'This is a fair example of the attempt of the police to overrule everything in Dublin'. The crowd cheered lustily."

Well might they cheer. Bohs supporters were no different from other members of the Dublin working class, among whom the unrestrained police brutality of the Lockout had provoked an intense loathing. But the Bohs fans' cheers for Sheehy Skeffington would express more than that:

"Finally giving up his attempt to enter Royse Road, Skeffington addressed the assemblage from a garden railing in Phibsboro Road, saying that they were gathered to protest his wife's conviction on what he termed the perjured testimony of the police. He then said that, having made their protest, they should disperse and not give the police an excuse for bludgeoning them. In conclusion, he requested three cheers for votes for women. The crowd cheered and then carried him away on their shoulders."

On Sunday, November 30, there was a further meeting in Royse Road:

"Possibly because it was unannounced, it proceeded without police interruption almost until its conclusion. When the police finally did arrive, violence broke out once more, several women were assaulted, and Kathleen Emerson was arrested for assaulting the police. At this second meeting, communication was established with Hanna by megaphone, and she could be seen standing in the window of her cell, waving a white handkerchief."

On December 6, 1913, the *Weekly Irish Times* wrote of the Sunday meeting that "a number of suffragists assembled at Royse Road, Phibsborough", that they were "about forty in

number", that "a large crowd" of spectators "quickly gathered in the locality and watched the proceedings with evident interest", and that when altercations eventually took place between police and the suffragists, "there was a good deal of excitement during the ten minutes that the scene lasted". But the *Irish Times* could not downplay the size of the confrontation of the previous day, augmented by "some hundreds" of Bohs fans. Holding its nose, it reported:

"An attempt was made on Saturday afternoon to hold a meeting at Royse Road, near Mountjoy Prison, as a protest against the imprisonment of Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington... The meeting was proclaimed and a large force of police was drawn across the road. Mr. Sheehy Skeffington attempted to break the police cordon. A crowd gathered and urged him on, but a burly constable lifted him outside the fringe of the crowd... Mr. Skeffington made several attempts to address the crowd, and called for cheers for the cause of woman suffrage. The call was received with mixed feelings, portion of the crowd cheering and another section hissing. The crowd, which was increased by some hundreds of people coming from a football match at Dalymount Park, surrounded Mr. Skeffington, whose remarks were greeted with occasional cheers. Nearby Mrs. Palmer mounted a biscuit box, and attempted to protest against 'the travesty of justice' as meted out in the Police Court. The police kept the crowd moving, and eventually the gathering dispersed. Mr. Skeffington was chaired by some of his supporters, amidst cries of 'Cheers for Larkin', to which there was a general response."

GREAT
Protest Meeting

AGAINST

CAT AND MOUSE ACT

OUTSIDE

Mountjoy Prison, Royse Road,

TO-DAY, (Saturday), 3.30

AND

SUNDAY, 3.30 p.m.

**Down with Prison Torture and
Government Coercion**

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE,
WESTMORELAND CHAMBERS, WESTMORELAND ST.



Was it a crowd of "unsympathetic football supporters"?

Sam Levenson (RIP 1977) was the US author of *James Connolly: A Biography* (1973). I myself had met up and corresponded with both Sam and Leah Levenson (RIP 2000). In the Preface to her 1983 biography of Francis Sheehy Skeffington, Leah acknowledged her debt to Sam: "In mid-1977, soon after our return from four months of research in Dublin, my husband died. He had collected what he considered to be as much material as he needed for a life of Skeffington. Upon my husband's death, I accepted the challenge of writing his book."

Compared with Sam's unsatisfactory biography of Connolly, this Skeffington biography was indeed an excellent one, and it was Leah's account that had first introduced me to the story of the Royse Road confrontation. *Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Feminist*, the 1986 biography which Leah co-authored with Jerry Natterstad, was not, however, of the same standard, and it made no reference whatsoever to the presence and role of those football fans at Royse Road.

Margaret Ward produced a comprehensive biography of Hanna in 2019, *Fearless Woman: Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, Feminism and the Irish Revolution*, preceded in 2017 by her monumental and magisterial volume, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, Suffragette and Sinn Féiner: Her Memoirs and Political Writings*. Ward's biography of Hanna is excellent, but her narrative of the Royse Road confrontation did contain a number of misconceptions of her own:

"The day after her removal to Mountjoy, the IWFL began their protests outside the prison, Frank in the thick of it all. The police were still heavy-handed, banning the proposed meeting, cordoning off Royse Road (an inoffensive cul-de-sac between the canal and the prison where the suffragists were attempting to gather), removing Frank to the edge of the crowd and generally forcing everyone to keep moving until dispersed. Many continued at intervals to mount their biscuit box in order to make short calls for women's suffrage - to a crowd that by then consisted of unsympathetic football supporters coming home from the nearby park."

