

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

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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'Loughlin  
17 November 1921<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.V. O'Loughlin to Rev Edward S. Kiek, 17 November 1921, Letter, National Library of Australia, J.V. O'Loughlin 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'.

## Introduction

*[T]he development of Irish cultural nationalism and political challenges to colonialism over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant that questions of ancient origins remained potent in Ireland.<sup>1</sup>*

In 1985, eighty-four year old Anne Liddy was interviewed in a South Australian oral history project. When asked ‘Did your people take an interest in the problems back home in Ireland?’ her description of her Irish-born grandparents’ attitudes was revealing.

‘Oh yes, yes indeed. My grandparents did. I remember during the War we used to get the *Chronicle* [and the *Southern Cross*]... And on Saturday nights Uncle Jack would have to read to the [illiterate] grandparents what had transpired in the Old Country. They had a deep green loathing for Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Mr Carson, who were the enemies of Home Rule. Oh yes, I was brought up on Home Rule. No very great idea of what it was about those days, but that preoccupied them a great deal, more than the [First World] War, I’m afraid, which was raging at the time.<sup>2</sup>

Her grandparents, immigrants of the 1850s and 1860s, were significant within their family and community. Although they were illiterate, in their world the role of the newspaper was central. Their knowledge base and opinions were clear, their engagement with Ireland evident, and their impact acknowledged. Anne also characterised her Gaelic-speaking, Australian-born father:

he loved reading and knowledge. I’d come home from school and tell him certain items of history, and he’d gently correct me, and say, ‘You know, you don’t want to believe all that you get from your history books’.<sup>3</sup>

Acknowledging his parents’ bitterness ‘about the centuries of oppression that Ireland had endured, he used to say “Well, now, that is all past and we’re very well off here under British rule. It’s good”, and he tried to correct that attitude of the grandparents’.<sup>4</sup> How

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<sup>1</sup> Catherine Nash, *Of Irish Descent: Origin Stories, Genealogy, and the Politics of Belonging*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 2008, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Anne Liddy, Interview with Beth Robertson, 19 and 26 August 1985, ‘SA Speaks: An Oral History of Life in South Australia Before 1930’, 11 and 14. On page 14 she refers to ‘a Catholic weekly called the *Southern Cross*’ as family reading. (Copy in my possession).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

common were the attitudes of Anne Liddy's grandparents in Irish-Australia? By exploring this question, this thesis seeks to offer a more nuanced account of early twentieth century Irish-Australian loyalties and identities for the period 1868 to 1923.

While the vignette illuminates differing inter-generational perspectives about Ireland, it also hints at issues which subsequently marginalised many Irish-Australians. The first generation's 'deep green loathing' of the English had not vanished. It was, however, greatly modified in their descendants who were appreciative of living in Australia and anxious to integrate and display imperial loyalty within this environment. But despite protestations, the nature of Irish-Australian 'loyalty', that is faithful adherence to a sovereign or government, was disputed, sometimes explicitly, more often implicitly. Many Irish-Australians identified with Australia, subconsciously developing an Australian identity.<sup>5</sup> Proclamation during World War One, for example, choice of the Australian flag rather than the Union Jack, differentiated them from the British-identified majority, designating Irish-Australians as 'disloyal'. The intensity surrounding 1916 and 1917 has narrowed the angle through which issues of Irish-Australian loyalty have been viewed by historians. Using the Irish-Catholic press, this thesis will focus on earlier moments to pinpoint the nature of this loyalty when imperial expectations placed it under pressure. It will argue that seams of 'disloyalty' were more evident than has been recognised.<sup>6</sup>

One explanation for limited historical research about loyalty is the ease of reporting public expressions of disloyalty, most Irish-Australians exercised prudence in articulating such sentiments. Anne Liddy's story suggests a continuum of dissent, moving from the safety of

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<sup>5</sup> See Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics: The Contribution of Catholics to the Development of Australian Society*, Viking, Melbourne, 67-87 for discussion of this process, focussing on the era initiated by Cardinal Moran in 1884 and continued by Dr Mannix.

<sup>6</sup> In general, use of the term 'disloyalty' in this research refers to Irish disloyalty to Empire.

the home, to correspondence (for the literate),<sup>7</sup> the pulpit as a semi-private space, the more public floor of parliament, the lesser safety of the religious press, and the unsafe mainstream press. But Irish-Australian dissent was visible and preserved at two major points – in 1868 associated with Fenian alarm, and from 1917 following the Easter Rising. In that era of official surveillance, a report of June 1918 reveals the importance of the Irish-Catholic press:

I have been going through...old issues of the *Southern Cross* and gaining information as to those who have written up 'the movement' [for Irish independence]. I will embody and forward all those names in a separate list. You will understand them as being persons coming within the scope...of [monitoring instructed in] Circular 15.<sup>8</sup>

The security official's process – perusing newspaper files – has provided an excellent template for this research.

In the modestly expanding range of work devoted to revealing the history of the Irish in Australia, the focus has been on bolder, more all-encompassing or prominent themes examining Irish contributions to the Australian core, and the sectarian consequences of Irish Catholicism.<sup>9</sup> Deeper questions about how Irish-Australians negotiated loyalty within an aggressively English environment, and how their Irish identity evolved at the far reaches of diasporic existence – have attracted less attention. The colonial environment was one largely modelled on and regulated by Britain, federating moves were contingent on British approval, and the actual form of a federated Australia enmeshed the independent nation formally within the British Empire. The overall impact of residence in such a British,

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<sup>7</sup> See Patrick O'Farrell, *Letters from Irish Australia 1825-1929*, New South Wales University Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, Sydney and Belfast, 1984, 143, 151-3. He notes that responses 'occasioned by Irish affairs were rare'. See David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1995, 264, 265.

<sup>8</sup> NAA: A8911/219. 'Correspondence files of the Commonwealth Investigation Service – Sinn Fein South Australia'. The Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) report was dated 4 June 1918. Circular 15 established surveillance of Irish-Australians in November 1917.

<sup>9</sup> See Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Third edition), University of New South Wales Press Ltd, Sydney 2002, and Oliver MacDonagh, *The Sharing of the Green: A Modern Irish History for Australians*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1996.

Protestant imperial environment for the Irish-born and their descendants awaits full examination; this thesis represents a preliminary study.

This research will examine the contours of Irish-Australian identity, and the nature of this community's loyalty, and the role of the Irish-Catholic press, within a sixty year period when Britain faced a series of imperial crises. Some crises (or moments) centred on Ireland's relationship to the Empire – the Fenians, 'old world' visitors to Australia, such as royalty and Irish Delegations, the 1916 Easter Rising, the Irish War of Independence, and even the Civil War. Others involved a military threat to Empire – the Sudan War, the Anglo-Boer War and World War One. But for Irish-Australians, unlike their contemporaries from Anglo backgrounds, these episodes contained loyalty challenges, emphasising their 'Otherness', and, in some cases, marginalising and/or alienating them. As with 'dissent', there was also a loyalty continuum: few Irish could meet the full loyal criteria because they were not 'British', the next points moved from imperial military participation to honouring the monarch or representative (royal tour support and presentation of loyal addresses, for example), loyal toasts, questionable letters to the editor, membership of doubtful organisations, and for the really committed, active disloyalty.

This thesis does not attempt to cover six decades in detail, its approach is that of scrutinising 'slices' of the time, by examining what was happening in the Irish-Australian community at those points. Irish-Australian newspapers, published in association with the Catholic Church, the faith community to which the majority of Irish-Australians adhered, represent the key source of evidence in this examination. The Irish-Australian communities in Victoria and South Australia, different in size and social position, constitute the

comparative basis of this research. Thus their Irish-Catholic newspapers, Melbourne's *Advocate*<sup>10</sup> and Adelaide's *Southern Cross* form the basis of this research.

This research attempts to provide answers to a series of questions about Irish-Australians during these decades. To what extent did evidence of 'deep green loathing' of England and its Empire persist in this community? What was the nature of Irish-Australian loyalty to the Empire? How strong was Irish-Australian identification with Ireland? Did the Irish-Australian community develop an Irish-Australian identity? Were loyalties and identities fragmented? What role did the Irish-Catholic press play during imperial crises from 1867 to 1923?

#### *What is an Irish-Australian?*

In this research, use of the term Irish-Australian to describe a significant minority in Australian society is determined by a number of variables which differ both according to the time period being discussed, and the nature of the group being discussed. Thus there can be neither a fixed definition nor any assumption of a monolithic group. The very term, 'Irish-Australian', has had different applications in Australia. In 1883, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, discussing the first Irish-Australian Convention (proposed by the Redmond brothers), found it unacceptable as a descriptor: 'He is or he is not one of us'.<sup>11</sup> Such perspectives accord with the opprobrium surrounding the notion of hyphenation, an identity construct emerging in late nineteenth century America but popularised during its period of Great War neutrality. Americans perceived as holding primary loyalties with

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<sup>10</sup> Melbourne's second Catholic newspaper, the *Tribune* (1900-23), provided only a minor source for this research because its full inclusion would have resulted in greater imbalance between the states.

<sup>11</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald* of 7 November 1883.

Europe, namely Ireland and Germany, could not be ‘good American[s]’.<sup>12</sup> In 1917, an identical refracted assertion appeared in an Anglican newspaper:

With the coming of the hyphenated there comes to Australia a conflict of ideals and a contrast of methods, the national ideal and the alien, the foreign or the sectarian ideals...<sup>13</sup>

Arguably, for Irish-Australians themselves, the term never carried such baggage, and was a useful mechanism for identifying different components of their individual and collective identities. And as O’Farrell highlights, P.S. Cleary used it interchangeably to refer both to the Irish-born who made significant contributions to Australia and to those born locally of Irish descent.<sup>14</sup> In this research, however, the term is applied to different generations of the Irish-Australian minority, sometimes overlapping in time periods due to varying ages *and* times of arrival. The discussion therefore often encompasses an amalgam of Irish-Australians rather than one distinct group aligned by country of birth, religion or either self or societal identification. First generation refers to the Irish-born, while second generation describes the original Australian-born generation. Discussing ‘Scots-Irish’ in America, Kerby A. Miller argued that

[u]ltimately, the question of ethnicity is not one of ancestral birthplace or religious affiliation but one of individual and collective identification. This ... is subjective and variable, conditioned by a multitude of shifting social, cultural, political and psychological circumstances.<sup>15</sup>

The clarity of Miller’s definition explains how these generations could be differentiated: age of arrival was often very significant for first generation outlook, while social advancement/success could determine second generation perspectives. The third generation, less commonly encountered here, includes the children of those born in Australia to parents of immediate Irish descent.

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<sup>12</sup> *New York Times* of 13 October 1915. [Theodore] Roosevelt Bars the Hyphenated’.

<sup>13</sup> *Church of England Messenger*, 7 September 1917. Quoted in O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 272.

<sup>14</sup> See PS Cleary, *Australia’s Debt to the Irish Nation Builders*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1933,

<sup>15</sup> Kerby A Miller, ‘Ulster Presbyterians and the ‘Two Traditions’ in Ireland and America’ in JJ Lee and Marion R Casey (eds.), *Making the Irish American. History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, New York University Press, New York and London, 2006, 260.

