Name: Anne Bernadette Golden

Student Number: 102078112

Course: Dissertation: The Irish Diaspora.

Title: The life of a South Kerry Fenian, John Golden (O’Neill Goulding), placing his experiences in the broader Fenian convict and transportation context of The Irish Diaspora.

Due Date: 29 April 2005

Lecturers: Dr. Gillian Doherty, Dr. Andy Bielenberg
Contents

Acknowledgements  Page 3

Introduction  Page 4-7

Chapter One:  *John Golden – A Kerry Fenian*  Page 8-16

Chapter Two:  *On Board the Hougoumont*  Page 17-27

Chapter Three:  *Life in Australia*  Page 28-32

Conclusion  Page 33-36

Appendices  Page 37-49

Chronology  Page 50

Bibliography  Page 51-55
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for their help and support in the creation of this dissertation as part of the final year History course requirements at University College Cork. This included suggesting material and resources as well as allowing access to photographs and unpublished information. Further to this I would like to thank those whose correspondence provided clarity and assistance:

Dr. Andy Bielenberg, Patrick Curran, Dr. Gillian Doherty, Pat Golden, John Graham, Joseph Lynch, Liam Lynch, Kathleen Minichellio, Walter McGrath, Michael O’Keeffe, Molly Robinson, Margaret Sharpe and C.W. Sullivan III.
Introduction

The Irish Diaspora relates to Irish people living outside their native country, as well as descendents of the Irish living in a new country. For hundreds of years, many Irish have left their homeland and travelled to various foreign countries, namely England, America and Australia. A great wave of Irish left their native land, during and in the aftermath of the Great Famine, 1845-1852. Further to this another form of mass exodus occurred with the system of transportation of convicts from Ireland between 1787 and 1867, with a total of 825 ships leaving Ireland and England, bound for Australia.\(^1\) On average 200 convicts were sent on each ship to foreign shores and imprisoned there for the duration of their sentence.\(^2\) On release, the actions of the men varied considerably. While some left Australia and returned home, many went to American and New Zealand with others remaining in Australia, never again to return to their homeland.

The aim of this case study is to examine one particular convict who was transported to Australia onboard the last convict ship in October 1867 and to place his experiences in the wider context of Fenianism, emigration and the Irish Diaspora in Australia. This work will discuss the life of John Golden in an attempt to see how typical his actions were as, a Fenian, a convict and a native of Ireland creating a new life outside the home land. John Golden was a native of County Kerry, Ireland and his involvement in Fenian activities in 1867 led to his arrest, conviction and transportation to Australia in October of that year. This work will trace Golden from his birth to death, examining

\(^{1}\) [http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/res-03.html](http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/res-03.html) Convicts to Australia.
his participation within the Fenian movement. Particular focus will be given to the events leading to his arrest, his trial and conviction, his transportation from Kerry to Fremantle, Australia and his life there between his release and his death on 2 September 1883.

John Golden, as I will refer to him throughout the duration of this work, also became known as ‘John O’ Neill Goulding’ following his arrest in 1867. There are numerous possible reasons as to how his name came to be changed from his original baptismal one. One reason relates to his mother Mary Golden whose maiden name was O’Neill. Perhaps Golden incorporated this name and slightly altered his own name from Golden to Goulding. One reason put forward for this change was the possibility that Golden wanted to distance himself from his family so as not to disgrace the family name. A second reason for the change of his name relates to when Golden was arrested in Queenstown, County Cork on 19 July 1867. He had in his possession two documents and his passage ticket. When he was asked to identify himself by James Carson of the Cork Constabulary, Golden replied John Neill. The documents he had were certifying the character of John Neill and one of them was signed by the Rev. John Healy, P.P. of Cahersiveen and the other by Rev. David Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry. During Golden’s trial, Fr. Healy confirmed his signature but stated that he had not given the document to Golden, but to another man, John Neill. Perhaps this created some confusion regarding Golden’s name and that Neill or O’Neill became included in his surname. Further to this, he may have been using John Neill as an alias to avoid detection by the police as his name had appeared in the

---

4 *Kerry Evening Echo*, The Trial of John O’ Neill Goulding, Saturday 10 August 1867
A third reason for the alteration of Golden’s name is reported to have taken place at Mount Joy Jail in Dublin, in Autumn 1867. Golden was asked his name by the jail warden who apparently misunderstood Golden and wrote down Goulding. After Golden’s arrest his name was changed in all official documents to John O’ Neill Goulding.

In order to fully understand the course of John Golden’s life, it is first necessary to give an insight to the background of those involved in the Fenian movement and the direction of their ‘revolution’ of 1867. Prior to the establishment of the movement in March 1858, insurrections in Ireland had already taking place in the pre-Famine years. The Great Famine of 1845-52 curtailed the agitation which had been thriving in Ireland since the early 1840s. Post famine Ireland saw the re-emergence of dissatisfaction with the British Government and the campaign returned with added force and a fervent desire for self-government in Ireland. Men such as Charles Gavan Duffy, James Stephens, Jeremiah O’ Donovan Rossa and John O’ Mahoney were involved in the nationalist movement and greatly aided its establishment and continuation in Ireland.

The movement was extremely popular with the Irish Diaspora particularly in America and England. On 28 February 1858, eighteen Irish Americans who were ‘members of the Irish Revolutionary Committee’ signed a document supporting James Stephens and giving him control over the revolutionary

---

5 *The Police Gazette or Hue and Cry*, 19 February 1867
movement in Ireland. The names ‘Irish Republican Brotherhood’, ‘Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood’ and the ‘Fenians’ were later adopted when referring to the organisation. From American the group were sending money and military aid to their comrades in Ireland in hope of funding a revolt against the British Government. The concept of Fenianism spread throughout Ireland and the doctrines of the movement were widely known through the medium of newspapers which supported the nationalist cause and generated support for the insurrection. However, the Fenian movement was in a state of disarray since a promise of a rebellion in 1865 had passed and some of the leaders had been arrested and put on trial. Nevertheless, preparations for an uprising were underway in Ireland and England, one to which the leaders of the Fenian movement were ignorant of. The group were unhappy with the lack of action within the organisation and planned a raid for arms of Chester Castle, England on 11 February 1867. Due to the actions of an informer, the castle was very heavily guarded and no raid took place. However, Fenians in the Iveragh peninsula of South West Kerry were not informed of the failed raid and on the following day, 12 February 1867, an uprising began from Cahersiveen, bound for Killarney and it was within this party of about thirty men that John Golden emerged to play an influential role.

---

8 Comerford, The Fenians in Context, p. 47
9 Ibid., p. 50
10 Ibid., p. 133
11 Ibid., p. 135
Chapter One

John Golden – A Kerry Fenian

John Golden was born in Kells, near Cahersiveen, County Kerry and was the son of Patrick Golden and Mary ‘Hurrig’ O’Neill who was originally from Valentia Island, County Kerry. Unfortunately there is some debate as to the year of Golden’s birth. His official death certificate states that he died in 1883, aged 38 years. This confirms 1845 as the year of his birth. However, some sources refer to Golden as aged 19 when the Fenian rising took place in 1867; this would indicate 1848 as the year of his birth. Golden was one of nine children, who were raised on land that their parents leased from Blennerhassett, a landlord at Kells. On that land, the Golden’s had a two storey brick farmhouse overlooking the valley which descends to Kells bay. His family belonged to the lower social class in Irish society and struggled at subsistence level, in particular throughout the years during and following the Great Famine.

There is one incident from John Golden’s childhood which has been noted as an important factor in his later involvement in the Fenian movement. At a young age, Golden was walking with his dog near the main entrance to the Blennerhassett estate in Kells when he met with his father’s landlord who came through the gates of the estate in his coach. The dog, excited by the horses and coach began to bark at the coach and the landlord,

---

13 Official Death Certificate, See Appendix 8
15 Golden Family Tree, compiled by Mrs. Margaret Sharpe & Mrs. Kathleen Minichellio, Thorpe-le-Soken, Essex, England. Both are grandnieces of John Golden. See Appendix 10
16 Graham, J., A Gerrinong Fenian, p. 1
Blennerhassett, ordered the coachman to shoot the dog, which he did, in full view of its owner. This story has survived through the generations as it became part of South Kerry folklore, as well as Golden telling the tale to his wife Ellen, who in turn told it to her children and grand-children. It is seen as the main driving force behind John Golden becoming a Fenian as he openly admitted that he wanted personal revenge against this local landlord.