The houses on Royse Road had been built in 1901, its residents being white collar or middle class, and including such a respectable resident as Robert Ritchie Graham, the Assistant Superintendent of the General Post Office. But also residing in an end-of-terrace house in that cul-de-sac, and the one nearest that branch of the Royal Canal separating Royse Road from the Female Prison, was a man who would be viewed as far from inoffensive by Larkinite workers. His name was John Earnest McFetridge, and he was a Dublin Metropolitan Police Sergeant. This would be an added reason for the large DMP presence determined to prevent Francis entering Royse Road, as the intended suffragist protest would have gathered right in front of McFetridge's home.

In her earlier - and superior - biography of Francis, Levenson had based her narrative of the confrontation on the more straightforward reporting of the *Freeman's Journal*. Ward, however, gave as her source the more hostile *Irish Times* report, which she further seriously misconstrued, with a narrative based on preconceptions of how she might have expected a crowd of football fans to behave, rather than on those press reports as to how those fans actually did behave.

Bohs' working class fans were coming home from Dalymount through - but not to - that stretch of Phibsboro Road. They did not reside there. As would happen again on the following day, groups of people actually resident in the vicinity gathered to observe the suffragist demonstration. The *Irish Times* reported that an early call to cheer for woman suffrage had been met with some dissent, and then reported the arrival on the scene of those hundreds of football fans. Had there been any "unsympathetic football supporters" present among the dissenters, they would have loudly booed. The *Irish Times* had, however, reported some hissing, a rather more genteel form of expressing dissent.

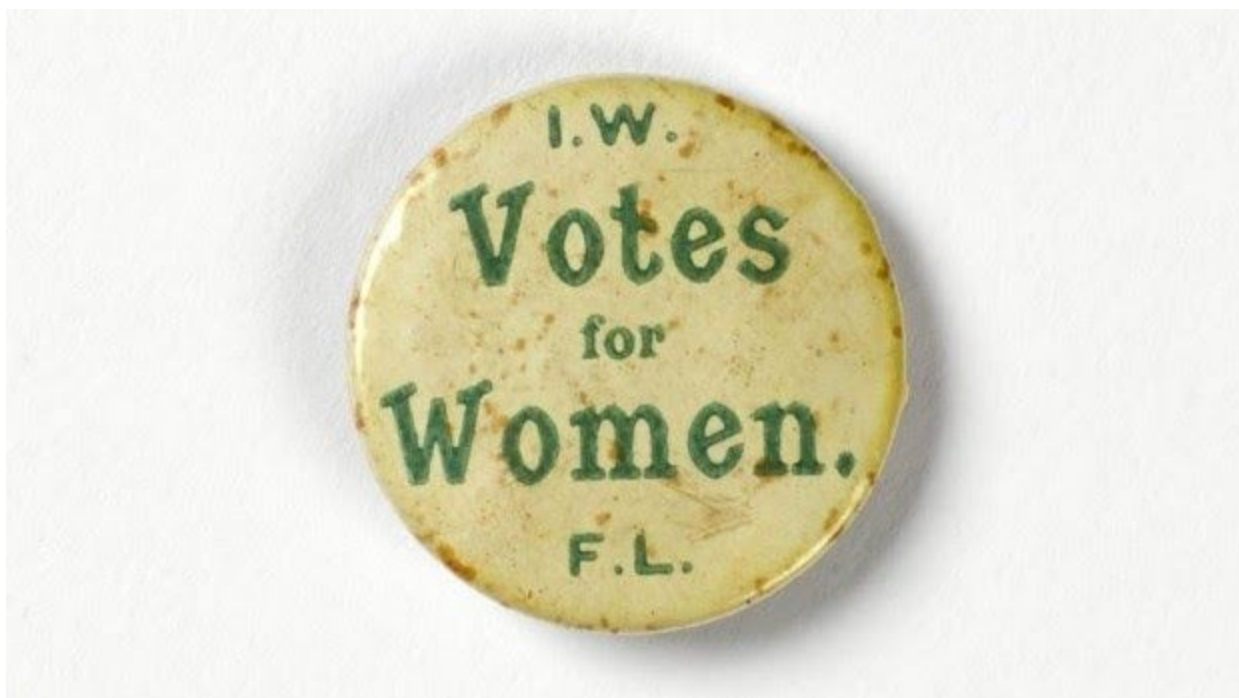
Residing in homes little more than a decade old, the respectable householders of Royse Road, and of Enniskerry Road, the very next cul-de-sac off Phibsboro Road which also had a view across to the Female Prison, were predominantly Catholic, but with a significant Protestant presence as well. Whatever the political allegiances of those householders, the political parties concerned had firmly set their faces against female suffrage.