In Australia, as O'Farrell points out, numbers of those born in Ireland declined even before the 1870s.<sup>16</sup> However, his claim that the nineteenth and early twentieth century 'public and organisational face of Irish Australia was that of the Irish-born' cannot wholly stand in relation to either Victoria or South Australia. In both colonies, Australian-born leaders such as Joseph Winter, Nicholas O'Donnell and J.V. O'Loughlin were prominent. The early profile of Irish-Australia, however, was Irish-born, but even here the automatic Irish Catholic correlation did not always apply. In Adelaide, leading Protestant Irishman, G.S.Kingston, advertised the 'Sons of Erin' meeting on St Patrick's Day in 1840,<sup>17</sup> and the 1849 non-sectarian 'Sons of St Patrick' urged the Colonial Office to increase the numbers of Irish immigrants to South Australia.<sup>18</sup> In Victoria, another Protestant Irishman, Henry Bournes Higgins was public and persistent in his support of Home Rule. For many Irish-born, South Australian Protestant Irishman E.B.Gleeson's toast at an 1851 St Patrick's Society dinner would have resonated strongly: 'Next to ould Ireland, the land they lived in was one of the finest countries on earth.'<sup>19</sup> Discussing America, Timothy J. Meagher describes the religious divide as 'significant' but 'not inevitable', referring to the unity among 1798 exiles. He judges there was 'two distinct [Irish] peoples in America' by 1871.<sup>20</sup> That the process was similar for Irish in Australia was fully revealed by the Dublin events of 1916, the Australian conscription referenda and the Irish War of Independence. Any non-sectarian Irish-Australian identification had largely vanished.

According to the 1911 census, the number of first generation Irish-Australians dropped from 227,698 in 1891, to 184,470 by 1901, by 1911, 141, 365 Irish-born made up only 3.1

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<sup>16</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 63.

<sup>17</sup> See *South Australian* of 12 March 1840.

<sup>18</sup> See *Adelaide Observer* (Supplement) of 14 July 1849 for executive of 6 Irish Protestants and the committee of 22 where possibly only 6 were Catholic Irishmen.

<sup>19</sup> *Adelaide Times*, 18 March 1851.

<sup>20</sup> Timothy J. Meagher, 'The Firemen on the Stairs: Communal Loyalties in the Making of Irish America' in JJ Lee and Marion R. Casey, *Making the Irish American. History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, New York University Press, New York and London, 2006, 636.



percent of the population. Almost 120,000 were residents of more than twenty years, with only 21,382 in Australia for less than two decades. The first generation were found mostly in the 40 to 79 age group, peaking between 65 and 74. In terms of the two regions at the centre of this study, Victoria included a greater number of Irish-born than South Australia – 42,082 or 3.7 percent compared to only 8,087 or 1.9 percent of the population. Chapter One includes further discussion of population and census details in relation to these colonies/states.

The next generation of Irish-Australian, those born to Irish parents in the colonies, often cut their nationalist teeth on Home Rule. However this group could also be differentiated more along class lines, with stronger middle class positions – ‘respectable’ according to O’Farrell, probably ‘lace curtain’ Irish in the American setting – opposing ‘radicalism’ and, for example, avoiding any association with the controversial Redmond visit in 1883.

Others, like Winter, O’Donnell and O’Loghlin, were sometimes designated by contemporaries as ‘more Irish than the Irish’.<sup>21</sup> Arthur Calwell’s history of membership of radical Irish organisations in Victoria as well as his Gaelic proficiency reinforces such identity patterns. Second generation Irish-Australians displayed more complexity in their allegiances. For example, O’Loghlin’s role in committing local troops to the South African War, his fervent support of the local Irish Rifle Corps, his 1914 protest against the Defence Minister’s opposition to nationality-based regiments, and his voluntary enlistment in 1915, all suggest his comfortable negotiation of at least dual loyalties, if not triple. Referring in addition to his founding local ANA involvement, and sometime presidency, he said in 1914:

I claim to be intensely Australian. My weakness (if that may be so described), or inclination to honor (sic) the traditions of the race from which I have sprung, does not detract from my love of my native land.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 18 July 1939 for WJ Denny’s assessment of JV O’Loghlin.

<sup>22</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 January 1914.

In 1901, R.E. O'Connor, a prominent Irish-Australian legal figure was quoted as saying 'the Irish-Australian is just as good an Irishman as is his father, and ... he cherishes an imperishable love for the home of his ancestors.'<sup>23</sup>

This second generation of Irish-Australians can be seen in many Irish-focussed organisations where their children, the final group with a role in this story, can sometimes be identified. The role played by the second generation was often reflected in their organising of educative and cultural input for others. So for example, O'Loughlin and Calwell were closely involved with the very successful *Féis* (or Irish festivals) of the early 1920s in both Adelaide and Melbourne. Calwell's daughter was prominent in Melbourne's event. But tracing the participation of third generation Irish-Australians requires more detailed investigation; their presence in this research is shadowy at best.

Delineating which generations of Irish-Australians are players in the imperial crises being discussed in this research requires frequent clarification. Reference to or separation of the three generations, Irish-born, then the locally-born, and finally their children, sometimes requires specification. Where discussion covers individual Irish-Australian lives, reference to Appendix C, 'Individuals in the Thesis', might disclose place of birth, and hence generation. Using the collective descriptor of 'Irish-Australian' in material which covers sixty years and varying Irish immigration patterns, necessarily incorporates mixed generations, and can never embrace the perspective of all participants. Thus in this discussion, the term is typically qualified.

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<sup>23</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 August 1901. This was quoted by Sydney *Catholic Press* editor, Irishman Tighe Ryan, in 'Sydney News'.

### *Historiography*

Enda Delaney, a noted historian, recently promoted the multiple benefits of a history of Ireland which integrates the diaspora rather than marginalising it.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, he offers a comprehensive list of ‘subjects [which] might constitute the outline of this transnational history’. Among his many suggestions are the shape of distant Irish ethnic identity, the transplanted world of Irish-Catholicism, the exchange of ideas, the lives of Irish-born figures in diaspora locations, and organisations with links across the Irish world.<sup>25</sup> The present research incorporates elements of all these aspects of Irish-Australia, with its greatest emphasis in one area Delaney bypasses – the part played by newspapers in connecting the Irish world. The Irish-Catholic press in Australia occupied a position of singular influence for many Irish-Australians, and its content offers the possibilities of examining Delaney’s transnational factors, particularly the manifestation of Irish identification in the Australian context.

### *Patrick O’Farrell and other historians of Irish-Australia*

Questions about loyalty drive this research and, to date, O’Farrell’s exploration of Irish identity has dominated historiography. In the late 1980s, however, a number of important texts in addition to O’Farrell’s *The Irish in Australia* presented the story of Australia’s Irish. In *The Australian People*, edited by James Jupp, the scope included convicts, immigration, Catholicism, Protestant Irish and a focus on New South Wales and Victoria, but loyalty and identity received little emphasis.<sup>26</sup> Chris McConville focussed ‘on the changing economic, social and political roles’ of this group in Australia, again with an eastern geographic

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<sup>24</sup> Enda Delaney ‘Our island story? Towards a transnational history of late modern Ireland’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXVII, No 148, November 2011, 599-621.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 612-621.

<sup>26</sup> James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1988, 553-634.

emphasis.<sup>27</sup> In contrast to these Australian continent-based narratives, Oliver MacDonagh's 1996 publication, *The Sharing of the Green*, uses a transnational approach. His selection was based on 'the implications of one national history for another',<sup>28</sup> and he urged greater Australian understanding of Ireland based on immigration statistics and sectarian conflict as well as Irish history.<sup>29</sup> Emphasising the processes by which Ireland and Australia were enmeshed in a global London-centred system, he noted that self government removed 'sources of friction' for the colonies at the same time as its repeated denial in Ireland, ensured animosity.<sup>30</sup> His recognition that colonies were 'knitted into the imperial fabric' via technological change, therefore experiencing 'more immediate and direct exposure'<sup>31</sup> to the metropole, underlines the strength of the dominant Anglo culture, but also explains the easy recognition, judgement and condemnation of Irish-Australian disloyalty.

While O'Farrell's impressive history suggests national coverage, the very strength of his argument, combined with the as yet incomplete documentation of the history of the Irish across all colonies/states, limits his account. Within this broad sweep, crucial issues such as loyalty and identity can only attract abbreviated attention. Superficial examination of the text and index indicates at least an 80 percent focus on New South Wales, with perhaps ten percent on Victoria and the other four colonies making up the remainder. There is a strong likelihood that more subtle distinctions about Irish-Australia would emerge from more balanced examination of all states. For example, O'Farrell's reference to Irish-Australia's 'innocent world-view based on trust of Britain and the virtues of her civilization' in his

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<sup>27</sup> Chris McConville, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: The Irish in Australia*, Edward Arnold Australia, Victoria, 1987, 7.

<sup>28</sup> MacDonagh, *The Sharing of the Green*, vii-viii.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, xi-xviii.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

discussion of the execution of Dublin's rebels, was derived from Sydney research.<sup>32</sup>

Analysis of Irish-Catholic newspapers in Melbourne and Adelaide will allow the location of any earlier evidence of attitudes to and tensions or uncertainties about Britain.

O'Farrell's principal arguments involve the centrality of Irish contribution to Australian creativity and national spirit, and the strength of the assimilatory impulse.<sup>33</sup> Acknowledging the long genesis of his claim about what the Irish offered the nation,<sup>34</sup> Miriam Dixon argued that O'Farrell's analysis underplayed the role of 'class divisions within ethnicity', and that the original tensions, rather than having a 'galvanic impact' were more of a 'fissure', and 'contributed a good deal...[to] a weak national identity'.<sup>35</sup> McConville questioned O'Farrell's 'continued substantial attention to bishops and priests',<sup>36</sup> an approach that privileged Church hierarchy and officials, effectively silencing other sources of Irish-Australian identity. But O'Farrell's claim that the 'colonies were too far and too British to foster or even allow the survival of a sense of debt or even belonging to Ireland amongst the local born' has been widely accepted.<sup>37</sup> Discussing his own publication, O'Farrell referred negatively to a late nineteenth century Catholic 'takeover bid for sole possession of the identity of being Irish', yet his argument has seemed to both define and limit the space within which Irish-Australia has been examined.<sup>38</sup> He later acknowledged his 'greatest pleasure' from writing was 'the sense of better identity that Catholics and Irish Australians

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<sup>32</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 263.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>34</sup> Miriam Dixon, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity-1788 to the present*, UNSW Press, 1999, 195, fn.48.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-5.

<sup>36</sup> McConville, *Croppies*, 16 quotes O'Farrell's Introduction to *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1977, vi-vii. The substantially revised 1985 edition, now titled *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, does not revise this framework.