As Golden reached his later teenage years, he is likely to have worked as an unskilled labourer, possibly at carpentry around his home in South Kerry. At this time he became influenced by the Fenian organisation, groups of whom had been established throughout the country. Golden joined the local Fenian group of Filemore and by 1867, aged 21, he was leading the group. In the years before the 1867 rising, Golden and approximately 80,000 others were sworn in as Fenians and had become members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). The Fenians were a well established rebel group who were dedicated to overthrowing British rule in Ireland. They gained support within Ireland as well as from the Irish Diaspora who were opposed to imperial rule in their homeland. The IRB was founded by James Stephens in Ireland, on St. Patrick’s Day, 1858 and its aim was to establish a democratic Irish republic. Golden like all other Fenians, would have had to have taken the following Fenian oath which was written by James Stephens, who was the head of the movement in Ireland.

Family History. This story was preserved in oral tradition by both the Irish and Australian sides of John Golden’s family. It was not until his descendants established contact in the early 1940’s that it emerged that both had the same account of his motivation.
18 Amos, K., *The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880*, p. 277
I (name) do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established; that I will take up arms at a moment’s notice to defend its integrity and independence; that I will yield implicit obedience to the commands of my superior officers, and finally I take this oath in the spirit of a true soldier of liberty. So help me God.

The Fenians in Ireland, in an attempt to overthrow British rule, planned a national rebellion for 12 February 1867 (Shrove Tuesday) with the expectation of a successful seizure of arms from Chester Castle, England on 11 February 1867. However, the attack for that date failed resulting in the Fenian movement in Dublin deciding to postpone the planned rising until 15 March 1867. Due to a break down in communication the advice of this postponement never reached South Kerry and therefore the Fenians there rose in arms on 12 February 1867.

The Fenians of the Iveragh peninsula of South Kerry had been trained by J.J. O’Connor who was an ex-Lieutenant-Colonel of the Union Army fighting in the American Civil War. O’Connor led the Fenians from the town of Cahersiveen at approximately 10:00 pm on that Tuesday evening and the group of about thirty travelled east by foot to meet with ‘The boys of Filemore’, cutting the telegraph wires along the way. After convening the group divided in two, the more eager of which made to Kells Coastguard Station. It was here that Golden played a leading role. The group reached the station at 1:00 am on Ash Wednesday. They first encountered the coastguard Thomas Pierce, who was on night duty. When he challenged them, one Fenian, possibly Golden as leader, called out ‘surrender or your life is...

---

21 Graham, J., *A Gerringong Fenian*, p. 3
22 Anonymous, *The Fenians of Cahersiveen*. See appendix 12. This song was written after the uprising in 1867.
taken’. A shot was then fired and Pierce ran away towards the beach. The Fenians then knocked on the door of the chief boatman Dingwell, who was woken by his daughters who had heard the knocking. He called to the men from the first storey of the building but refused to leave them in. After twenty minutes the Fenians left and proceeded to break into the watch-house, from which they stole five rifles, four pistols, gun-power, rifle ammunition and belts.23

From here the Fenians advanced to coastguard Boyd’s house arriving at approximately 2:30am. Only the coastguard’s wife, Mrs. Boyd and another coastguard’s wife Mrs. O’Brien were present. The Fenians knocked at both the front and back doors. Mrs. O’Brien opened the front door; the Fenians entered and demanded a light in order to search the house for arms. Mrs. O’Brien lit a candle and in doing so revealed six men: Jim O’Reilly, Jim Fitzgerald, Tom Griffin, Joseph Noonan, William O’Connell and John Golden.24 A slightly different version of events were recorded later during Golden’s trial, where it was said that the Fenians broke in the front door after Mrs. O’Brien had raised the blinds and saw armed men at the front and back of her house.25 Golden, at this point was described as ‘golden haired and slight, the youngest and most active of them all’.26 It was Golden alone who bore arms; he had a belt around his waist which held a sword and he had a coastguard’s rifle. Mrs. O’Brien recognised Golden as Paddy Golden, a nearby farmer’s son and as a man who went to the same church as she did. On receiving the candle, Golden used his sword to cut the rope that was

---

23 O’ Sé, T., Centenary Souvenir Record, Kerry, 1967. p. 66-67
24 Ibid., p. 67
25 Kerry Evening Echo, Saturday 10 August 1867
26 O’ Sé, T., Centenary Souvenir Record, p. 67
holding the door of the upper storey and he climbed the ladder in his search for arms. During Golden’s search, William O’Connell assured the two women that they would not be harmed. Golden found no arms in the Boyd house and so they moved on to coastguard O’Brien’s house, searching Thomas Pierce’s open house on their way. No ammunition was found at either house, after which Mrs. O’Brien was accompanied safely back to Mrs. Boyd’s house by William O’Connell.27

This Fenian group left Kells Station and rejoined the others who had acquired a horse from Dr. Barry’s house in Kells.28 They then proceeded to Gleesk, to Pat and Kathleen Grady’s pub where they got drink out on the road. Moving on from here, the Fenians met Constable Duggan of the Killorglin R.I.C. at Drung Bridge where he was shot by Conway. Duggan went to a nearby cottage, followed by the Fenians who sent a messenger to get a priest for the constable before resuming their march once again. By 7:30am the Fenians had reached Glenbeigh where they had breakfast at O’Shea’s hotel. Even though, as J.J. O’Connor stated on meeting Duggan, ‘We’re done’ (they were rising alone against British rule), they continued on towards Killarney, the outskirts of which they reached by that evening. That night the Fenians stayed in Twomies Wood, near Killarney and on Thursday morning the group disbanded and returned towards South Kerry, avoiding the roads, police and soldiers.29 News of the lone Fenian uprising reached the national newspapers by 15 February and the reports over the following days were sensational. The Irish Times reported that at Kells Station, ‘the

27 Kerry Evening Echo, Saturday 10 August 1867
28 O’ Sé, T., Centenary Souvenir Record, p. 68
29 Ibid., p. 68
coastguards were compelled to retire before overwhelming numbers’ and a £250 reward was offered for ‘the man who forcibly entered the coastguard station at Kells, in the County Kerry, on the 13th inst, and fired at Thomas Pierce, the coastguard’.

After the group of Fenians disbanded, Golden and others made their way back to South Kerry with many of them being protected by the locals on their trek through the mountains home. They were given food and a place to stay while a watch was kept for the ‘enemy’ at all times. The police searched the houses of all they suspected. At Kells, Golden’s house was searched on two occasions, 14 February and a date in March as well as constant surveillance of his house, inhibiting Golden to return there. He made his way through Glencar back to Cahersiveen where he remained in hiding in Killeen and Kimego. Eventually Golden made his way to Liverpool, England, and from there, he wrote a letter to his associates in Cahersiveen, in which he informed them of his plans to leave England on board the Propontis, which was destined for America. The Propontis was a steam ship which, like all English ships at the time, called at Queenstown, County Cork to refuel and board new passengers and stock. The police had discovered through leaked information from Golden’s letter that he would be aboard the ship.

As the Propontis arrived in Queenstown on 19 July 1867, the police were waiting for it in the harbour. They boarded the ship and Golden, along with

---

30 Irish Times, Friday 15 February 1867
31 Ibid., Monday 18 February 1867
32 Lynch, Br. P., F'ir 1867, p. 22
33 Kerry Evening Echo, Saturday 10 August 1867
34 Kerryman, Saturday, 14 October 1950
two other Fenians, Thomas Griffin, the dance master from Cahersiveen and Cornelius O’Brien were arrested.\textsuperscript{35} During Golden’s trial, it emerged that he was arrested by Constable John Sealy and that when asked by Constable James Carson, Golden gave his name as John Neill. As well as the two documents certifying the character of John Neill, Golden also had a passage ticket which was in the same name. After his arrest at Queenstown, Golden and the two others were taken to Tralee on Monday, 22 July, and on Friday, 26 July 1867, Golden stood trial for the charge of treason.\textsuperscript{36} Mr. Justice Keogh allowed Mr. Waters, who was defending Golden a postponement of the trial for one day, despite Mr. Exham QC the solicitor-general, opposing the request. Mr. Waters claimed that Golden was not ready for trial. When Golden appeared before Mr. Justice Keogh the following day, both Mr. Waters and Mr. Exham favoured an adjournment of the case, so Mr. Justice Keogh set the trial for Thursday, 8 August 1867. The reason Mr. Waters requested this further delay was that Golden’s family lived over forty miles from Tralee and Golden was unable to obtain funds until later date. Also, witnesses whom Mr. Waters procured would not have been available on 27 July.