Hanna's father, the Home Ruler David Sheehy, was an MP for the Irish Parliamentary Party, of which John Redmond was the Leader and John Dillon its Deputy Leader. Hanna knew both of them on a personal level, particularly Dillon, as the Sheehys and Dillons were near neighbours, residing in Georgian houses that were located in Belvedere Place and North Great George's Street, respectively, in a more salubrious area of the North Inner City. In her 1941 reminiscences, Hanna was scathing in her comments regarding both, having crossed swords with them on IWFL deputations which she had led.

"We had a rough road to go and our chief opponents were the powerful Irish Party and its machine, backed by such organisations as the sectarian Ancient Order of Hibernians of Joe Devlin... Once when a deputation waited upon John Dillon, he said, sadly, 'Women's Suffrage will be the ruin of our Western civilization. It will destroy the home, challenging the headship of man, laid down by God. It may come in your time - I hope not in mine!' It was to come before he died. John Redmond, to another deputation, when a member used the term 'feminism', interrupted sneeringly: 'I do not know what the word means.' He, like Pilate, did not wait for an answer... Sir Edward Carson and his Party were equally opposed; the Orange Order is exclusively male, humbly served by women in a strictly ancillary capacity."

In 1913, all sixteen male heads of household in Royse Road, including DMP Sergeant McFetridge, possessed the right to vote in Parliamentary elections. Who knows how many of them remained resolutely opposed to any sharing of that privilege, even with their own wives, not to mind with other women. Bohs male working class fans, however, did not themselves enjoy any such a privilege, and accordingly had no selfish incentive to oppose the IWFL campaign for female suffrage. Universal male suffrage itself did not yet exist, and in the UK as a whole, property qualifications denied the franchise to a third of all adult males - the poorer third. This meant that the overwhelming majority of the adult male working class was still denied the right to vote.

The Bohs fans on that Saturday were, of course, no more engaged in a movement campaigning for female suffrage than they were involved in one for universal male suffrage itself. What unfolded on that day, however, was a significant moment of solidarity, primarily provoked by working class hostility to ongoing DMP brutality. Bohs working class fans, themselves disfranchised, took a stand for freedom of speech for the Women's Franchise militant feminist Francis Sheehy Skeffington, and they also took a stand for the freedom of feminist leader Hanna from her unjust incarceration in the 'Joy', based on the perjured testimony of a DMP Sergeant who had in fact assaulted her.



An "unusual incident": "MRS. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON IN THE CHAIR"

Francis Sheehy Skeffington's feminist campaigning was to be life long. When the pacifist Francis was so brutally murdered in Portobello Barracks during Easter Week, 1916, he was wearing his IWFL badge proclaiming "Votes for Women", whose return the widowed Hanna would subsequently secure. The feminist and socialist Republican Hanna Sheehy Skeffington would see a part realisation of her political objectives with the passing of the Representation of the People Act of 1918, where the extension of the franchise to women over 30 was accompanied by its extension to all adult males over 21, without those males anymore having to meet the previous property qualifications.

This addition of 800,000 female voters and 500,000 previously disenfranchised male working class voters revolutionised the size of the Irish electorate, which almost trebled - from 700,000 to two million - the number of adults now eligible to vote. This, then, was the electorate that participated in the December 1918 General Election, which saw to the victory of Sinn Féin and to Constance Markievicz becoming the first woman elected to Parliament, and which, in turn, led to the establishment of Dáil Éireann on January 21, 1919, and the appointment of Markievicz as Minister for Labour.

Local Elections took place twelve months later. On January 19, 1920, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington would be among the Sinn Féin candidates declared elected to Dublin Corporation. The *Irish Times* was none too pleased that the Municipal Election results had sustained the momentum of the General Election. On February 7, the *Weekly Irish Times* as much complained as it reported, with sub-headings such as: "LORD MAYORALTY OF DUBLIN; SINN FEIN PRISONER ELECTED; REBEL FLAG ON CITY HALL." And there was a

further tone of disapproval, if not derision, concerning an "unusual incident" as it further reported: "MRS. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON IN THE CHAIR. During the temporary absence of the Lord Mayor, the mayoral chair was occupied by Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, the unusual incident evoking general applause."

Phibsboro protests "a battering ram that forced open the jail gates!"

In the concluding paragraph of her "Mountjoy re-visited" article in the *Irish Citizen* on January 3, 1914, Hanna had expressed considerable bitterness at the sheer injustice of her second spell in the 'Joy':

Throughout the time of my imprisonment one thought disturbed me more than any physical discomfort - the knowledge that I was suffering unjustly on the false testimony of a police officer, who, having lost his temper and ill-used me, sought to save himself from censure by inventing a counter-charge. The helplessness of the victims of the law, the folly of expecting justice from police magistrates, the power of the bully in uniform to swear away the liberty (and how often the reputation and the livelihood) of his victim - are the thoughts that create anarchists. For myself, I hope that I shall never again have to suffer imprisonment for an offence of which I am innocent. Such a sentence makes every turn of the jailer's key an outrage, and burns into the victim's soul a searing hatred of the whole infamy of our prison system, whose victims cry to heaven for vengeance."