<sup>37</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, 'Writing the History of Irish-Australia' in Oliver MacDonagh and WF Mandle, (eds.), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, Croom Helm, London and Sydney, 1986, 218.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

have from just simply the possession of these books'.<sup>39</sup> McConville noted that O'Farrell dismissed the second generation as 'having no real grasp of life in Ireland',<sup>40</sup> while Helen Bourke questioned his assumptions about Irish assimilation.<sup>41</sup> Despite critiques of Sydney-centrism and its claims regarding assimilation, O'Farrell's exegesis has remained the dominant explanatory structure.<sup>42</sup>

### *The history of the Irish in Victoria and South Australia*

Victoria, with a larger Irish population, has been well served by historians: histories of the Church<sup>43</sup> and ecclesiastical relationships,<sup>44</sup> biographies of its Irish prelates<sup>45</sup> (especially Mannix),<sup>46</sup> and some individual figures,<sup>47</sup> additional academic research,<sup>48</sup> and, just in 2012, five publications illuminating corners of Victoria's Irish world. Val Noone's, *Hidden Ireland in Victoria*, narrates the story of the transfer and the survival of Gaelic culture. Noone's focus on this critical dimension of Irish identity can only hint at imperial loyalty issues.<sup>49</sup>

Although Patrick Morgan's, *Melbourne before Mannix: Catholics in Public Life 1880-1920* covers

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<sup>39</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, 'Patrick O'Farrell on the Irish in Australia: A Symposium' (Chaired by Noel McLachlan with participants, Helen Bourke, Davis McCaughey, Chris McConville and O'Farrell) in Philip Bull, Chris McConville and Noel McLachlan (eds.), *Irish Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference, July 1990*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1990, 273.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 262-3. McConville also bemoans 'the lack of footnoting' in *The Irish in Australia*.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 266-7.

<sup>42</sup> See for example Patrick J Naughtin, *The Green Flag at the Antipodes: Irish Nationalism in Colonial Victoria during the Parnell Era 1880-91*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2011, 10.

<sup>43</sup> See Francis Mackle, *The Footprints of Our Catholic Pioneers*, The Advocate Press, Melbourne, 1924, Walter Ebbsworth, *Pioneer Catholic Victoria*, The Polding Press, Melbourne 1973, DF Bourke, *A History of the Catholic Church in Victoria*, Catholic Bishops of Victoria, 1988.

<sup>44</sup> Margaret M Pawsey, *The Demon of Discord: Tensions in the Catholic Church in Victoria 1853-64*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1982, and *The Popish Plot: Culture Clashes in Victoria 1860-1863*, Studies in the Christian Movement (St Patrick's College, Manly), New South Wales, 1983.

<sup>45</sup> TP Boland, *Thomas Carr: Archbishop of Melbourne*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1997.

<sup>46</sup> Niall Brennan, *Dr Mannix*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1964, Frank Murphy, *Daniel Mannix*, The Polding Press, Melbourne, 1972, Walter Ebbsworth, *Archbishop Mannix*, HH Stephenson, Armadale, 1977, Michael Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix, Priest & Patriot*, Dove Communications, Blackburn, 1982, Colm J Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland*, Allela Books, Morwell, 1984, BA Santamaria, and *Daniel Mannix*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1984.

<sup>47</sup> See Brenda Niall, *The Riddle of Father Hackett: A Life in Ireland and Australia*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2009.

<sup>48</sup> The fact that Melbourne University has a Chair of Irish Studies, and that Irish Studies Seminars (MISS) are held regularly, reflects local research interest. See Elizabeth Malcolm, Philip Bull and Frances Devlin-Glass (eds.), *Ireland Down Under: Melbourne Irish Studies Seminars, 2001-2010*, Newman College, University of Melbourne, Melbourne University Custom Book Centre, Melbourne, 2012.

<sup>49</sup> Val Noone, *Hidden Ireland in Victoria*, Ballarat Heritage Services, Melbourne, 2012.

many important dimensions of the Irish-Catholic environment, particularly influential Irish-Australian laymen and their impact, *Advocate* history here is episodic, and referencing is limited.<sup>50</sup> A.A.Calwell inhabited Melbourne's radical Irish world in a critical era decades prior to life on the national political stage. His daughter's account is silent about issues relating to identity and loyalty, despite his record of participation pointing to very strong views that could reveal much about these.<sup>51</sup> The other publications relate to Archbishop Mannix. The first encompasses the quixotic, transnational relationship between Mannix and Irish Republican leader, Eamonn de Valera,<sup>52</sup> and the second assesses Mannix against myths.<sup>53</sup> Such output speaks volumes for the differences between the two states. One major source of research (and ten publications), has been generated by regular Irish-Australian Studies conferences; these have incorporated both Victorian and South Australian material.<sup>54</sup>

Any comprehensive account of the Irish in South Australia remains to be written. The two volume history of Catholicism by Margaret Press<sup>55</sup> makes useful general reference to the Irish, but both the quality, and the limitations of some observations<sup>56</sup> indicate an ongoing problem: the paucity of academic research on South Australia's largest minority group.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Patrick Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix: Catholics in Public Life 1880-1920*, Connor Court Publishers, Melbourne, 2012.

<sup>51</sup> Mary Elizabeth Calwell, *I Am Bound to be True: the Life and Legacy of Arthur A. Calwell*, Mosaic Press, Melbourne, 2012. Her reticence matches that in Calwell's papers in the National Library of Australia. (Hereafter NLA).

<sup>52</sup> Patrick Mannix, *The Belligerent Prelate: An Alliance between Archbishop Daniel Mannix and Eamonn de Valera*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012.

<sup>53</sup> James Griffin, *Daniel Mannix: Beyond the Myths*, (Completed by Paul Ormonde), Garratt Publishing, Australia, 2012.

<sup>54</sup> Oliver MacDonagh initiated the 1980 conference; these have since been held in both Australasia and Ireland, 2011 in Canberra, 2012 in Dunedin and 2013 in Sydney.

<sup>55</sup> See Margaret Press, *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1905*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1986, and *Colour and Shadow: South Australian Catholics 1906-1962*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1991. Dr F Byrne's earlier work, *History of the Catholic Church in South Australia*, E W Cole, Adelaide, 1896, has been acknowledged as inaccurate.

<sup>56</sup> Referencing of material is limited, some details are inaccurate and the texts reflect a task greater than achievable given the previous research gaps.

<sup>57</sup> See Susan Woodburn (Pruul), *The Irish in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia 1788-1880*, MA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1974, Christopher Nance, 'The Irish in South Australia during the Colony's first four decades' in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No 5, 1978, 66-73, Eric Richards 'The Importance

Although a survey approach to more than a century of Church history must inevitably involve brief coverage of many aspects, in the two volumes, prominent Irish-Australians receive attention without an accompanying narrative that establishes the history and role of their larger community.<sup>58</sup> Using the Irish-Catholic press to identify the nature of information provided to Victorian and South Australian readers will allow new insights into their responses to issues involving Ireland, the Empire and Australia.

### *The Australasian Irish-Catholic Press*

To date, few historians have utilised the richness of the Irish-focussed press in immigrant locations as a source for understanding the diaspora; its role has been supplementary rather than central. New Zealand, as will be discussed, stands as an exception.<sup>59</sup> In Australia, limited recognition of the significance of Irish-Catholic newspapers derives from a wider neglect of the religious press. Church newspapers present an equalled capacity to ‘provide a window through which to view Australian life’.<sup>60</sup> Recognition of the importance of newspapers ‘as a source for uncovering ideas and attitudes prevalent during [any] period’,<sup>61</sup> partly generated the present research. Rosa MacGinley’s analysis of the first decade of Brisbane’s *Age* (forerunner of the *Catholic Leader*) discloses the breadth of its coverage from 1892, including ‘many incidental references to Ireland and Irish affairs’.<sup>62</sup> Of greater significance to the present research, her article also classifies the colonial Catholic press.

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of Being Irish in Colonial South Australia’ in John O’Brien and Pauric Travers (eds.), *The Irish Immigrant Experience in Australia*, Poolbeg Press, Dublin, 1991, 62-102, and ‘Irish Life and Progress in Colonial South Australia’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No 17, 1991, 216-236, and Ann Herraman, ‘Irish Settlers Beyond the Tiers: Mount Barker, South Australia, 1836-1886’ in the *Australian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 1, 2001, 36-48. The publication dates suggest the extent of the problem.

<sup>58</sup> See Peter Howell, ‘South Australia’s Catholics: The First Seventy Years’ in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, Vol. XVII, 1989, 189-95 for a detailed examination of flaws and gaps in the first volume. He makes the point that the materials used ‘could have supported three or four doctoral theses’.

<sup>59</sup> Heather McNamara, ‘The *New Zealand Tablet* and the Irish Catholic Press Worldwide, 1898-1923’ in *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. XXXVII, 2, 2003, 153-170.

<sup>60</sup> Jennifer Clark, ‘The Soul of Australia: Using Church Newspapers to open up Australian History’ in *NATIONAL Library of Australia News*, Canberra, March 2002, 5.

<sup>61</sup> See David Hilliard’s review of John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties: Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies’ Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2000 in *Australian Historical Studies*, April, 2001, 158.

<sup>62</sup> Rosa MacGinley, ‘The *Age* 1892: An Early Brisbane Catholic Newspaper’ in *Proceedings of Brisbane Catholic Historical Society*, Vol 10, Paper 1, 2005, 10-21.



MacGinley's schema includes: newspapers edited by Catholics and covering 'Catholic affairs sympathetically', those 'Catholic by policy but...not...officially diocesan publications', and finally, publications incorporating 'a group of Catholic laymen and usually several priests'.<sup>63</sup> The latter category describes the genesis of the Melbourne *Advocate*, but Adelaide's *Southern Cross*, a diocesan-sanctioned limited proprietary company, becomes a notional fourth newspaper type in this schema.<sup>64</sup>

The question of Irish-Catholic press influence was explored briefly by Michael McKernan in conjunction with his examination of Australia's churches during World War One.<sup>65</sup> Citing Melbourne *Tribune* circulation figures of 13,000,<sup>66</sup> he suggested *Advocate* readership was 'presumably... equally healthy'.<sup>67</sup> But speculation about reasons for newspaper purchase led to his conclusion that because editorials rarely generated conflict, 'papers contributed little to the formation of readers' opinions'.<sup>68</sup> Accessing all editions of the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross* from 1899 to 1902 and 1914 to 1923, and close observation of editorial processes for dealing with controversial topics, casts doubt on his observation.<sup>69</sup> Claims of secular press unreliability about Ireland represented a constant, and after 1916, a louder, outraged dimension of Irish-Catholic newspapers. This suggests reasons for their central role within the Irish-Australian community,<sup>70</sup> a claim to be further explored in this thesis.

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> Sydney's *Catholic Press* was established in 1895 on similar lines.

<sup>65</sup> Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-18*, Catholic Theological Faculty, Sydney and Australian War Memorial Canberra, 1980.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 21. The *Tribune*'s opening editorial of 13 January 1900, acknowledged 'loyal[ty] to the traditions of the old land,' but emphasised the impetus of Federation forcing 'our young Australian Catholic manhood' to consider the terms on which 'Australian Catholics, or as Australians minus the Catholicity', would enter the Commonwealth.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, See query in *Advocate* of 16 January 1869: 'Do you wish your advertisements to reach 20,000 Readers?' There is no evidence this figure was reached.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> See Appendix H-1 and 2 for *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* editorials from 1916 to 1923.

<sup>70</sup> McKernan, *Australian Churches*, 21.