At 10:00 am on Thursday, 8 August, Golden’s trial for treason began. Mr. Waters, instructed by Mr. M.J. Collius, defended Golden whilst Mr. Exham, Mr. Henn and Mr. Barry made up the council for the crown. The twelve men of the jury were sworn in and Mr. Exham stated the case to them. The examination of the witnesses began with Head-Constable Talbot and continued with Andrew Dingwell, chief boatman at Kells, Mrs. Elizabeth

\textsuperscript{35} O’Sé, T., \textit{Centenary Souvenir Record}, p. 64
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Irish Times} Tuesday, 30 July 1867
O’Brien, wife of coastguard O’Brien, Thomas Pierce, coastguard, Constable James Walsh, Sub-constable William Wallace, James Carson of the Cork Constabulary, Constable Sealy and Rev. John Healy, P.P. After the case was closed for the crown, Mr. Waters addressed the jury for the defence, after which Mr. Henn replied on behalf of the crown. Judge Keogh then summed up the case for the jury and they retired to deliberate this for forty minutes, after which they returned a guilty verdict against Golden. Mr. Justice Keogh deferred sentence and as Golden was taken from the docks he waved unconcerned and smiled to his associates in the gallery.\textsuperscript{37} At a later stage Golden stood beside the Fenian Jim O’Reilly to hear his sentence and both men took it calmly.\textsuperscript{38}

Golden was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and transportation to Van Dieman’s Land, which was later reduced to five years. There appears to have been some confusion over Golden’s destination: history, as recorded through oral tradition states that Golden was sentenced to ‘transportation to Botany Bay’\textsuperscript{39}, while other reports say Golden was sent to Tasmania.\textsuperscript{40} In reality, Golden was transported to Fremantle penal settlement in Western Australia.

A story which has survived from Golden’s trial is one which refers to his mother, who walked 42 miles from Kells to Tralee for her son’s trial, while heavily pregnant with her eight child. After the trial Mary Golden returned

\textsuperscript{37} Kerry Evening Echo, Saturday 10 August 1867
\textsuperscript{38} O’ Sé, T., Centenary Souvenir Record, p. 73
\textsuperscript{40} Lynch, Br. P., Fir 1867, p. 23
home by foot and gave birth to her son Patrick on 17 August 1867.\textsuperscript{41} Following Golden’s trial in Tralee, he was taken to Mount-Joy Jail, Dublin, where his photo was taken.\textsuperscript{42} From here he was sent to Portland, England where he was detained in prison until boarding the \textit{Hougoumont}, bound for Western Australia.

\textsuperscript{41} Amos, K., \textit{The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880}, p. 89

\textsuperscript{42} See Appendix 1
Chapter Two

On Board the Hougoumont

On 6 October 1867, the Hougoumont dropped anchor in Portland. It had begun its journey at Shearness on 30 September, bound for Fremantle, Australia. The Hougoumont was an 875 ton ship which was built at Moulmein in 1852. It was less than 60 yards in length, 34 feet wide at the main deck level and it was captained by William Cozens. This voyage has gained refute over time as it was the final ship to carry male convicts to Western Australia. In all there were 108 passengers and 280 convicts on board, of which 63 of them were Irish political prisoners refereed to as Fenians.

Golden boarded the ship at Portland, England on 7 October 1867. He had arrived from Ireland about a week previous, where he had been imprisoned for about two months in Mount-Joy. Before boarding the ship, all convicts were placed in double irons and chains. There were twenty men on each chain and the Fenians were kept separate from the criminals. ‘A grand parade of the convicts’ was held during which the prison governor and ship doctors reviewed the convicts. The criminals were boarded first, followed by the Fenians, who all became very emotional when Bridget Dunne, sister of Fenian Thomas Dunne, ran to her brother to hug him. He could only kiss her on the head because of the chains and she was then dragged away.

---

45 http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/shipsWA.html Convicts to Australia. See Appendix 5
47 Ó Lúing, S., The Catalpa Rescue, p. 31
When the Fenians boarded the soldier lined ship, their chains were knocked of and they were sent below to a separate section from the criminals, where they were reunited with the Fenians who were already aboard the ‘floating hell’.\textsuperscript{48}

The \textit{Hougoumont} departed England on 12 October 1867 with Golden who was reconnected with fellow Fenian prisoners such as John Flood, John Boyle O’Reilly, Joseph Noonan and others. Unfortunately, little is know of Golden throughout his voyage but information relating to the voyage has been obtained through other Fenian sources. An insight to life on board the ship, which lasted 89 days, is recounted through diaries which were written on board. One in particular, that of Denis B. Cashman, tells of how the Fenians had a separate compartment from the criminals as they had all been convicted for treason. The Fenians did not associate themselves with the criminals and Cashman records that the Fenians were glad of this because ‘the majority of the convicts were the greatest ruffians and most notorious robbers in England’. Fifteen of the Fenians were classed as soldiers/military men who were members of the British army based in Ireland. They had each undergone a court martial for failing to report or stop the Fenian activities of others and as a result they were placed among the criminals. However, the generosity of the guards allowed these fifteen men to occupy the political prisoners quarters by day, but they were forced to spend the night with the criminals, in their section.\textsuperscript{49} One exception to this rule was John Boyle O’Reilly, who was allowed to sleep in the Fenian section.

\textsuperscript{48} Ó Lúing, S., \textit{The Catalpa Rescue}, p. 66  
\textsuperscript{49} Roche, J.J., \textit{Life of John Boyle O’Reilly}, p. 67
Some of the non-Fenian convicts did respect the Fenians and they were good natured towards them.\textsuperscript{50} Thomas McCarthy Fennell contrasts the Fenian activities on board to that of the other convicts who spent their time discussing previous crimes and planning new exploits.\textsuperscript{51} Captain Cozens described the conduct of the Fenians onboard his ship as ‘exemplary’ and this created ‘a strong impression that most [Fenians] shared a high-minded consciousness of their Irish culture and a deep commitment to their nation’s right to self-determination’.\textsuperscript{52}

From the personal accounts, an insight is given into the food Golden and the other Fenians were provided with, the weather conditions they had to endure and the new and exotic birds and fish they witnessed. Food which they received included biscuits, tea, chocolate, pea soup, salt horse, preserved potatoes, plum duff, wine, skilly and water. However, the amount of food which was provided was merely sufficient to support life.\textsuperscript{53} On 4 November 1867, Cashman’s diary mentions that ‘we chucked our chocolate overboard it was abominable—got tea instead—we got an increase of six pints of water (much needed)’ and on 24 November ‘our water supply reduced today from 14 pints to 7 pints’.\textsuperscript{54}

The weather conditions at the beginning of the journey were particularly adverse and many convicts suffered from sea sickness. On the 18 October, Cashman records that there was ‘very rough weather’, in which the ship was

\textsuperscript{50} Sullivan, C. W., \textit{Fenian Diary}, p. 137
\textsuperscript{52} Amos, K., \textit{The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880}, p. 188
\textsuperscript{53} Sullivan, C. W., \textit{Fenian Diary}, p. 137
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 71 & 88
‘struck by a squall and nearly upset’ and that they ‘shipped heavy seas and had canvas torn to shreds’. On the night of 26 October, ‘we were struck about midnight by a squall’, ‘the jib burst into pieces’ and ‘we had a narrow escape’.\textsuperscript{55}

Through the use of the personal diaries it is possible to trace the course of the \textit{Hougoumont} from its departure from Portland until its arrival in Fremantle. By 18 October, the \textit{Hougoumont} had reached the Bay of Biscay and three days later on 21 October the Spanish coast was visible. After sighting the Portuguese Island of Madeira on 27 October, the \textit{Hougoumont} passed the Tropic of cancer on 1 November. By 6 November, the ship was passing the Cape de Verde Islands and it was nearing the equator by 9 November.\textsuperscript{56} By this stage, the climate was extremely warm and classes which were being given to the Fenians on board were ceased until the weather got cooler. ‘Very hot today-about 80 degrees- awful between decks’, ‘no more school till we get into a cooler’ [sic].\textsuperscript{57} By 18 November, the \textit{Hougoumont} had travelled 531 miles south of the equator and by 24 November, she had passed the Tropic of Capricorn. As she averaged travelling 130 miles each day, the \textit{Hougoumont} reached Fremantle, Western Australia on 9 January 1868.\textsuperscript{58}

Whilst on their journey there, the Fenians and all the other passengers witnessed many strange and exotic sea creatures and birds, many of which they had never seen before. These included porpoises, birds, ‘flying fish

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} Sullivan, C. W., \textit{Fenian Diary}, p. 63, 66-67
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 61-74
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 73-74
\item \textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 76-135
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
darting thro’ the water’, a Portuguese ‘frigate’, petrels, ‘finbacks’, cape pigeons, albatrosses and whales.\footnote{Sullivan, C. W., \textit{Fenian Diary}, p. p. 63, 70, 71, 83, 85, 92, 98} Also, from the ship they saw other vessels which were bound for numerous destinations and which were sailing under the flags of various countries.