But Hanna also paid tribute to those Royse Road protests that had lifted her spirits, bringing her some joy in the 'Joy':

"A great privilege I enjoyed was being able to attend personally, if from afar, the meetings held outside the prison wall to protest against my imprisonment - an unforgettable experience, a joy that helped to clear away the mists of pain and brought messages of cheer and hope, penetrating through the megaphone across the prison bars like a ray of sunshine in that wintry place of shadows."

Indeed, on December 13, 1913, the *Irish Citizen* had already issued the following message from Hanna during a period of recuperation from her five days' Hunger Strike:

"I desire to thank most heartily all my friends in the Franchise League who worked so strenuously during my imprisonment, and who organised the fine series of protest meetings outside Mountjoy Prison on my behalf. Their splendid enthusiasm and matchless energy were the battering ram that forced open the jail gates! It is gratifying to realise that Sergeant Thomas, by his assault on me, and the police who illegally attempted to break up the protest meetings, have unwittingly rendered us a great service, and given a fine impetus to our movement by rousing public indignation against police methods and the ways of police magistrates."

And those Bohs fans, coming from Dalymount Park through Phibsboro Road, had indeed played their part in constructing that battering ram which would ensure that the prison gates of the 'Joy' were forced open for Hanna.

Match report headline: "AMATEURS WIN BY 4-1"

On the afternoon of November 29, 1913, when Francis Sheehy Skeffington had denounced police behaviour on Phibsboro Road, hundreds of Bohs fans "cheered lustily", and then went on to give "three cheers for votes for women" as well as "Cheers for Larkin". A United Front on that day, as it were, comprising suffragists, Bohs fans, and other Larkinites: For the many, not the few!

Five weeks later, on January 3, 1914, those fans would have plenty to cheer for inside Dalymount Park itself, when the next Dublin Derby saw Bohs facing Shels in a Cup tie. The match report in the *Irish Times* on January 5 began:

"During the first half of the match at Dalymount Park on Saturday, Bohemians gave an exhilarating exhibition of football. Their forwards, well led by McDonnell, quite made three good half-backs look like mere novices at the game, and behind a winning front line the middle men and backs were also seen to distinct advantage. The football played by the amateurs in the opening period was a great improvement on any display given by the team this season; and the four goals which Willets, West, McDonnell, and Johnston scored before Crowe succeeded in beating Hehir just on the interval were no more than the home team deserved."

"Only at rare intervals did the Shelbourne forwards get the better of the home half-backs and then Rowe, Magwood, and Hehir were in such fine form that nothing tangible resulted from these periodical invasions until Crowe scored his rather soft goal. Leading as they were by four goals to one at the interval, and with their opponents played to a standstill, it seemed as if the Bohemians were about to put up a record score against their old rivals. But when ends were changed the game underwent a remarkable transformation. It veered almost entirely in favour of the visitors, whose backs more or less subdued the Bohemian forwards, but if Rowe and the other home defenders had played a rousing game in the opening moiety, they excelled themselves in the closing period, while Hehir thrilled the spectators with a splendid exhibition of goalkeeping."

"From the standpoint of the impartial onlooker, the second half was the more exciting. There was not that onesidedness about it that characterised the play up to the interval, for whereas the home forwards had had matters very much their own way up to that point, the struggle between the visitors' front line and the Bohemian defence in the last forty-five minutes were as exciting and as even as one could wish. Frequently the attack of the Shelbourne men seemed well-nigh irresistible, but

when they appeared on the point of scoring, Smith, M'Namara, or Rowe would intervene, and when a Shelbourne forward did get in a shot, Hehir blocked the way. Shelbourne in this half were worthy of at least a couple of goals on the play, and that they were unable to obtain them was a fitting tribute to the fine work of the Bohemian defenders, every one of whom played a grand game... Hehir, Rowe, and M'Namara were the heroes of the afternoon by reason of their remarkably fine play in the second half... The forwards, as was only to be expected after their dashing play in the first half, tired appreciably in the second moiety, but it was a wonderfully improved display which they gave right through the piece ... with Johnston on the right wing... His goal was the best of four capital goals scored by the Bohemians..."

And the report headline - all in capitals- "AMATEURS WIN BY 4-1", was indeed a most welcome New Year's treat for Bohs fans!

Manus O'Riordan is a member of Bohemian FC and former Head of Research with SIPTU, previously the ITGWU, and can be contacted at mmanusoriordan@gmail.com.