Without any focussed history of the religious press in Australia, and with sparse historical documentation of the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*, a recent study of the *New Zealand Tablet*, Dunedin's Irish-Catholic paper from 1873, offers direction in this research. Heather McNamara delineates four factors as influencing the way Irish identity was negotiated in the *Tablet* between 1898 and 1923. The nature of local Irish political and cultural development, the processes by which Catholic identity was mediated (particularly the sectarian heights reached after the Great War), intergenerational transfer involving original Irish immigrants and their successors (often with divergent views about Irish-Catholic identity, culture and assimilation), and finally, the editors' perspective on 'the retention of Irish identity'.<sup>71</sup> This thesis incorporates some of these factors in its analysis, principally her emphasis on the editorial role.

McNamara's study of the *Tablet* (a diocesan-backed company publication) describes the *Advocate* and Sydney's *Freeman's Journal* as 'the most useful and frequently used' of the seven Australian Irish-Catholic newspapers sourced in Dunedin.<sup>72</sup> The significance of the *Tablet's* 'newspaper exchange network' is clearly demonstrated. Fr William Cleary, editor from 1898 to 1910, left account and scrapbooks providing details about accessing the informal international press system.<sup>73</sup> Although such archival wealth is unavailable for either the *Advocate* or the *Southern Cross*, editors of both benefitted from and practised the 'exchange' system. In this process editors sent and received copies of a wide range of inter-colonial and overseas newspapers.<sup>74</sup> This crucial dimension of their history has not been examined.

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<sup>71</sup> Heather McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand? A Social and Cultural History of the *New Zealand Tablet* and its Readers 1898-1923' MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2002, 43. See Eileen McMahon, 'The Irish-American Press' in Sally M Miller (ed.), *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1987, 181, 183-6 for discussion of critical role played by Irish-American newspaper editors.

<sup>72</sup> McNamara, 'The *New Zealand Tablet*', 157. The *Freeman's Journal* operated from 1850.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-8.

<sup>74</sup> PR Wilkinson, Pers Com, 29 August 2013. According to the former editor of the *Southern Cross*, overseas Catholic exchanges, such as the Buenos Aires *Southern Cross*, were still being received when he became editor in 1959. It was largely in Spanish so discontinued.

McNamara's clarification of the *Tablet's* central, connecting role in New Zealand's Irish community, and editorial impact on the selection and publication processes, suggests that important insights about Irish-Australian loyalty and identity will emerge from an equivalent Australian focus.

Patrick J. Naughtin's close study of Victoria's press, daily newspapers as well as the *Advocate*, during the Parnell era in Irish politics, 1880 to 1891<sup>75</sup> highlights the power of the colonial press to align overseas events with local issues in ways that further marginalised a minority group like the Irish. More detailed analysis of the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* will enable focus on their editorial approaches, providing new insights about these Irish-Australian communities, and enable greater interrogation of O'Farrell's conclusions about Irish-Australian disconnection from Ireland.

O'Farrell devotes little attention to the role of newspapers within the Irish-Australian community.<sup>76</sup> Referring to the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* for example, he minimises their differences. They were, he states, 'linked' by 'clerical approval, content and involvement, and financial backing',<sup>77</sup> gainsaying any difference between a family and a public company, and flattening significant divergence. He suggests that Irish newspapers gave voice to Irish-Australians, as well as a sense of connection with fellow Irish-Australians and with Irish affairs, and then claims this only 'roused or consolidated Irish consciousness for a minority'.<sup>78</sup> In a cursory study of some 1916 secular press responses to the Easter Rising, Peter Overlack reinforced a generalised understanding rather than illuminating the issue's

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<sup>75</sup> Naughtin, *The Green Flag at the Antipodes*.

<sup>76</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 143. This represents his most detailed reference to the Irish-Catholic press.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 143-4.

complexities.<sup>79</sup> Apart from allocation of disproportionate emphasis to background (and important factual errors),<sup>80</sup> his unexpected conclusion that by St Patrick's Day 1918, the Rising 'had moved into the realm of folk legend', overlooks major ongoing dimensions of sectarian animosity generated within the daily press.<sup>81</sup>

The Catholic press features in Michael Hogan's discussion of Australian sectarianism in the context of the debate over state aid to Catholic schools. He describes how the Protestant solidarity that emerged from the campaign reinforced Catholic marginalisation, and strengthened criteria for further and ongoing identification of their difference.<sup>82</sup> In the Victorian era, newspapers revealed the tenets of anti-Catholic prejudice as involving 'a British fear of Irish rebellion, a Protestant fear of papal domination and an establishment fear of working class lack of refinement'.<sup>83</sup> Assessing greater anti-Catholic virulence in Protestant newspapers than its opposite in the Irish-Catholic press, Hogan nevertheless singles out defensiveness, and 'some signs of persecution complex' in continual demands for fair treatment.<sup>84</sup> Catholic journalists, while not anti-British, were 'fundamentally critical of imperial policy in Ireland', and insisted that local policy would be impartial and inclusive.<sup>85</sup> Differences between the secular and the Irish-Catholic press in the quantity and quality of overseas reporting – the outcome of the 'exchange system' – produced allegations 'that Catholics looked to Rome or Ireland for their orders'.<sup>86</sup> Although Hogan explains that the international emphasis of the newspapers was intended to inform readers

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<sup>79</sup> Peter Overlack, 'Easter 1916' in Dublin and the Australian Press: Background and Response' in *Journal of Australian Studies*, No 54/5, 1997, 188-93.

<sup>80</sup> More than 2 of the 5 text pages refer to pre-1916 factors. The 1911/12 Irish delegation is mistakenly described as led 'again' by William Redmond; it was John Redmond's son, his brother William's nephew, WHK Redmond.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>82</sup> Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Penguin Books, Victoria, 1987, 98-100.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

about the universality of Catholic persecution,<sup>87</sup> it also clearly differentiated colonial Catholics, reinforcing their Irish identity, and facilitating the monitoring of imperial loyalty when required.

Although the religious press has suffered neglect, work by historians such as Elizabeth Morrison highlights the benefits of a focus on newspapers. She endorses the importance of researching newspaper reading habits (in addition to books and magazines) for an understanding of nineteenth century thinking. Her study of colonial Victoria's country newspapers utilised Benedict Anderson's model of 'imagined community'.<sup>88</sup> But her focus on the secular press excludes those readers who located the central meaning of life from religious newspapers.<sup>89</sup> While the world view embedded in the colonial press 'influenced events and shaped attitudes', it is unlikely that many Irish colonists accessed ideas in the same way as their fellows. Her judgement, that newspapers 'were 'expressing and cultivating a British...essentially middle class formulation of identity', could hardly apply to all first and second generation Irish-Australians.<sup>90</sup>

In the regular, multiple individual and contemporaneous acts of reading the same texts, Benedict Anderson sees a 'deep horizontal comradeship'...[where] the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed...is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life.<sup>91</sup>

Such was not the automatic reading experience of Irish-Australians. Subsequently Morrison qualified her advocacy of Anderson, acknowledging that newspapers 'fostered several separate (if sometimes overlapping and interacting) sets of identities and loyalties – the four most obvious listed as British, local, colonial and putative national'.<sup>92</sup> What seems to be her

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, *Engines of Influence. Newspapers of Country Victoria, 1840-90*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2005, 329-30. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1983, 9.

<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth Morrison, 'Reading Victoria's Newspapers 1838-1901' in *Books, Readers, Reading, Australian Cultural History*, No 11, 1992, 128-40.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>92</sup> Morrison, *Engines of Influence*, 329.

foremost loyalty (implicit in the order) could not be assumed as incorporating all Irish-Australians. Examining Irish-Catholic newspapers at times of imperial crisis presents opportunities to track their promotion of loyalties, and locate some insights about the complex issue of Irish identification.

### *Irish-Australian Identity*

Irish-Australian communities were defined, and identified by both Irishness and (mostly) Catholicism. Kevin Molloy's research, although not incorporating South Australia, shows how both Irish devotional and national literature was imported using 'personal contacts and...Irish diaspora networks' to meet local demand. He suggests that by 1880 'in some Irish ethnic enclaves [in New South Wales and Victoria there was a vigorous] Irish national and Catholic subculture'.<sup>93</sup> O'Farrell however concluded that the majority of Irish-Australians responded to Ireland by appreciating the differences in Australia, and were stimulated 'to work out their own distinctive identity'.<sup>94</sup>

Much of O'Farrell's argument suggests close collaboration with Louise Anne Mazzaroli.<sup>95</sup> Her work (preceding Molloy's) disputes the existence of an Irish subculture in New South Wales, and accords with O'Farrell's conclusion that the 'artificial' subculture emerged from clerical imposition, mobilisation and control aimed at strengthening Catholicism.<sup>96</sup> Significantly, she asserts that despite Catholic newspapers devoting substantial space to Irish items and Irish-Australian activities, 'this concealed the widespread apathy and

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<sup>93</sup> Kevin Molloy, 'The Politics of Reading: Identity and the Australian Irish Reading Experience, 1800-1880' in Brad and Kathryn Patterson (eds.), *Ireland and the Irish Antipodes: One World or Worlds Apart?*, Anchor Books, Sydney, 2010, 156.

<sup>94</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 144.

<sup>95</sup> See Louise Anne Mazzaroli, *The Irish in New South Wales, 1884-1914, Some Aspects of the Irish Sub Culture*, PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1979. Many bibliography items were 'in the possession of P O'Farrell', while a personal, hand written dedication identifies a close professional association.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

divergence of views within the Irish population'.<sup>97</sup> She dismisses the importance of Irish social and cultural organisations on the basis of disproportionately small memberships, limited life spans, leadership confined within an elite also heading other groups, and the role of Australian not Irish reasons in their formation.<sup>98</sup> Such an approach to argument, establishing a limited proposition or assertion, based often on a single example, facilitates her speedy response. For example, discussing declining clubs of the 1880s, she suggests, without evidence, that wealthier Irish avoided membership because it was not 'particularly fashionable to espouse an interest in Ireland or any form of Irish activity'.<sup>99</sup> Given the limitations of these arguments, and their questionable application to South Australia and Victoria, the importance of a closer focus on the mechanisms by which Irish-Australians negotiated identity issues becomes more evident.

Irish-Australian identity encapsulates three important dimensions in this research; all three were also perceived as involving questions of loyalty. The three include the place of institutional Catholicism (crucial in the existence and motivation of both the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross*),<sup>100</sup> the critical role of St Patrick's Day as a site for community performance of identity, and visiting Irish delegations and their impact. St Patrick's Day has attracted research interest: as an expression of Irish nationalism,<sup>101</sup> as a site for clerical-lay competition over control,<sup>102</sup> significantly, as a simultaneous statement of intense identity

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<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 77. No evidence is provided for this claim.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>100</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church*, passim, and Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 1-90.

<sup>101</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, 'Irish Culture and Nationalism Translated: St Patrick's Day, 1888, in Australia' in Oliver MacDonagh, Mandle, WF and Travers, Pauric (eds.), *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950*, Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1983, 69-81, and Clement Macintyre, 'The Adelaide Irish and the Politics of St Patrick's Day 1900-1918' in Rebecca Pelan (ed.), *Irish Australian Studies Papers, Delivered at the Seventh Irish-Australian Studies Conference July 1993*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994, 182-196.