As stated the Fenians did behave well on board the \textit{Hougoumont} and the captain was happy with their conduct, however, any convict who did resort to misconduct was placed in irons for the remainder of the journey. The first time this happened was on 26 October after one convict ‘received 48 lashes administered by Boatswain for some serious offence’.\footnote{Ibid., p. 75} Other punishments included confinement in the water closet, convicts having their wine ration stopped for a number of days, as well as the triangle and the lash being used as instruments of civilisation. The punishment cell of the \textit{Hougoumont} was never without a convict and a rope hung from the foremast of the ship and was to be used as the final punishment.

When the \textit{Hougoumont} took on passengers at Portland, the Reverend Bernard Delany also went aboard and during the voyage he said mass on numerous occasions. However, if the ship was too unsteady for mass, Fr. Delany only administered communion.\footnote{Ibid., p. 108} Further to this each night on board the \textit{Hougoumont}, all the Irish exiles, of every creed recited the following communal prayer:

\begin{quote}
\textit{O God, who art the arbiter of the destiny of nations, and who rulest the world in Thy great wisdom, look down, we beseech Thee, from Thy holy place, on the sufferings of our}
\end{quote}
poor country. Scatter her enemies, O Lord, and confound their evil projects. Hear us, O God, hear the earnest cry of our people, and give them strength and fortitude to dare and suffer in their holy place. And from Zion protect her. Amen.  

While on board the *Hougoumont*, the Fenian convicts decided to publish a newspaper and after much deliberation, the name chosen for it was *The Wild Goose*, which was suggested by John Edward Kelly. The paper for the production was provided by Father Delany and it was ornamented by Denis B. Cashman with designs of shamrocks and ivy wreaths. Editors of the newspaper were John Flood and John B. O’Reilly who along with approximately 12 others contributed articles and other pieces to the paper. These contributors included Ned Kelly, under the character name of ‘Paddy from Cork’ or ‘Laoi’ as well as some articles written by Father Delany, who signed himself ‘Belta’ or ‘Delta’. Thomas Duggan signed himself ‘Mushra’ and wrote a weekly prose called ‘Queen Cliodna and the flowers of Erin’. Each edition of *The Wild Goose* was marked: ‘Printed and produced at the office, No. 6 Mess, Intermediate Cabin, Ship Hougouement. Ed. John Flood and J.B. O’Reilly and J.E.K., registered for transmission abroad.’ The name of the ship was spelt incorrectly by John B. O’Reilly. In all seven editions of *The Wild Goose* were published on Saturdays and read by O’Reilly on Sundays, ‘amid the dim glare of the lamp the men, at night, would group strangely on extemporised seats. The yellow light fell down on the dark forms, throwing a ghostly glare on the pale faces of the men as they listened with blazing eyes to Davis’ ‘Fotenoy’ or the ‘Clansmen’s Wild

62 Ó Lúing, S., *The Catalpa Rescue*, p. 31  
63 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 485  
64 McGrath, W., *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Vol XCIII NO 252*, p. 54  
65 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 486
Address to Shane’s head’. Also while on board ship, the Fenians held concerts which included song, recitation and comic sketches with the concerts always ending with the song, ‘Let Erin Remember’.

When the Fenians first boarded the *Hougoumont* they had plans to overthrow her and take control. O’Reilly in particular was preparing a mutiny in order to sail the ship to America. However, the idea of a mutiny soon dissolved as many of the Fenian convicts were serving relatively short sentences and realised that a mutiny would mean that they could never return to Ireland.

At 3:00 am on 10 January 1868, the *Hougoumont* dropped anchor at Fremantle. The convicts were kept segregated in their Fenian and criminal groups and the rules of the prison were read out to all the convicts. A defining characteristic for breaking many of the rules was ‘the penalty for which is death’. The criminals went ashore first; the Fenians then followed being marched through the town to their new residence ‘The Establishment’, which was a great greyish-white stone building up on a height behind the town. It was a three storey E-shaped building which was surrounded with an inner and an outer yard. It was enclosed by a high wall and it could hold 1,000 convicts at any one time. In 1868, the governor of Fremantle prison was Dr. John Hampton who had reigned for six years with an iron rod. During his time as governor from 1862, he had 96 convicts scourged at the

---

66 Roche, J.J., *Life of John Boyle O’Reilly*, p. 68
67 Sullivan, C. W., *Fenian Diary*, p. 64
68 Graham, J., *A Gerringong Fenian*, p. 8
69 Ó Lúing, S., *The Catalpa Rescue*, p. 36
70 Ibid., p. 34-35
triangle, where a total of 6,559 strokes were issued. When the prisoners were brought to the prison, they were bathed and shaved, they had their particulars recorded and clothing was issued to them. They were ‘dressed in a suit of Droghada linen, ornamented with a red stripe and black bands’.

After two days rest and recuperation, all the convicts were sent to work within Western Australia, which was the only colony which had sent a petition to the Imperial Government for convict labour. The convicts were engaged in work in Fremantle, Perth, Guildford and Bunbury, where they cleared woods and built roads and bridges. The daily routine of the convicts involved rising at 4:00am and having breakfast which consisted of a 12 oz. loaf of bread and a pint of tea without milk or sugar. The convicts then proceeded to the chapel to recite prayers with Fr. Lynch at 6:00am and following their days activities, supper was announced by a hand bell at 6:00pm and consisted of an 8 oz. loaf of bread and tea. The prayer before meals was said by the chief officer. Following supper, night school began where books were read and letters were written for two hours.

The convicts retired at 9:00pm to their cells which were four foot wide, seven foot long and nine foot high and were lit by one small window which was protected with iron bars. The floors and ceiling were made of red mahogany and the doors were made from corrugated iron. All the cells had a canvas hammock, two sheets, a blanket and a cotton rug; there was no pillow

---

71 Ó Lúing, S., *The Catalpa Rescue*, p. 35
72 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 489
73 Ó Lúing, S., *The Catalpa Rescue*, p. 36
74 Ibid., p. 35
75 Fennell, P., & King, M., *Voyage of the Hougoumont and life at Fremantle*, p 210
76 Ibid., p. 198, 200-203
supplied. There was a wooden water pail, a urinal, a scrubbing brush, an oil lamp, a knife, spoon, salt cellar, a tin pint measure and a pine table.\textsuperscript{78}

After working for three months on Clarence Road, South of Fremantle, Golden and the other Fenians, under the control of Assistant Warder Howard, were moved to West Guilford on 1 May 1868. While there, there was a large ill feeling between Howard and the Fenians and what has been described as a ‘mutiny’ occurred. In an attempt to control the situation at West Guilford, the superintendent at Perth ordered all Fenians there to be escorted to Perth prison to face charges.\textsuperscript{79}

Golden and the other eleven Fenians arrived at Perth prison on 3 February 1869. While there, they were given a week’s confinement for refusing to work under Howard’s supervision. The authorities thought the best form of action was to divide the Fenian group. Four of the men were sent to Guildford, three to the south of Perth and the remaining five, including Golden were despatched by sailing coaster 115 miles from Perth to Bunbury. While there all the Fenians refused to be separated from each other and they were sentenced to seven days bread and water. When the refusal was reaffirmed, Golden and the others were returned to Fremantle prison, for an indefinite period of solitary confinement.\textsuperscript{80}

The Comptroller General, Henry Wakeford, in his annual report said:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{78} Fennell, P., & King, M., \textit{Voyage of the Hougoumont and life at Fremantle}, p. 197
\textsuperscript{79} Amos, K., \textit{The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880}, p. 138-139
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 141
\end{flushright}
with reference to the convicts under sentence for treason-felony and crimes of a like nature, the great portion of them during the year conducted themselves well, and I had hopes they would continue to be amenable too the very moderate discipline imposed upon them-Towards the close of the year however some of them displayed a spirit of restlessness and impatience of authority and were apparently chafting under the mild restraints to which they were subject.\textsuperscript{81}

