

'DEEP GREEN LOATHING'?
SHIFTING IRISH-AUSTRALIAN LOYALTIES IN THE
VICTORIAN AND SOUTH AUSTRALIAN IRISH-CATHOLIC PRESS 1868-1923'.

by

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the nature of Irish-Australian loyalty towards the British Empire at points of imperial crisis. It seeks to discover whether Irish-Australians managed to negotiate the multiple colonial loyalties towards Britain, Ireland and Australia, and whether post-Federation, they developed an Irish-Australian identity, and as claimed, jettisoned Ireland totally. It focuses on Victoria and South Australia, using Irish-Catholic newspapers, the Melbourne *Advocate* and the Adelaide *Southern Cross*, to identify the changing contours of Irish-Australian imperial commitment from the years of Fenian threats to the end of the Irish Civil War.

The research demonstrates the complex mechanisms of the newspaper 'exchange' system used in Melbourne and Adelaide. This practice integrated material from across the diaspora and beyond, locating Irish-Australians within an information web which confirmed their Irishness and reinforced their Catholicism, often marginalising them further within a British-oriented community.

Examination of six decades, concentrating on the ways two Irish-Catholic newspapers presented imperial crises to their largely Irish-Australian readers enables comparison between Irish Victoria and South Australia. Contrast between the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* was most evident during the Anglo-Boer War and the Irish Civil War. However the impact both of significant demographic differences and editorial perspective was critical in shaping the newspapers' viewpoint. Understanding the background and development of both newspapers was vital for clarification of their role in the community and for their extreme divergence in 1922 and 1923.

As the largest colonial and national minority group, most Irish immigrants and their descendants were differentiated by both religion and sentiment towards Britain. Dominant figures within the British-focussed majority observed levels of Irish imperial loyalty, noting examples of their continuing identification with Ireland. Although most Irish-Australians were happy in their exercise of imperial loyalty, before the Great War small numbers demonstrated their disengagement from this performance. And while the first years of World War One were marked by largely unqualified Irish-Australian loyalty, clearly displayed in both newspapers, this was irreparably disrupted by the events associated with the Easter Rising in 1916. In an atmosphere where disloyalty was tangible from 1917, Irish-Australians were subject to intense surveillance beyond the war and through the Irish War of Independence. The nature of the security monitoring reinforced the 'Otherness' of Irish-Australians. This group was simultaneously confronted by major internal fractures, and the belated, and often unwilling, recognition that Britain's interests would no longer accommodate previous commitments to Ireland. The newspapers revealed the loyalty shifting process which accompanied the unfolding horror of war in Ireland between 1919 and 1921, and for readers, the agonising vicarious experience of Civil War engulfing the country.

Irish-Australians viewed both the Empire and Australia in ways that marginalised them from other Australians when the Empire was threatened. But by the end of 1923 while many had experienced division and discord in relation to the Empire and their stance as Australians, Irish-Australian identification with Ireland was changed but not dismantled.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

M Stephanie James

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACF	Australian Catholic Federation
AIF	Australian Imperial Forces
ANA	Australian Natives Association
CBC	Christian Brothers College
CEB	Counter Espionage Bureau
CIB	Commonwealth Investigation Bureau
CIC	Commander-in-Chief
CYMS	Catholic Young Men's Society
DCC	Deputy Chief Censor
DMP	Dublin metropolitan Police
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act
HACBS	Hibernian Australian Catholic Benefit Society
INA	Irish National Association
INF	Irish National Federation (1890s)
INF	Irish National Foresters (Benefit Society)
INS	Irish National Society (South Australian INA from 1921)
INL	Irish National League
IPP	Irish Parliamentary Party
IRA	Irish Republican Army (from 1919 this was the renamed Irish Volunteers)
IRA	Irish Republican Association (in Victoria from 1922)
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
LOL	Loyal Orange Lodge
MSC	Missionary of the Sacred Heart
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OCC	Order of Calced Carmelites
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominican)
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
SDIL	Self-Determination for Ireland League of Australia
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SLV	State Library of Victoria
SIB	Special Intelligence Bureau
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuit)
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
UIL	United Irish League
WPA	War Precautions Act
YIS	Young Ireland Society

You underrate, most Englishmen do, the depth and power of Irish national aspirations. 'Let Paddy own his bit of land and be free from rack renting and he will become loyal and contented.' That used to be the notion but it has proved a delusion. The trouble is much deeper. The Irish people demand freedom from foreign domination and interference. They do not sympathise with Britain's Imperialism and foreign policy. They were denounced as rebels and traitors because they denounced, as did Lloyd George, the Boer War. If Ireland's independence were secured I do not think that she would hanker after armaments or foreign policy.

The form of government is not of primary importance but it must be in harmony with the genius and aspirations of the people and free from foreign influence and dictation.... The Kelts (sic) are governed more by their spiritual than their materialistic instincts. Economic progress and development are not everything.

James Vincent O'Loghlin
17 November 1921¹

¹ J.V. O'Loghlin to Rev Edward S. Kiek, 17 November 1921, Letter, National Library of Australia, J.V. O'Loghlin Papers, MS4520/3. See NAA: A8911/219 for reports of 28 and 31 May 1920 where Kiek was interviewed by the Commonwealth Intelligence Bureau about his assessment of the Sinn Fein leanings of some Irish clerical fellow passengers on board ship coming to Australia. In answer to concerns about the potential for their 'pernicious teaching' at Melbourne's Xavier College, he described himself as a 'Home Ruler' and the pair as 'Sinn Fein in spirit but not utterance'.