<sup>102</sup> Caroline Williams, 'Moran, Mannix and St Patrick's Day' in Philip Bull et al (eds.), *Ireland and Australia, 1798-1998*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 2000, 143-151.

pride,<sup>103</sup> and an explicit display of imperial disloyalty.<sup>104</sup> MacDonagh's account of diverse colonial celebrations in 1888 – 'a superficially bewildering spectacle of political ambivalence and contrariety' – presents a 'slice of history' approach. He depicts:

a doubly colonial condition in...Irish national expatriates of whom confessions of imperial faith were, almost ritualistically demanded ....The colonial condition enjoined a considerable measure of conformity as well as of defiance, conformity being necessary for social survival, defiance for self regard.<sup>105</sup>

His insights about the complexity of colonial identity have resonance and applicability beyond Federation. Both Clement Macintyre and Caroline Williams use the Irish-Catholic press to bolster arguments about the day's reflection of identity confusion, and later in the war, as a vehicle for loyalty statements.<sup>106</sup> Macintyre cites 14 issues of the *Southern Cross* over six different years to suggest conclusions about the determination of Adelaide's Irish to merge with the dominant culture rather than assert their Irishness.<sup>107</sup> He argues that:

It was the news of the Easter Week rising and its aftermath that acted to change the way the Australian-Irish saw themselves and their relationship with the rest of the broader Australian community.<sup>108</sup>

In contrast to the apparent certainty from Macintyre and O'Farrell about the assimilation momentum among Australia's Irish, Mary J Hickman's study of the Irish in Britain reaches an instructively different conclusion.

A low profile is not evidence of assimilation but of a specific response by Irish people to the various anti-Irish and anti-Catholic discourses and practices, which have been encountered and negotiated within the context of specific communal institutions.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Caroline Williams, 'Collective Identity and Memory in Melbourne's St Patrick's Day Celebrations, 1900-1939' in Tadhg Foley and Fiona Bateman, (eds.), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Ninth Irish Australian Conference, Galway, April 1997*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 2000, 273-285.

<sup>104</sup> Elizabeth Kwan, 'The Australian Flag: Ambiguous Symbol of Nationality in Melbourne and Sydney, 1920-1921', in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No 103, October 1994, 280-303.

<sup>105</sup> MacDonagh, 'Irish Culture and Nationalism', 80.

<sup>106</sup> Williams, 'Collective Identity', 285, uses 15 *Advocate* and 2 *Tribune* issues.

<sup>107</sup> Macintyre, 'The Adelaide Irish', 195-6.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>109</sup> Mary J Hickman, 'Alternative historiographies of the Irish in Britain: a critique of the segregation/assimilation model' in Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999, 253.



Claims of detachment about Ireland can also be contradicted by looking at evidence about Irish-Australians gathered by surveillance authorities from 1917. In addition to a continuous rather than an episodic newspaper research method (used by Macintyre and Williams), this evidence reveals that, in Adelaide, for example, Irish identification, responding to local hostility, had been tactically dormant for many, rather than extinct.

### *Identity and Input from Ireland*

Irish figures visited many diaspora sites including Australia between 1881 and 1923. In an article pivotal for its fleshing out the layers and complexity of Irish identity, historian Alan O'Day<sup>110</sup> looked at such visits 'from the vantage point of the formation of an imagined community or network'.<sup>111</sup> His focus was the United States – 'it had the greatest significance'. In terms of numbers, sometimes financial contributions, the point is valid, but to dismiss 'Southern hemisphere lands...[as] too distant' somewhat arrogantly begs the question of distant from where, as well as discounting their diaspora experience.<sup>112</sup> While the function of the Australian visits was ostensibly two-fold, educative and fund-raising, there were important consequences of strengthening Irish identity and publicly assembling large sections of the 'imagined' Irish community. While O'Day's conclusion concurs with O'Farrell's repudiation of any sustaining engagement from Irish-Australians beyond these visits,<sup>113</sup> the newspaper narrative studied here suggests a more complex association.<sup>114</sup> The Melbourne *Advocate* and the Adelaide *Southern Cross* were closely identified with the visits (through editorial involvement) and preserve a powerful record of local responses,

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<sup>110</sup> See Enda Delaney and Donald M McRaid (eds.), 'Introduction' in *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750*, Routledge, London and New York, 2007, xiii, for reference to O'Day as 'the leading scholar of the political networks sustained by Irish communities around the world...'.  
<sup>111</sup> Alan O'Day, 'Imagined Irish Communities: Networks of Social Communication of the Irish Diaspora in the United States and Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' in Delaney and MacRaid, *Irish Migration Networks*, 251.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.  
<sup>113</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 229, 232.

<sup>114</sup> See O'Day 'Imagined Irish Communities', 267-9. He argues American tours resulted in 'commitment [that was] fragile and was not sustained'.

including financial contributions, and ongoing relationships between visitors and local identities.<sup>115</sup> Figure 1 demonstrates the close nature of the association between Michael Davitt and Adelaide figure, J.V. O’Loghlin. Both the letter’s tone and the language – mention of names, reference to ‘your friends out here’, and use of the metaphor of the ‘dead body on the dissecting table’ – suggest continuing friendship between these two men. While loyalty issues dominated in visits of the 1880s and during the Irish Civil War in 1923, chronicling all missions is incomplete.<sup>116</sup> Analysis of the timeframe and details of all five official Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) delegations (1881, 1883, 1889, 1906, and 1911/12) and the numerous unofficial visits by prominent individuals to Australasia awaits research.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> See Michael Davitt to JV O’Loghlin, Letters, 30 November 1895, 21 May, 18 September 1896, 13 August 1897, NLA, MS4520/3.

<sup>116</sup> See Malcolm Campbell, ‘John Redmond and the Irish National League in Australia and New Zealand, 1883’ in *History*, 86, July 2001, 348-62, and Mark Finnane, ‘Deporting the Irish Envoys: Domestic and National Security in 1920’s Australia’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2013.789276.

<sup>117</sup> See Appendix A for details of all visits. See Jeff Kildea, ‘The Redmond Brothers’ Australian Tour 1883: A Narrative Account’, available at [jeffkildea.com](http://jeffkildea.com) (accessed 6 September 2013), and recent work by Fidelma EM Breen, ‘Yet we are told that Australians do not sympathise with Ireland’: A Study of South Australian support for Irish Home Rule, 1883 to 1912,, M Phil, University of Adelaide, 2013.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF  
SECRETARY OF SOUTH  
AUSTRALIA.

\* Chief Secretary's Office, Adelaide,  
21st July, 1896.

"MR DEAR MR DAVITT—I have yours re the Convention. I brought the matter before the last meeting of the I N Federation, and a resolution was carried that a letter of congratulation and sympathy should be forwarded. This was done by the last mail by our President, Mr Glynn, on behalf of the Irishmen and sympathisers of South Australia.

"Will you allow me in addition to express my earnest hope that the Convention may be



HON. J V O'LOGHLIN,  
Chief Secretary South Australia, Vice-President of the South Australian Irish National Federation.

the means of reuniting the National Party, so that they may fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy. With Irishmen themselves divided nothing can be accomplished. It is most disheartening to Home Rulers in the Colonies to see the factious, discord, and continual wrangling among Irish leaders and parties in the old country.

"I think I am expressing the feeling of nine-tenths of your friends out here in saying that they desire the utmost toleration and consideration towards those who may differ in opinion from the majority, but once any matter is fairly discussed and a decision arrived at by a majority, there should be a loyal acquiescence by the minority. No party can carry out any effective policy on any other lines.

"As one who has been connected with the National movement here for many years as Vice President of the National Federation, I venture to speak with some confidence. I was also one of the delegates from S Australia at the Irish Australian Convention, when the Messrs Redmond were here in 1883. I most sincerely hope that the Convention will have the effect of restoring that unity to your ranks by which all previous successes have been achieved, and without which the Irish cause will, I fear, be once again like a dead body on a dissecting table.—Sincerely yours,

"J V O'LOGHLIN,  
\* Mr M Davitt, M P, Dublin."

Figure 1. J.V. O'Loughlin to Michael Davitt, Front Page Letter in Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, 21 July 1896

Historian Neville Meaney describes Irish-Australian ‘support for the Empire and Britishness’ as ‘reserved’.<sup>118</sup> While suggesting most could identify with ‘the Anglo-Celtic race and the British Empire’, Meaney confines examples of demonstrated allegiance to Bede Dalley in 1885,<sup>119</sup> and an 1888 statement from Cardinal Moran.<sup>120</sup> Catherine Hall’s more graded scrutiny of what being ‘British’ meant to those moving across the Empire highlights the range of imperial issues faced by Irish-Australians from the 1860s. She identifies the ‘ambivalence of the Irish as both insiders and outsiders, colonized by the English *and* colonizing the sites of Empire’. Further, she questions whether they were British or not, and if British, ‘what did this mean’, and if not, what were they? Suggesting that identity ‘is formed by the interconnections of the positive presence of the self and the negative excluded dimensions distinguished as the other’, Hall argues that being Irish or Australian ‘meant being some things and not others’.<sup>121</sup> Although Noel McLachlan employed the concept of ‘reversible loyalties’ in relation to publications of the mid-1890s, the notion has wider application. He argued that ‘under simultaneous bombardment from Irish, Australian and British propaganda, Irish and Irish Australian hearts could shift from one to the other (or Empire) and back again...’.<sup>122</sup> For all Irish residing in the Empire, Britain’s conflicts could affect identity formation, place loyalties towards their new homelands under pressure, and construct perceived, often monitored (and unwanted) obligations towards the Empire. Within this atmosphere, the nature of information sources

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<sup>118</sup> Neville Meaney, ‘In History’s Page’: Identity and Myth’ in Deryck M Schreuder and Stuart Ward (eds.), *Australia’s Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, 370.

<sup>119</sup> As acting NSW Premier, Dalley was instrumental in dispatching a contingent of troops to the Sudan. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of this event.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

<sup>121</sup> Catherine Hall, ‘What did a British World Mean to the British? Reflections on the Nineteenth Century’ in Philip Buckner and R Douglas Francis (eds.), *Rediscovering the British World*, University of Calgary Press, Canada, 2005, 23-4.

<sup>122</sup> Noel MacLachlan, ‘Irish Organs and Reversible Nationalism: the Irish-Australian and Irish Australia 1894-5’ in Oliver MacDonagh and WF Mandle (eds.), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Fifth Irish-Australian Conference*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1989, 185.

available to Irish-Australians represented critical factors. The Irish-Catholic press occupied a position of singular influence in the lives of many Irish-Australians.

### *Comparative Approaches to Irish-Australia*

A comparative approach seems to have been under-utilised by historians in analysing the Irish-Australian experience, a point noted by New Zealand historians in relation to symmetry between Auckland's Bishop Liston (tried for sedition in 1922), and Archbishop Mannix.<sup>123</sup> Malcolm Campbell's examination of corresponding patterns between Irish-Australia and America,<sup>124</sup> in particular, responses to events in Ireland between 1914 and 1921, reinforces the value of such cross-diaspora comparison.<sup>125</sup> He uses the Irish-Catholic press to support arguments about Irish-Australia's constraint and timidity in responding to Ireland, but his account does not recognise the impact of surveillance.<sup>126</sup> He emphasises World War One's domestic consequences more than Irish-Australian responses to the savagery of the Anglo-Irish War. And Campbell concurs with O'Farrell about this community in the Civil War 'turn[ing] away, confused, angry and embarrassed, now anxious to cast off ties with home and pursue their own lives abroad'.<sup>127</sup> This claim, so important in terms of Irish-Australian identity, needs greater substantiation.<sup>128</sup> Campbell's recent focus on Irish immigrants in the Pacific world establishes important lines for more extensive comparative studies of the diaspora.<sup>129</sup> His work thus exemplifies Delany's

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<sup>123</sup> Nicholas Reid, *James Michael Liston: A Life*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2006, 20-1.