In Fremantle, rumours began to emerge relating to the granting of free pardons by the British government to some Fenians. On 17 February 1869, the \textit{Fremantle Herald} newspaper issued a report saying that the ‘new government of our mother country purposes liberating the Fenians’ and that it was ‘a government only too desirous of conciliating Ireland’. In May 1869, Golden was granted his free pardon.\textsuperscript{82} In total, 34 Fenian convicts were conditionally pardoned. The dispatch which arrived in the second week of May from Earl Granville, Prime Minister Gladstone’s Secretary of State for the Colonies granted ‘a remission to Thomas Cullinane or Bowler and the other prisoners named in the accompanying warrant under the royal sign manual’.\textsuperscript{83} Earl Granville went on to say that the pardoned Fenians did not belong ‘to the criminal class’ and that they would not be able to repeat their offences in Western Australia and that they ‘would be less of a peril to public order that any ordinary offender who receives a pardon.’\textsuperscript{84}

The pardons which the Fenians received were distributed very inconsistently due to clerical incompetence and this maddened the Fenians who were not released. It is thought that Earl Granville’s decision to pardon the Fenians

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{81} Amos, K., \textit{The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880}, p. 142
\item \textsuperscript{82} Ibid., p. 141, 188
\item \textsuperscript{83} Keneally, T., \textit{The Great Shame}, p. 513
\item \textsuperscript{84} Ibid., p. 513
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
was influenced by the Amnesty Association which was set up in 1868 by John Noonan. The publicity and attendance of the associations meetings in Dublin and London were to greatly assist Granville in his decision to pardon the Fenians.\footnote{Graham, J., \textit{A Gerringong Fenian}, p. 8}
Chapter Three

Life in Australia

In May 1869, the pardoned convicts were set free from ‘The Establishment’ and allowed to walk into the streets of Fremantle. On their departure they had no money, even though funds were being raised for them in Ireland where celebrations were held on the news of their pardon. Two Fenians, Hugh Brophy and Joseph Noonan were labourers who had worked in the construction business in Ireland, and upon release they applied for a contract to build a bridge over the Swan River in Fremantle. On receiving this, they employed the other Fenians to work with them. The Fenians were expecting assistance in order to leave the colony as a group, and within two days help was offered from an Irishman in Melbourne and another in Adelaide. Also the group decided to send one man, John Kenealy to Eastern Australia in order to raise funds so that the Fenians might leave Fremantle.

The Irish in Australia were helpful to Kenealy and the other Fenians, assisting them with money and accommodation. On his journey to Melbourne, Kenealy was able to observe how prosperous the Irish had become in Melbourne and that they had started a Release Irish State Prisoners Fund in Sydney. Money also came from New Zealand to Melbourne for the Fenian cause. Many Irish, who had gone to Australia through assisted passage or who were working in the gold fields gave generously to the Fenian fund. Immediately, a £250 bank draft was sent by

86 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 513-514
87 Graham, J., *A Gerringong Fenian*, p. 8
ship to the debited Fenians in Western Australia.\textsuperscript{88} After much fundraising totalling approximately £5,000, Kenealy returned to the pardoned Fenians with £950 and the promise of free tickets to New South Wales. Twenty five of the Fenians went to meet Kenealy in Albany on 11 September 1869, and on 21 September, they left on board the \textit{Rangatira}, bound for Sydney. On route to Sydney, they called at Adelaide and Melbourne where police guarded the ship.\textsuperscript{89} From Sydney, the Fenians dispersed to Ireland and America.

Golden, however, was not among this group of twenty five who had gone to Sydney, as he had stayed in Fremantle with four other Fenians: John Flood, Thomas Baines, Thomas McCarthy Fennell and John Edward Kelly. Using the £30 that Brophy and Noonan were holding for each of them, they boarded the \textit{Queen of the South} on 11 May 1871, which was bound for Port Lyttleton, South Island, New Zealand. On arrival there on 5 June 1871, the five men were immediately arrested. The New Zealand government had passed an Introduction of Convicts Prevention Act in 1867 which placed a ban on all ex-convicts entering the country. The five men had gone to Port Lyttleton in the hope of going to the Otago goldfields, however on 6 June 1871, they appeared before a magistrate.

The men produced a letter from the Colonial Secretary of Western Australia which said that he was unaware of any restriction against the men entering New Zealand. The group were remanded for a week and on 13 June the Crown Prosecutor of their hearing dropped the charges against Golden, as

\textsuperscript{88} Keneally, T., \textit{The Great Shame}, p. 516
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p. 519
the remainder of his five year sentence had been exempted with the free pardon. The four others received bail on the condition that they left the colony within 14 days. Bail was provided for the men by the owner of *Queen of the South* and £150 was raised by the Irish in Christchurch and the five Fenians departed New Zealand on board a cargo ship bound for Newcastle. The Fenians left the ship at New South Wales on 27 June 1871.90

When Golden and the four other Fenians arrived in Sydney, they realised that numerous people were suspicious of their movements. Nevertheless, a dinner was held in honour of the free man, at which it was recognised that there was ‘more liberty, freedom and toleration’ (with the exception of a few) in Australia for the ‘sons of St. Patrick’, than any other country.91 After the dinner, many of the pardoned Fenians dispersed from Sydney. Golden, however, met with an Irishman and Fenian supporter John Feehan who owned land at Gerringong, on the South Coast of New South Wales. Feehan was a fiercely patriotic man who had headed a list of Kiama subscribers to the Irish State Prisoners Fund in 1869. He was originally from Cashel, County Tipperary and was born on 10 December 1815. He arrived in Australia on board the *Runnymede* in 1841, with his wife-to-be Bridget Dollard. After ten years in Sydney, Feehan and his wife moved to Gerringong where they leased 168 acres on the northern side of Cooked River from Alexander Berry.92 Golden left Sydney and moved to Gerringong, to work on Feehan’s farm. Whilst employed he fell in love with,

90 Amos, K., *The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880*, p. 188
91 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 531
92 Amos, K., *The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880*, p. 194
and married Feehan’s daughter Ellen (born 1849 in Sydney), on 12 January 1875, in John Feehan’s residence.  

John Feehan, like all land holders in the Gerringong area in 1885 submitted a return showing the extent of his land and stock holdings. Located in Gerringong, John Feehan leased 168 acres and had 6 horses, 80 cattle and 27 sheep. Feehan was of Fenian deposition and he was well-read. He possessed an extensive library of works on Irish history and was an affluent man. His dedication to Fenianism and Catholicism resulted in his residence being a regular stop for Catholic clergy travelling to Gerringong. Feehan was also a warden of St. Mary’s Cathedral which meant he was involved in fundraising in Sydney for the continuing Fenian cause in Ireland. Feehan has been described as ‘the Fenian at heart farmer’, and he described himself as ‘Fenian to the backbone’ whilst his Scottish-born friend, J. McLean said that his patriotism was ‘contagious’. He described him as ‘a superb conversationalist and…a close student of Irish and colonial history.’

After Golden’s first son, John Patrick was born, both he and his wife Ellen moved to Jamberoo where he worked as a carpenter. He and his family lived in a cottage close to the church. It was stated by his daughter Mary Gertrude that he was involved in the building of Jamberoo Catholic Church which was opened in 1879. However, no record of his involvement in the

---

93 Graham, J., *A Gerringong Fenian*, p. 9  
95 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 531  
96 Graham, J., *A Gerringong Fenian*, p. 9  
97 Amos, K., *The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880*, p. 288  
98 Ibid., p. 277
construction of this granite church is in existence. During the early years of the 1880s, Golden moved with his family from Jamberoo to 33 Prince Alfred Street, Broughton Creek which later became known as Berry.

Golden and his wife had seven children, the youngest, Thomas was born after Golden died, aged 38 years. His death on 2 September 1883 was from congestion of the lungs. Golden was buried in the Roman Catholic section of Gerringong cemetery, next to his mother-in-law Bridget Feehan, who had died three months earlier.

Golden’s wife Ellen lived until 1938. After her husband’s death, she remarried an Irishman Charles Robinson in 1890 who was originally a butcher from County Down. The couple lived at Prince Alfred Street, Berry, where Ellen died in 1938, aged 90 years. Ellen Robinson kept the memory of John Golden alive in a positive light, by telling stories to her grandchildren, relating to his life as a Fenian and his transportation to Australia. After the death of Ellen the role of family historian was undertaken by her daughter Mary Gertrude until her death in 1961.