<sup>124</sup> See Malcolm Campbell, 'Exploring Comparative History: The Irish in Australia and the United States' in Pelan, *Irish Australian Studies*, 342-54, and 'Irish Nationalism and Immigrant Assimilation: Comparing the United States and Australia' in *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol XVI, No 2, December 1996, 25-44.

<sup>125</sup> Malcolm Campbell, 'Emigrant responses to war and revolution, 1914-21: Irish opinion in the United States and Australia', in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXII, No.125, May 2000, 75-92.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> See Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia 1815-1922*, University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2008, 180-2 for discussion of post-war Irish-Australian reactions.

<sup>129</sup> See Malcolm Campbell, 'Irish Immigrants in the Pacific World' in Geary and McCarthy, *Ireland, Australia*, 3-13, and *Ireland's New World*, 16-2, 167-70, 174-77.

subsequent call for ‘the use of transnational analysis that investigates particular topics or themes across national boundaries’.<sup>130</sup>

This historiographical survey indicates the strength of O’Farrell’s analysis as the accepted wisdom about Irish-Australia, suggesting that his schema of assimilation has discouraged investigation of the loyalty continuum. However, allusions from historians such as Craig Wilcox suggest the persistence of a climate judging Irish-Australian disloyalty. He mentions their ‘unease with Empire and imperial responsibilities’,<sup>131</sup> opposition to the Sudan War,<sup>132</sup> and the most resolute ‘active dissenters’ to the South African War as being ‘in the churches [and] in Irish communities’.<sup>133</sup> Without evidence, these judgements portray a disloyal community. Using the transnational milieu within which the Irish-Catholic press flourished, this thesis will examine the breadth and depth of such disloyalty within Victoria and South Australia.

### *Theoretical Contexts*

This section will briefly examine the theoretical compass points which inform this research: Imperialism and Colonialism, Diaspora and Nationalism. It will also clarify the transnational approach underpinning this thesis.

### *Imperialism and Colonialism*

Imperialism influences this research in two ways. One relates to the disputed question of Ireland’s position in the Empire; the other involves Australia and the Empire. Both perspectives reflect the racialised nature of nineteenth century imperialism. Theories of

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<sup>130</sup> Delaney, ‘Our island story?’, 601.

<sup>131</sup> Craig Wilcox, *Australia’s Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899-1902*, Oxford University Press (in association with the Australian War Memorial), Oxford, 2002, 10.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 315.

imperialism began emerging late in that century,<sup>134</sup> largely in response to European dissection of Africa;<sup>135</sup> the expanding field allowed retrospective analysis of Australian colonies within broader paradigms. Imperial sites were distinguished by their Eurocentric or peripheral focus, with settler, franchise and conquest colonies increasingly differentiated.<sup>136</sup> The nature of imperial intent also attracted attention.<sup>137</sup> Insights about white settler colonies – defining all colonists as colonisers involved in domination – have complicated the position of Irish immigrants: colonised by Britain but scarcely ‘passive victims’ in Australia.<sup>138</sup>

According to Jennifer Ridden, although Irish consciousness of their role in the Empire, varied, they ‘took part in the construction of the identities... rang[ing] from senses of diasporic Irish identity, emerging colonial national identities, and a sense of British imperial identity’.<sup>139</sup> In the Australian colonies, Irish-Australian silence about the Indigenous occupiers of the continent suggests collaboration in the implementation of racial policy. C.C. Eldridge, however, suggests that ‘the most influential’ imperial outcome was [the] increased association of certain races with unfitness for self-government’.<sup>140</sup> His allusion to Ireland is supported by L. Perry Curtis Jr’s assessment of Irishmen in Victorian caricatures as ‘*wholly* (sic) un-English [who] reinforce[d] the widespread conviction in Britain that the

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<sup>134</sup> See Sir Charles W Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*, Macmillan, London, 1869, and Sir John R Seely, *The Expansion of England*, Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1883.

<sup>135</sup> The ‘new imperialism’ associated with expansion from the 1870s was the precipitant, the theories’ time range incorporated the African colonial enterprise of the decades.

<sup>136</sup> See Ronald Robinson, ‘Non-European foundations of European imperialism; sketch for a theory of collaboration’ in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe (eds.), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, Longman, London 1972, 117-142, PJ Cain and AG Hopkins, *British Imperialism, Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914*, Longman, London, 1993, J Gallagher, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire: The Ford Lectures and Other Essays*, (edited by Anil Seal) Cambridge, New York 1982, and Andrew S Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics c.1880-1932*, Pearson Education, Harlow, 2000.

<sup>137</sup> See Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists. Empire, Society and Culture in Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004.

<sup>138</sup> Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, ‘Mapping the British World’, in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, Frank Cass, London, 2003, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Jennifer Ridden, ‘Britishness as an imperial and diasporic identity: Irish elite perspectives, c.1820-70s.’ in Peter Grey (ed.), *Victoria’s Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2004, 88.

<sup>140</sup> CC Eldridge, *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, Macmillan, London, 1984, 139.

Gaelic Irish...were unfit for self-government'.<sup>141</sup> Historian David Fitzpatrick's assessment is explicit: the 'duality in British perceptions' of the Irish [who] veered unpredictably between savagery and childlike dependency' approximated 'Imperial attitudes towards native peoples'.<sup>142</sup>

Ireland's imperial position was ambiguous; its colonial status has been hotly contested.<sup>143</sup> Irish-Australians, many perhaps unaware of the complexities, nevertheless clearly recognised that their Irish kin were denied the rights and opportunities they enjoyed as colonists. Given the distinctive treatment of Ireland in comparison to Scotland and Wales, and important colonial policy correlation, for example India, Fitzpatrick's classification of Ireland as a 'hybrid administration' incorporating colonial features is apt.<sup>144</sup> Within Ireland itself, perceptions of colonial status linked to foreign occupation, underpinned fervent republican understandings both of the inviolability of the Irish nation (suggested at the head of this chapter), and its regenerative capacity, despite English malevolence.

Imperial connections defined the relationship between Britain and Australia,<sup>145</sup> the nature of colonial society,<sup>146</sup> and expectations of Australian responses to the Empire's crises.<sup>147</sup> As the Australian colonies expanded in stages after 1788, colonists continued to rely on Britain for 'capital, export markets, immigrants and protection'. The level of imperial control

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<sup>141</sup> L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Revised Edition), Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1997, 146.

<sup>142</sup> David Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and the Empire' in Roger Louis and Alaine Low (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, 499.

<sup>143</sup> See for example, Keith Jeffrey (ed.), *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996, Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, and Terrence McDonogh (ed.), *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2005.

<sup>144</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Ireland and Empire*, passim.

<sup>145</sup> John Hirst, 'Empire, State, Nation', in Schreuder and Ward, *Australia's Empire*, 141-62.

<sup>146</sup> See KS Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1974, passim.

<sup>147</sup> Stuart Ward, 'Security: Defending Australia's Empire', in Schreuder and Ward, *Australia's Empire*, 232-46.



remained muted and local management flourished.<sup>148</sup> Ronald Robinson's sketch acknowledges tensions when colonial nationalists sensed imperial interference, but he suggests an effective partnership in which London gradually dispensed constitutional favours while continuing to receive political and military cooperation. Within this mutually beneficial exchange, the majority of 'ideal, prefabricated' settlers identified strongly with the imperial centre, their loyalty an assumed by-product of this identification.<sup>149</sup> Irish-Australians, however, were located on the lower level of this imported hierarchy: their status and power differentiated and their loyalty often doubted.

David Cannadine argues that as 'settler' colonies, their establishment as 'white men's countries' produced formal disregard and sustained undermining of 'inferior' races...<sup>150</sup> while ideas of hierarchy were also imported. 'Colonial settlers were 'determined to replicate what they believed to be the British social order'.<sup>151</sup> Within this context, there is a general and problematic silence about Irish awareness that their complicity in dispossessing Indigenous Australians recreated the eviction processes endemic in Ireland.<sup>152</sup>

In Australia however, as beneficiaries of London's 'constitutional favours', many Irish increasingly resented London's coercive denial of the same rights to their families in Ireland. Gladstone's espousal of Home Rule in 1886 was seen as having 'awakened the slumbering genius of Imperialism'.<sup>153</sup> The hope of Home Rule not only dominated Irish-Australian communities from 1886 (through the Irish-Catholic press, IPP visits and

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<sup>148</sup> Robinson, 'Non-European foundations', 124-6.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 117-142.

<sup>150</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, London, 2001, 27.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>152</sup> See Ann McGrath, 'Shamrock Aborigines: the Irish, the Aboriginal Australians and their children' in *Aboriginal History*, Vol.XXXIV, 2010, 55-84 for elaboration of this point.

<sup>153</sup> Nicholas Mansergh, *The Irish Question 1840-1921*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1965, 179. The descriptor is attributed to Lord Salisbury, Mansergh links Chamberlain's opposition to Home Rule and 'his emergence as the most 'formidable of the new imperialists'.

financial demands), but also moulded their attitudes towards Empire, if inherently from 1886, explicitly from 1914 when implementation seemed assured.

### *Diaspora*

The Irish question is a world question, because the Irish race is a world race ... The Irish race as a whole is by now no secondary thing. It numbers about 20,000,000 of souls knitted together by memory and sympathy like the Jews.... It will never rest nor cease to harass and thwart British aims...until the situation in Ireland is somehow definitely and drastically altered.<sup>154</sup>

Links between this 1919 statement, an early, implied understanding of the concept of diaspora, and Khachig Tololyan's definition in 2012 – 'those communities of the dispersed who develop varieties of association that endure at least into their third generation' – demonstrate surprising resonance.<sup>155</sup> Importantly, both realign concentration from a narrow focus on one country, and assume the inclusion of generations beyond the emigrant.<sup>156</sup> Anderson's use of the term 'long-distance nationalism' to describe relationships between the diaspora and the country of origin, encapsulates the extended impact of a past and a homeland on individual lives.<sup>157</sup>

The term 'diaspora' has been increasingly applied to the exodus of 'at least 10 million people' from Ireland since 1800.<sup>158</sup> Originally describing Jewish dispersal, more recently Armenian and African, to name a few, its use fully includes the experience of the Irish beyond Ireland, 'acknowledg[ing] that the 'old country'...always ha[ving] some claim on their loyalty and emotions'.<sup>159</sup> Some are cautious, however, that frequent use of the term

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<sup>154</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 September 1919. The item was attributed to the London *Observer* of 22 June, in a new column, a response to the conflict: 'Ireland and Ireland's Cause'.

<sup>155</sup> Khachig Tololyan, 'Diaspora Studies: Past, Present and Promise' in *International Migration Institute Working Papers*, Paper 55, April 2012, University of Oxford, 8.