---

99 Graham, J., A Gerringong Fenian, p. 10
Conclusion

The object of this work was not only to account for the life of John Golden but to also place his experiences in the broader context of Fenianism and the Irish Diaspora in Australia. Throughout each of the chapters, it is possible to see how Golden’s experiences did, to some degree represent the typical happenings of a Fenian who was transported out of Ireland.

The majority of the South Kerry Fenians were born and grew up in and around the latter years of the famine and the typical Fenian appears to have been a man in his mid to late twenties. Golden, however was very young in comparison when he joined the Fenians and by the age of twenty one he was leading the Filemore Fenians. Although the area of Kerry which was prevalent in Fenian activity was mainly Irish speaking there is little or no evidence to suggest that Fenianism was promoted by linguistic influences as Gaelic was used indiscriminately by Fenian members and Government officials as it suited them. According to Garret Fitzgerald’s study of the Gaelic speaking regions the percentage of young Gaelic speakers dropped from 94% in the years 1841-1851 to 78% for the years 1861-1871.100

Even though all those who took part in the 1867 Rising were ‘of a rather respectable class, principally from the district of Cahersiveen and Iveragh’101 it is possibly their similar upbringing that caused them to join the rebel group. Thomas Keneally states that a typical Fenian was a man who had

---

grown up in a rural farming background in Western Ireland, and whose family would have rented land from an English landlord, raised dairy cattle and grew potatoes. Further to this he states that these men came ‘from the class that typically generated members of the Catholic clergy’. In his book, *The Fenians in Australia*, Amos also examines the question as to who the Fenians were. He highlights that they were not driven by economic conditions or social discontent but ‘the unquestionable one of a nation’s right to its own country and laws, to establish its own resources, to tell its own story to the world in its own way, and not in the way of another county’. In particular, the events of the Great Famine, which were viewed as the fault of the British government, encouraged the Fenians to stop remaining passive under an unfair administration. However, Golden was not driven by political factors, but by personal revenge against a local landlord who had killed his dog, some years previous to the Rising.

Due to the failure of the Fenian Rising, Golden like all the others who rose in South Kerry attempted to escape from the British authorities. America was seen an opportune location to begin a new life as many Irish had already travelled there and the IRB were also well established there. Unfortunately for Golden, and others, evidence relating to his whereabouts was leaked to the British Government and he was captured at Queenstown, County Cork. Despite the rising not being a major military success it did unsettle the local gentry and government, so much so that it was discussed both in the Houses of Commons and Lords.  

102 Keneally, T., *The Great Shame*, p. 416  
103 Ibid., p. 416  
105 *Evening Echo*, 13 March 1967
As with all captured criminals, Fenians were put on trial for the charge of treason. Golden’s sentence involved transportation which was a common place sentence. In all, 62 other Fenians were transported with him as well as 217 other criminals. Transportation to Australia was not a new method of dealing with the convict problem; it had been in operation since 1787 and in fact Golden was on the last convict ship the *Hougoumont* which was sent to Australia. On board the ship, the Fenian convicts did have special privileges which allowed them to run their concerts and publish *The Wild Goose*.

On arrival in Fremantle the Fenians were treated like all other convicts who were put to work developing the infrastructure of New South Wales. However, the Fenians did receive free pardons from the British government and as a result, approximately fifty, including John Golden did not have to complete the duration of their sentence in prison. While in prison however, the Fenians as a rule wished to work together and a group of twelve including Golden were sentenced to a diet of bread and water and solitary confinement for their refusal to be separated.

When his comrades left for Sydney in September 1869, Golden and four other Fenians did not go. Instead they planned to go to the Otago goldfields in New Zealand. Typically the Fenian groups would have remained together and this unique move resulted in Golden’s eventual arrival in Sydney, his move to Gerringong and consequently his spending of the remainder of his days in Australia, never to see or contact anyone from the Cahersiveen area again. There is no indication that John Golden wanted to return home to Ireland but his decision to stay in Australia was influenced by John Feehan, his daughter Ellen and the rearing of his family. However, his decision to
stay was not untypical of the Fenians, as 17 of the pardoned men decided to remain in Australia. However, it should be noted that 18 went to America and 10 returned home to Ireland.

Even thought the Irish and Australian descendents of John Golden were not in contact until the 1940s his part in the Fenian Rising was seen as a heroic achievement and recorded in local folklore in South Kerry. In preparation for the centenary commemorations in 1967 of the Fenian Rising a song was composed in the memory of John Golden’s participation. This song was titled ‘The Ballad of Johnny Golden’ and composed by Sigerson Clifford.

In conclusion, Golden’s life proved to be quite typical of that of a Fenian convict. His involvement in the 1867 uprising and his subsequent convection led to his forced emigration to Australia. As a result of his free pardon, he was able to establish himself there and raise his family in Gerringong, with the help of a fellow Irishman, John Feehan. As a result of Golden’s short life, particularly in Australia, he never returned to his homeland, where his heroic memories live on. However, Golden’s Australian and Irish descendents regained contact and through a mutual interest in Golden’s life, his memory and legacy has survived.
Appendix 1

Copy of a photo of John “O’Neill Goulding” Golden

This photo was taken in Mount-Joy jail, August 1867. The photo was accidentally found by Marcus Bourke in an album of Mountjoy prison photos of the 1865-67 period. Walter McGrath, Cork forwarded a copy of the photo to Margaret O’Shea, (niece of John Golden) West End, Cahersiveen, County Kerry in 1964.
Appendix 2
Members of Fenian Organisation in South Kerry

This is a list of those involved in the Fenian organisation in South Kerry. This information was compiled from newspapers of the day, secondary sources and oral folklore. However, it is by no means a comprehensive list as the Fenians left very few accounts of their members and activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Arrested</th>
<th>Further Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Clifford</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>1 March</td>
<td>Member of Kerry Militia, Son of Head Constable, Shot Constable Duggan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Connell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>1 March</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Connell</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>2 March</td>
<td>Hid at Cahurn, Cahersiveen, Head of the Dromod Fenians, Arrested, Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Connell</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>30 April</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Conway Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Counane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>28 March</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Courtney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>3 May</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ballycarbery</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denis Donovan</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>2 March</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Falye</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>30 April</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Fitzgerald</td>
<td>Driver of posting car</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Fogarty</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Brother of Parish Priest of Prien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Golden</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>19/20</td>
<td>Kells</td>
<td>2 May</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Griffin</td>
<td>Dancing Master</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>3 May</td>
<td>Son of comfortable farmer, In American Civil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Griffin</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Griffin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quay St, Cahersiveen</td>
<td>28 May</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Houlihan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>3 May</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Houlihan</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Keating</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Cahersiveen Town</td>
<td>30 April</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Mannix</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thade Mannix</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Moran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cahersiveen</td>
<td>30 April</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murtimer Moriarty alias Morty O'Shea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>30 April 1</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Brother of Parish Priest of Prien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denis Nell</td>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>Brother of Parish Priest of Prien, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Noonan</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornelius O'Brien</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger &amp; Denis O'Brien(brothers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.J. O'Connor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Driscoill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Murchadha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John &amp; Thade Quirke(brothers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Son of comfortable farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Rolly</td>
<td>Clerk at O'Donoghue's drapery</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bin Bhui, Waterville</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Head of Killarney Fenians, Arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah D. Sheehan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Head of Killarney Fenians, Arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Thompson</td>
<td>Assistant in his uncle's shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>Killarney</td>
<td>19 July</td>
<td>In American Civil War, Head of Killarney Fenians, Arrested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list was compiled from the following sources:
## Appendix 3

Details of John Golden’s Conviction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Where Convicted</th>
<th>Date of Conv.</th>
<th>Date of Sent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James O'Dwy</td>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>24 July 1869</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Golden</td>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>5 August 1869</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel O'Be</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Healy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sheehan</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 June 1869</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Fennelly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Fitzgibbon</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 June 1869</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Noonan</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 June 1869</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a photocopy of H.O. 11/19, Public Record Office, London, which gives the date and location and of John Golden’s trial, as well as the length of his sentence. This photocopy was sent to the Golden Family, Cuascroum, Cahersiveen, County Kerry by Mrs. Margaret Sharpe, Essex, England who is a grandniece of John Golden.
Appendix 4
Details of the *Hougoumont*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Date of Sailing</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Mindore</em></td>
<td>10 July 1837</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prize</em></td>
<td>5 May 1838</td>
<td>Van Diemen’s Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Minerva</em></td>
<td>2 October 1840</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Clyde</em></td>
<td>20 January 1854</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Clyde</em></td>
<td>51 October 1857</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hougoumont</em></td>
<td>10 October 1867</td>
<td>Western Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hyderabel</em></td>
<td>10 October 1844</td>
<td>Van Diemen’s Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hyder</em></td>
<td>2 April 1858</td>
<td>Van Diemen’s Land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a photocopy of H.O. 11/20, Public Record Office, London, which gives the date of departure of the *Hougoumont* as 10 October 1867. This photocopy was sent to the Golden Family, Cuascroum, Cahersiveen, County Kerry by Mrs. Margaret Sharpe, Essex, England who is a grandniece of John Golden.
## Appendix 5

### Fenians on Board the *Hougoumont*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Christian Name(s)</th>
<th>Reg No</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Trial Place</th>
<th>Criminal Offence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aher</td>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>9645</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baines</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>9654</td>
<td>10y</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowler</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>9671</td>
<td>Life</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>High treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradley</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>9672</td>
<td>10y</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brophy</td>
<td>Hugh Francis</td>
<td>9674</td>
<td>10y</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>9684</td>
<td>5y</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashman</td>
<td>Denis</td>
<td>9685</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connolly</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>9693</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>9704</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>9705</td>
<td>5y</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Limerick Assizes</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darragh</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>9707</td>
<td>Life</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Mutinous conduct (Army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donoghoe</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>9714</td>
<td>5y</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Mutinous conduct (Army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doran</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>9715</td>
<td>Life</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>High treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downey</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>9718</td>
<td>7y</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cork Assizes</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duggan</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>9720</td>
<td>10y</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Cork Assizes</td>
<td>Treason</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Dunne     | James             | 9721   | 20y  | 25  | Dublin      | Treason                                   
| Fennell   | Thomas            | 9731   | 10y  | 24  | Clare Assizes Innis | Treason                         |
| Fitzgibbon| Maurice           | 9733   | 5y   | 19  | Limerick Assizes | Treason               
| Flood     | James             | 9734   | 5y   | 21  | Dublin Assizes | Treason                                   |
| Flood     | John              | 9735   | 15y  | 32  | Dublin      | Treason                                   |
| Fogarty   | Thomas            | 9736   | 5y   | 21  | Clonmell Assizes | Treason             |
| Foley     | John              | 9737   | 7y   | 22  | Dublin      | Not reporting a mutiny (Army)              |
| Foley     | William           | 9738   | 5y   | 29  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct (Army)                    |
| Fullam    | Lawrence           | 9739  | 5y   | 37  | Dundalk Assizes | Treason            |
| Fullam    | Luke              | 9740   | 5y   | 45  | Dundalk Assizes | Treason            |
| Geary     | Eugene            | 9744   | 5y   | 22  | Cork        | Treason                                   |
| Goulding  | John              | 9750   | 5y   | 23  | Tralee      | Treason                                   |
| Harrington| Michael           | 9757   | Life | 40  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct & desertion (Army)        |
| Hassett   | Henry Thomas      | 9758   | Life | 26  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct & desertion (Army)        |
| Hennessy  | Dennis            | 9763   | 7y   | 21  | Limerick    | Treason                                   |
| Hogan     | Martin            | 9767   | Life | 29  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct & desertion (Army)        |
| Joyce     | David             | 9788   | Life | 34  | Cork        | High treason                              |
| Kane      | Cornelius Dwyer   | 9790   | 10y  | 28  | Dublin Assizes | Treason               |
| Keatinge  | Patrick           | 9792   | Life | 41  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct (Army)                    |
| Kelly     | Edward            | 9793   | Life | 26  | Cork Assizes | High treason                               |
| Kenneally | John              | 9795   | 10y  | 30  | Cork Assizes | Treason                                   |
| Kielty    | James             | 9797   | Life | 21  | Dublin      | Not informing of a mutiny (Army)           |
| aka Keily; Keily |              |        |      |     |             |                                             |
| Killeen   | Patrick           | 9798   | 7y   | 20  | Dublin      | Not informing of a brewing mutinous meeting|
| Lahew     | Patrick           | 9803   | 5y   | 20  | Newagh      | Treason                                   |
| Lombard   | Eugene            | 9808   | 7y   | 31  | Cork        | Treason                                   |
| Lynch     | John              | 9811   | 5y   | 25  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct (Army)                    |
| May       | Robert Patrick    | 9823   | 5y   | 21  | Dundalk     | Treason                                   |
| McCoy     | James             | 9815   | 15y  | 23  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct (Army)                    |
| McSwiney  | Morgan            | 9817   | 7y   | 25  | Cork        | Treason                                   |
| Moore     | Michael           | 9826   | 10y  | 28  | Dublin      | Treason                                   |
| Moriarty  | Bartholomew       | 9828   | 7y   | 18  | Cork        | Felony & treason                           |
| Noonan    | Joseph            | 9837   | 7y   | 25  | Tralee      | Treason                                   |
| Noonan    | Michael           | 9838   | 5y   | 23  | Limerick    | Treason                                   |
| O'Donovan | Jeremiah          | 9840   | 5y   | 25  | Cork        | Treason                                   |
| O'Mahoney | Cornelius         | 9842   | 5y   | 28  | Dublin      | Treason                                   |
| Reardon   | Patrick           | 9851   | 7y   | 20  | Limerick    | Treason                                   |
| Reilly    | James             | 9854   | 5y   | 22  | Tralee      | Treason                                   |
| Sheehan   | John              | 9869   | 7y   | 30  | Limerick    | Treason                                   |
| Shine     | John              | 9871   | 10y  | 40  | Dublin      | Mutinous conduct (Army)                    |
| Wall      | Patrick           | 9903   | 5y   | 24  | Dundalk     | Treason                                   |
| Walsh     | John Bennett      | 9904   | 7y   | 22  | Dublin      | aka Bennett, John                          |
| Wilson    | James             | 9915   | Life | 32  | Dublin      | Desertion & mutinous conduct (Army)        |

The above list is compiled from the ‘Convicts to Australia’ website:

http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/res-13.html#fenians
Appendix 6

John ‘O’Neill Goulding’ Golden’s Free Pardon

This is a photo of John ‘O’Neill Goulding’ Golden’s Free Pardon granted in May 1869. It is part of the collection of the Robinson Papers, Mitchell Library, Australia.
Appendix 7

Marriage Certificate of John ‘O’Neill Goulding’ Golden and Ellen Feehan

This is a copy of the marriage certificate of John Golden and Ellen Feehan which in the possession of Mr. Patrick Curran, (grandnephew of John Golden) 17 George Street, Levin-5500, New Zealand.
## Appendix 8

**Death Certificate of John ‘O’Neill Goulding’ Golden**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname of deceased</th>
<th>GOULDING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other names</td>
<td>John O’Neil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex and Age</td>
<td>Male 38 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of death</td>
<td>2nd September 1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Death</td>
<td>Broughton Creek, Shoalhaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usual residence</td>
<td>Ireland, 13 years in the colony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father - Surname</td>
<td>GOULDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other names</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother - Maiden surname</td>
<td>O’NEIL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other names</td>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of marriage</td>
<td>Gerrinong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at marriage</td>
<td>29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To whom married</td>
<td>Ellen Feehan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of deceased</td>
<td>John 6 years 7 months, Mary 5 years 1 month, Patrick 3 years 8 months, Mathew 3 years 8 months (twins) William 2 years 7 months, Bridget 1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant</td>
<td>By certificate of Ellen Goulding, the widow Broughton Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause of death</td>
<td>Congestion of the lungs 16 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By whom certified</td>
<td>Dr Lewers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particulars of burial or cremation</td>
<td>4th September 1883 Gerrinong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particulars of registration</td>
<td>William Lovegrove District Registrar Date 12th September 1883 Number 1192/83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a copy of his death certificate in the possession of Mr. Patrick Curran, (grandnephew of John Golden) 17 George Street, Levin-5500, New Zealand.
Appendix 9

Picture of John ‘O’Neill Goulding’ Golden’s gravestone

This is a photo of his gravestone forwarded to the Golden Family, Cuascroum, Cahersiveen, County Kerry by Mr. Patrick Curran, (grandnephew of John Golden) 17 George Street, Levin-5500, New Zealand.
Appendix 10

The Golden Family Tree

Patrick Golden----------Mary ‘Hurrig’ O’Neill

John Kate Ellen Deborah Joan Mary Nora Michael Patrick

The above diagram outlines John Golden’s parents, sisters and brothers.