<sup>156</sup> 'Enda Delaney, Kevin Kenny and Donald M MacRaild 'The Irish Diaspora' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, XXXIII, 2006, 39, 43.

<sup>157</sup> Benedict Anderson, 'Globalization and its Discontents' in *Field Day Review*, 1, 2005, 185.

<sup>158</sup> Quoted in Delaney, Kenny and MacRaild, 'The Irish Diaspora', 36.

<sup>159</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, UCL Press, London, 1997, ix.

where shared meaning is assumed carries the risk of undermining its value.<sup>160</sup> Some theorists such as William Safran<sup>161</sup> and Robin Cohen<sup>162</sup> have attempted to refine the concept, yet critics have persisted in identifying its intrinsic limitations.<sup>163</sup>

In 2006, noted historians of Ireland, Delaney, Kenny and MacRaild, dissected the concept of diaspora in relation to Ireland, evaluating drawbacks and advantages as the term has been applied in existing literature. Delaney identified diasporic diversity issues – the necessity for multi-generational studies in the various locations, the uncertain relationship between homeland and settlement, and the evolution of ‘distinctive and often competing identities’ – as important to clarify and incorporate before ‘the true potential of diasporic history [can be exploited] as a conceptual tool for historians’.<sup>164</sup> Kenny’s scepticism permeated his insistence that comparison must ‘capture the diversity [and] the uniformity of the global Irish experience’ before diaspora can reveal ‘new avenues of enquiry’.<sup>165</sup> And for MacRaild, ‘the core meaning of diaspora comprises a triangular dialogue between the homeland and...new communities [and] a consciousness of being part of an international community’.<sup>166</sup> This study reflects many of these qualifications in its focus on the role and place of the Irish-Catholic press in connecting Ireland and Australia and the wider diaspora, and both the development and disruption of Irish-Australian identity in response to the loyalty demands of imperial crises.

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<sup>160</sup> In an important, much quoted text, Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, PD Meaney Company Inc Publishers, Toronto, 1996, 6-9 defines Irish, but not diaspora.

<sup>161</sup> William Safran, ‘Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return’, in *Diaspora*, Vol. 1, No 1, 1991, 83-99.

<sup>162</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, UCL Press, London, 1997, ix, 1-29.

<sup>163</sup> Malcolm Campbell, ‘Diasporas’ in *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. XXXVII, No 2, 2003, 1-5.

<sup>164</sup> Delaney et al, ‘The Irish Diaspora’, 45.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

For Khachig Tololyan, use of the term identification incorporates a ‘more flexible and reversible process’ than identity which ‘risks reification and essentialism’.<sup>167</sup> This important distinction reinforces McLachlan’s notion of ‘reversible loyalties’<sup>168</sup> and highlights contrasting issues faced by Irish emigrants to colonial Australia. MacDonagh’s reminder of religion providing a ‘powerful separator’ is amplified by McLachlan’s point that use of the term ‘Irish’ implicitly excluded Protestant Irish.<sup>169</sup> This group, possibly five to six percent of the population (in comparison to 20 percent Catholic Irish), could choose Irish identification, a choice unavailable to most Irish-Catholics, and one with multiple consequences in strongly British-identified Australia. While Irish-Catholics occupy the central position in this research (with their newspapers constituting the major source), those Protestant Irish sharing a common nationalist commitment also receive attention.

Examining the mass media and information flow around the British Empire, Simon J Potter looks at ‘webs’, ‘networks’ and systems. He questioned Anderson’s ‘simplistic’ argument ‘that newspapers helped associate particular ‘print languages’ with ‘perceived national identities’. Referring to evidence from John B Thompson that business encouraged ‘media concerns to look beyond the borders of the nation’, he judged colonial newspapers as potentially creating ‘a sense of inclusion in a wider imperial community’, not nourishing nationalism.<sup>170</sup> But ultimately the media ‘worked to promote different identities’. In ways intermeshing with this research on a number of levels, Potter describes ‘local, national and imperial identities coexist[ing] and compet[ing] in patterns that changed over time...’.<sup>171</sup> Potter’s framing accords completely with the focus of this research which

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<sup>167</sup> Tololyan, ‘Diaspora Studies’, 11.

<sup>168</sup> See 22 above for discussion of McLachlan’s concept of ‘reversible loyalties’.

<sup>169</sup> MacDonagh, ‘Irish in Victoria’ 581, and Trevor McClaughlin ‘Protestant-Irish Settlement’ 573, in Jupp, *The Australian People*.

<sup>170</sup> Simon B Potter, ‘Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire’ in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol XLVI, No 3, July 2007, 623-4.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 646.

identifies both first and second generation Irish-Australians as negotiating Irish, imperial and Australian identities and loyalties.

Returning to O'Day (who incorporated Anderson's 'imagined communities' into his delineation of Irish networks and identity) his approach to identity issues highlighted valuable sociological concepts.<sup>172</sup> From J Milton Yinger's argument that full ethnicity must combine self-identification, identification by others and shared activities,<sup>173</sup> O'Day concluded that an Irish network or aggregate not only ebbs and flows, but is not co-terminus with population statistics.<sup>174</sup> O'Day attributes 1890s pan-Catholicism as shaping a religious rather than an ethnic identity. This accords with Yinger's view that immigrants are impacted by complementary processes of assimilation and dissimulation.<sup>175</sup> Another theorist, Don Handleman posited four levels of ethnicity: 'ethnic category' (loose connections recognising cultural distinction between the group and outsiders), 'ethnic network' (consistent intra-group interaction), 'ethnic association' (development of political organisations to meet common goals), and 'ethnic community' (holding permanent and mentally bounded territory beyond its political organisation). Combining this framework with Anderson's 'imagined community', O'Day described the development of group consciousness, particularly emphasising that visits from Irish delegates 'foster[ed]... self awareness'.<sup>176</sup> Such visits functioned as temporary elevation of some Irish-Americans up Handleman's ladder.<sup>177</sup> Herbert J Gan's notion of 'symbolic ethnicity' described those whose ethnicity was contingent on 'affiliation with an abstract collectivity', something

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<sup>172</sup> For O'Day's earlier use of these concepts see John Hutchinson and Alan O'Day, 'The Gaelic Revival in London, 1900-22: limits of ethnic identity' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: the Local Dimension*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1999, 254-76, and Alan O'Day 'The Political Behaviour of the Irish in Great Britain in the later Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' in John Belchem and Klaus Tenfelde (eds.), *Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Perspective*, Klartext Verlag, Essen, 2003, 75-92.

<sup>173</sup> J Milton Yinger, 'Toward a theory of assimilation and dissimulation' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol IV, No 3, July 1981, 250.

<sup>174</sup> O'Day, 'Imagined Irish Communities', 257.

<sup>175</sup> Yinger, 'Toward a theory', 261.

<sup>176</sup> O'Day, 'Imagined Irish Communities', 266

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

different from real interaction.<sup>178</sup> Gan associated this with the third generation, O'Day however, found earlier supportive evidence on delegate tours.<sup>179</sup>

In a study which resonates with O'Day, and McNamara's emphasis on inter-generational pressure points,<sup>180</sup> Timothy J. Meagher's analysis of Irish-American identity between 1880 and 1928, highlights change across generations. Although the context differs from colonial and federating Australia, his wide-ranging dissection of the decades enables comparison. Differentiating the native-born from initial immigrants (who saw themselves as exiles), he judges their children as loyal to Ireland, and devoutly Catholic, immersed in 'devotional practices'.<sup>181</sup> He argues that before the 1890s Irish 'embraced' American culture but amongst the domestic and external pressures of that decade, 'Irish ethnic assertion...[made] better sense'.<sup>182</sup> By the twentieth century, for many of the second generation, 'Irish cultural ethnocentrism...had little appeal'. Meagher pinpoints the dominance of 'pan-ethnic, militant American Catholicism' outweighing the 'stunning explosion of Irish-American nationalism' following events in Ireland after 1916.<sup>183</sup> Insisting 'that there was no typical Irish American experience',<sup>184</sup> Meagher's case study highlights the impact of the surrounding ethnic mix (the American melting pot rather than Anglo-dominance in Australia), the local environment and external factors, in shaping Irish identification processes, especially across generations.

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<sup>178</sup> Herbert J Gan, 'Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Culture in America' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 1, 1981, 8-9.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>180</sup> See above 17-18 for discussion of McNamara's framework in her study of the *Tablet*.

<sup>181</sup> Timothy J Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame Indiana, 2001, 11.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* Here he concurs with O'Day's focus on the impact of pan-Catholicism as shaping identity, see 31. above.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

In 1842, moderate Irish nationalist leader (the ‘Liberator’), Daniel O’Connell,<sup>185</sup> corresponding with Irish cleric, Paul Cullen (then rector of Rome’s Irish College),<sup>186</sup> wrote ‘British! I am not British. You are not British.’ Ireland was, he wrote, ‘a separate nation! ...[her] separate existence’ having survived centuries of English attack.<sup>187</sup> O’Connell’s recipe for Ireland was Repeal of the Union; he assured Cullen this would be ‘an event of the most magnificent importance to Catholicity’. The exchange illuminates both the significance of Ireland’s separate national identity as perceived by an early nineteenth century leader, and its assumed association with Catholicism.<sup>188</sup> For Thomas Davis (Protestant Irish patriot and Young Irelander of the 1840s),<sup>189</sup> the term nationality (never nationalism) was:

a consciousness in a people, and in the individuals who make up a people, of a bond with each other and the land they inhabit. The bond is unique to them and manifests itself in patterns of thought, behavioural forms, language and culture...it is expressed in the way a nation relates to other nations. True nationality is never narrow, triumphalistic, imperialistic or proud. It extends to others the same rights and courtesies it would wish to have extended to itself.<sup>190</sup>

The importance of these perspectives, so deeply embedded in nineteenth century Ireland, emerged as a powerful unifying force during the Irish War of Independence from 1919 to 1921, a conviction reflected across the diaspora. This section will briefly locate questions of Ireland’s national identity and its association with Catholicism within the theoretical debate.

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<sup>185</sup> O’Connell opposed the Union of 1800, then focussed on Repeal while promoting Catholic Emancipation in 1829. See EJ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1962, 170-1 for this movement as Western Europe’s first nationalist movement, identified with the Church. See Appendix C for details of O’Connell’s life.

<sup>186</sup> See Appendix C for details of Cullen’s life.

<sup>187</sup> Quoted in Brian Jenkins, *Irish Nationalism and the British State: From Repeal to Revolutionary Nationalism*, McGill-Queens University Press, Canada, 2006, 43.

<sup>188</sup> See Oliver MacDonagh, ‘The Politicization of the Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800-1850’ in *The Historical Journal*, XVIII, No 1, 37-53 for discussion of O’Connell’s role in mobilising Irish bishops to support action against Britain.

<sup>189</sup> See Appendix C for details of Davis.

<sup>190</sup> John Molony, ‘The White Native-born of New South Wales 1788-1850’ in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, 2000, 46. See Appendix C for details of Davis’s life.