John Golden------------Ellen Feehan

John Mary Patrick Matthew William Bridget Thomas
1877 1878 1880—twins—1880 1881 1882 1883

The above diagram outlines John Golden’s wife and their children, along with the birth year of each child.

Golden Family Tree, compiled by Mrs. Margaret Sharpe & Mrs. Kathleen Minichellio, Thorpe-le-Soken, Essex, England. Both are grandnieces of John Golden
Appendix 11

‘The Ballad of Johnny Golden’

Let Kerry sons remember now the men who marched alone
With their pikes upon their shoulders to win Kathleen her throne
   It was 1867 and O’Connor in command and
   By his side the man who died out in Van Dieman’s Land.

First at Kells Station they drew rein to see coast guardian Wall
   To take from him his rifle, his powder and his ball
   He said this is a bad night’s work for any rebel man
   To send young Johnny Golden into Van Dieman’s Land

   Said they we do not fight alone for Ireland is aflame
   And men are marching all the roads to spoil the Saxon game
With Mitchell and with Smith O’Brien we’ll fight and take our stand
   And if we fail we’ll die in jail within Van Deiman’s Land

At Drung Hill then beside the bridge they shot a policeman down
   And in the pocket there they found a message from the crown
O’Connor read and grimly said we can’t fight now as planned
   And may God keep us in his care far from Van Deiman’s Land

   Oh Talbot, Massey, Corrgan where are ye all today
   Your heart ye sold for English gold and swore their lives away
In Tralee town the judge looked down upon that rebel band
   And he sent young Johnny Golden into Van Deiman’s Land

   O’Reilly, Griffin, Donovan, O’Connor and O’Shea
Conway, Sheehan and O’Brien their names are strong today
   They’re masters in their own house now for things got out of hand
Since they sent young Johnny Golden into Van Deiman’s Land

   He sleeps today where far away waves wash Australia’s shore
   And never again he’ll see the Glen of lovely sweet Filemore
But Filemore’s sons have aimed their guns true to that Fenian band
   And to young Johnny golden out in Van Deiman’s Land

This song was composed by Sigerson Clifford, Cahersiveen, County Kerry for the
centenary commemorations of the 1867 Fenian uprising.
Appendix 12

‘The Fenians of Cahersiveen’

I am a bold Fenian from Cahersiveen that late took my gun for to fight for the green;
O’er mountains and woodlands I wandered along now I’ll leave it alone and commence up my song.
We marched to Kells station that lies near the strand where the sea rushes in with wild waves to the land;
And then you may say we had courage go leor, when Kells station was taken by the boys of Filemore.

We were proud of our country and our heroes so brave and we spurned the false counsel that is given by the slave,
Who would sell his own country for comfort and gold who would spy on his brothers the Fenians so bold.
But the warm hand of friendship forever is seen in the soldiers of Ireland who fight for the green,
Who scorn ‘fore the tyrant their heads to bend who strike dumb with terror the false Saxon foe.

We spurned all their jails and their turn keys as well as to the turn coat informers we’d sure give them hell,
For we feared neither jail nor the scaffold on high and we’d sworn for ould Ireland to conquer or die.
As to buckshot and powder we’d plenty in store and in deep secret places munitions go leor,
There were no men more feared by the troops of the queen than the bould hearted Fenians of Cahersiveen.

We were loved by young women both buxom and strong in their red flannel petticoats singing a song,
In their shawls and their bodices neatly arrayed with their beautiful forms so correctly displayed.
Who would stir any man to great exploits of fame to win for ould Ireland a true honoured name,
To fight for their honour before any queen like the true hearted Fenians of Cahersiveen.

We marched all along and our guns we did load we then met a policeman on horseback he rode,
We asked him to surrender but the answer was no and a ball from young Conway soon levelled him low.
Away we marched on and our guns did reload we met Father Meegan and for him low we bowed,
He gave us his blessing saying ‘God be your friend in the battle of freedom on which you are bent’.

‘gainst their grape shot and cannon we fought to the last ‘spite their bayonets and red coats we stuck to our mast,
Tho’ the peelers may march with their battering ram for their batons and law sure we don’t give a damn.
And their bailiffs may come hedged around by cold steel but one charge from our boys would make traitor heads reel,
For the cleanest of fighters that ever were seen were the true hearted Fenians of Cahersiveen.

Then it’s off thro’ the mountains we all took our course our stomachs being slack and we had but bad clothes,
We were in a number about 60 strong surrounded by red coats for something went wrong.
Then hurrah for the Fenians of Cahersiveen no bolder nor braver in Erin was seen,
No soldiers more true to the banner of green than the true hearted Fenians of Cahersiveen.

This song is thought to have been composed following the 1867 Fenian Rising. It survived in oral tradition but the composer is unknown.
Appendix 13

Picture of Fremantle Prison, N.S.W., Australia

This is a photograph of Fremantle Prison, New South Wales, Australia where John Golden was detained. Mr. Patrick Curran, (grand nephew of John Golden) is pictured in front of the main prison gates.
Chronology

The following is a brief chronology of some of the dates mentioned in this work.

1845-1852  The Great Famine

1845  Birth of John Golden

1858  Mar.  I.R.B. established

1867  Feb.  Planned National Fenian Rising
   Mar.  Rescheduled Rising
   Jul.  Trial begins
   Aug.  Conviction of John Golden
   Oct.  *Hougoumont* sets sail for Australia

1868  May.  Golden and other Fenians moved to West Guilford

1869  Feb.  12 Fenians imprisoned in Perth
   Free Pardon issued
   May  Free Pardon received

1871  May  Golden departs for New Zealand on *Queen of the South*
   Jun.  Returns to New South Wales

1875  Jan.  Married Ellen Feehan

1883  Sep.  Death of John Golden

1938  Jul.  Death of Ellen Feehan Golden
Bibliography

A Primary Sources

1. Manuscript Material

Public Record Office, London
Materials relating to the Fenians
H.O. 11/19; H.O. 11/20; 9140 H.O.

2. Newspapers

(i) Cork Examiner 12 August 1867
(ii) Evening Echo 4 August 1867
(iii) Freeman’s Journal 15-16 February 1867
(iv) Kerry Evening Post 10 August 1867
(v) The Police Gazette/Hue and Cry 19 February 1867
(vi) The Times 15 February 1867
20-21 February 1867
8 March 1867
27 July 1867
13 August 1867
(vii) *The Wild Goose* 21 December 1867

(viii) *Tralee Chronicle* 19-22 February 1867

3. Published Works

B Secondary Sources

1. Manuscript Material
   Br. Peadar Lynch Notes on the Fenian Rising, in the possession of his nephew Joseph Lynch

2. Newspapers
   (i) *Evening Echo* 13 March 1967
   (ii) *Kerryman* 25 July 1970
   (iii) *The Irish Press* 6 March 1967

3. Periodicals
(iv) O’Lúing, S., ‘Aspects of the Fenian Rising in Kerry 1867’, 
Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society No 5, 
Naas, 1972

(v) O’ Suilleabháin, S., ‘The Iveragh Fenians in oral tradition’, 
University Review Vol IV No 3, 1967

4. Published Works

Amos, K., The Fenians in Australia, 1865-1880, Sydney, 1988

Comerford, R. V., The Fenians in Context, Dublin, 1985

Devoy, J., Recollections of an Irish Rebel, New York, 1929

Fennell, P. & King, M., Voyage of the Hougoumont and life in 
Fremantle: The story of an Irish Rebel Thomas McCarthy Fennell, 
Xlibris Corp., 2000

Graham, J., A Gerringong Fenian, Gerringong, 1999


Keneally, T., The Great Shame, Great Britain, 1998

Lynch, Br. P., Fir 1867, Kerry, 1967

Murphy, K., Echoes of Cahir, Tralee, 1993


O’Sé, T., *Centenary Souvenir Record*, Kerry, 1967


Sullivan, C.W., *Fenian Diary: Denis B. Cashman on board the Hougoumont*, Dublin, 2001

5. Websites

  www.kst.dit.ie/nat-arch/transportation.html
  The National Archives of Ireland, System of transportation

  http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/shipsWA.html
  Convicts to Australia – A research guide

  1885 Return of Landholders - Gerringong Area

  www.slv.vic.gov.au
  The State Library of Victoria

  www.fremantleprison.com
  The Fremantle Prison, New South Wales, Australia