Nationalism has spawned many theorists, the intensity of their debates and contestation itself a comment on the importance of this phenomenon. Theorists such as Gellner,<sup>191</sup> Kedourie,<sup>192</sup> Anthony D. Smith<sup>193</sup> and Hobsbawm<sup>194</sup> have delineated the contours of a vast field. Yet within this arena, Ireland's position seems ambiguous. John Hutchinson, singular among theorists for recognising and mapping Ireland's key 'nationalist moments', and distinguishing between cultural and political nationalism, urges comparative studies.<sup>195</sup> Looking at Eugen Weber's focus on nation-forming processes in nineteenth century, republican Catholic France, however, illuminates vast contrasts with Catholic Ireland under the Union. In post-Revolution France, Catholicism was circumscribed. Cardinal Cullen reinvigorated Irish clerical control. Ireland, unlike France, struggled beneath two controlling barriers – Church and an interventionist external (colonial) state.<sup>196</sup>

Of greater pertinence to this study, where the central focus cannot involve evaluation of theories of nationalism in relation to Ireland, Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities' schema captures important aspects of Irish nationalism.<sup>197</sup> Bemoaning Ireland's receipt of a 'brief [theoretical] salute' (and apparently unaware of Hutchinson's contribution), historian Richard English, hails Anderson's connection of the 'broad community of the imagination' with close associations between individuals as its 'initial building blocks'.<sup>198</sup> English focusses on concepts of 'community, struggle and power' to explain 'nation and

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<sup>191</sup> See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1983.

<sup>192</sup> See Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (Fourth edition), Oxford, 1993.

<sup>193</sup> See Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998.

<sup>194</sup> See Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1879, Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

<sup>195</sup> See John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1987, passim and also his 'Irish Nationalism' in DG Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds.), *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*, Routledge, London, 1996, 111. For one example, see MK Flynn, *Ideology, Mobilisation and the Nation: The Rise of Irish, Basque and Carlist Nationalist Movements in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Macmillan Press, Ltd, Hampshire, 2000.

<sup>196</sup> Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernisation of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Stanford University Press, California, 1976, 94-6, 316, 334, 336, 345, 355-6, 362, 370-1, 469, 474-5, 493-4.

<sup>197</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 9.

<sup>198</sup> Richard English, *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland*, Pan Books, London, 2007, 339-40.



nationalism in Ireland’,<sup>199</sup> endorsing Alice Stopford Green’s ‘great stress on the supposedly ancient and continuous unity of the Irish people’.<sup>200</sup> Green’s early twentieth century perspective is encapsulated in the quote heading this chapter, insisting that ‘questions of ancient origins remained potent in Ireland’.<sup>201</sup> This contrasts with Hutchinson’s repudiation of

the mythologies of popular tradition that presented Ireland as an independent national and democratic civilization that had fought for independence for over six hundred years against the English invaders.<sup>202</sup>

Perspectives adopted by Hutchinson (and other theorists) which exclude Sinn Féin’s representation ‘of a distinctive Irish nationality [which they] believed ...to be true and acted according to that belief’, reflect the dominance of ‘expert’ analysis over popular conviction.<sup>203</sup> Historians such as D.G. Boyce who dispute the existence of an ‘Irish race’, but recognise the potency and importance of the concept within Ireland, provide background for understanding the transmission of such a sense of nationhood across the diaspora. Within this far-stretched ‘imagined community’ which consistently received ‘exchange’ newspaper reinforcement of Ireland’s uninterrupted history as a nation, theoretical contestation would have had no place.

### *Transnationalism*

The definition of transnational history offered by Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake supports the integration of these theoretical approaches – imperialism, diaspora and national identity – in this thesis. They see it as a:

study of the ways in which past lives and events have been shaped by processes and relationships that have transcended the borders of nation states. [It] seeks to

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<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 439, see also 236 and 447.

<sup>201</sup> See Nash, *Of Irish Descent*, 6.

<sup>202</sup> Hutchinson, ‘Irish Nationalism’, 100.

<sup>203</sup> DG Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles: British Public Opinion and the Making of Irish Policy 1918-22* Jonathon Cape, London, 1972, 184.

understand ideas, things, people and practices which have crossed national boundaries.<sup>204</sup>

The particular advantages of such a perspective in this research context become evident from a brief focus on the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, an event pivotal in defining Irish-Australian loyalty. Donal Lowry's analysis of international responses incorporates 'the revolution in communications', global ideologies of imperialism, capitalism, anti-imperialism and nationalism, reactions from prominent individuals and the conflict's international significance.<sup>205</sup> More specifically, he charts the ways this war informed the experience of Irish Republicans and Ulster Unionists both before and after the seminal events of 1916; he notes the shared South African experience of many British military figures tragically instrumental in post-1916 Ireland.<sup>206</sup> Lowry's explanation highlights Sven Beckert's explanation of transnationalism as a 'way of seeing', 'a way of uncovering connections'. Without denying the significance of 'states and empires...it pays attention to networks, processes, beliefs and institutions that transcend these politically defined spaces'.<sup>207</sup>

This thesis covers an array of the transcending factors identified by Beckert. These include: being Irish, the operation of networks both connecting Irish-Australians and Irish elsewhere, the information flow between Ireland and London, and between the newspapers and their readers, and being Catholic. As readers of Irish-Catholic newspapers, Irish-Australians were potentially vulnerable to the additional interplay of a global institution and religious belief. Imperial citizenship represented one source of international intervention, association with Catholicism another, while identification with the diaspora provided a further transnational layer.

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<sup>204</sup> Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective*, ANU E Press, Canberra, 2005, 5.

<sup>205</sup> Donal Lowry, 'The World's no Bigger than a Kraal: the South African War and International Opinion in the First Age of Globalisation' in David Omissi and Andrew S Thompson (eds.), *The Impact of the South African War*, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2002, 269-77.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 278-81.

<sup>207</sup> Sven Beckert, 'AHR Conversations on Transnational History' in *American Historical Review*, Vol. CXI, 1459.

Kevin Kenny espouses a combination of approaches in order to integrate 'immigration and ethnicity...into its wider global context'.<sup>208</sup> Developing his theme, he suggested that this 'combined' prescription would:

examine movement and interaction between migrants in...Australia and the home country.... And it would integrate those transnational enquiries with comparative study...at the urban or regional rather than the national level, of Irish migrants and their communities in the very different places where they settled.<sup>209</sup>

He assessed this approach, the one adopted here to examine (via their newspapers), how Irish-Victorians and South Australians functioned in response to imperial crises, as resulting in 'a comprehensive and flexible framework of historical analysis'.<sup>210</sup>

### *Methodology*

The centrality of newspapers in this research, and the point made earlier relating to the absence of analysis of Australia's religious press, underlines the importance of explaining the method adopted for their use. The approach in this thesis has been most significantly informed by the ideas of Benedict Anderson, Aled Jones, John M. Mackenzie, Simon J. Potter and Eugenio Biagini.

Anderson's arguments about the ways that 'print' connects an imagined community, facilitating the coherence of disparate groups, are crucial.<sup>211</sup> For Irish-Australians this was important in several ways. There is striking evidence of active engagement in the diaspora community – Anderson's 'long distance nationalism' – from those sourcing their own Irish newspapers.<sup>212</sup> Evidence of such broader participation was common in Irish-Australian

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<sup>208</sup> Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study' in *Journal of American History*, 90, 2003, 135.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>211</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 9. See 20, 35, 36 and 39 above for earlier discussion.

<sup>212</sup> See RB Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales, 1803-1920*, Sydney University Press. Sydney, 1976, 154 for reference to large numbers of imported Irish papers, and South Australia's *Irish Harp* of 1 July 1869 which advertised 'The Nation. Irish Newspaper received by each English Mail and forwarded to all parts of the colony'. See also Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, 84, 87, 89, 91, 92, 94, 262 and 409.

newspapers, demonstrating membership of both local and international imagined communities.<sup>213</sup>

In Victoria and South Australia where the Irish were scattered, their ethnicity and their religion explicitly represented in these newspapers, enabled this minority population to combine and function as a virtual community, drawing on Anderson's notion of an 'imagined community'. That is a dispersed, never-meeting group which however shared ancestry and religious outlook, and valued their connection within an often hostile, Anglo-centric milieu. Julie Thorpe's study of the press and identity in Austria posits a salutary caution about the limitations of Anderson's thesis in relation to reader identification with the wider imagined community. Arguing that while patterns, nuances and titles can be analysed, she insists 'we can only conjecture what meaning the readers themselves would have found'.<sup>214</sup> And in a caution against equating the press with public opinion, she insists that newspapers did not persuade readers about issues 'since they selected which newspapers they read, usually those which reflected their own or their family's opinions....' She describes this notion as 'interpretive communities' of readers.<sup>215</sup> The Liddy family vignette introducing this thesis meets such a description.

Aled Jones, however, emphasises newspapers as agents of change, broadly transmitting ideas and information across diverse populations. Employing Foucault's term 'technologies of power' – 'a web of discourses which defined power and social relations' – as a historian, Jones claims that 'the manner in which news was read, reflected upon and argued about'

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<sup>213</sup> See persistent correspondents to the *Southern Cross*: Michael Kenny's 9 letters between August 1889 and May 1891, AF Stapleton's 3 letters of 1906, and MT Smith's 7 letters in 1923. All reflect detailed knowledge of Ireland and receipt of Irish papers.

<sup>214</sup> Julie Thorpe, *Pan-German Identity and the Press in Austria*, 1933-38, PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 2006, 102.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 103. She attributes the concept to James Smith Allen, *In the Public Eye: A History of Reading in Modern France, 1800-1940*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1991, 103-10.

enables ‘mapping a hitherto neglected area of the cultural history of the nineteenth century.’<sup>216</sup> Stressing the function of Reading Rooms as habituating readers<sup>217</sup> – in Australia, these were located in Institutes and the Public Library<sup>218</sup> – before the newspaper proliferation of the 1890s,<sup>219</sup> Jones argues that as a result of critical reader newspaper immersion, both ‘orality...[and] literacy’ shifted, resulting in (acknowledging Habermas’s term) ‘a structural transformation in the public sphere’.<sup>220</sup> While the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross* functioned within a religious sphere, after 1916 they increasingly operated as ‘agents of change’ for Irish-Catholic readers, delivering powerful mechanisms for identifying with Ireland rather than the Empire. For loyalist authorities, the potential consequences of such a ‘structural transformation’ within the Irish-Australian minority were unthinkable.

Given daily press foregrounding of London-filtered news, and increasing Irish-Catholic newspaper use of cables, John M. MacKenzie’s examination of connections between the press and imperialism, in particular his identification of embedded concepts, provides an important dimension for this research. In highlighting differences between Ireland, Wales and Scotland in British press coverage,<sup>221</sup> he argues Ireland’s ‘liminal status’ replicated the asymmetrical Union. While other Union news was dispersed, Irish coverage was confined to outrages, the Lord Lieutenant and Home Rule.<sup>222</sup> Pairing ‘Ireland and various imperial possessions’ in a sample study from *The Times* index, he makes three points. Firstly, both

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<sup>216</sup> Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth Century England*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1996, 2-3.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>218</sup> See Carl Bridge, *A Trunk Full of Books: History of the State Library of South Australia and its Forerunners*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, 88 for statement about Newspaper Reading Room popularity, and the 1901 estimate of 150,000 visitors annually, a figure akin to Adelaide’s population.

<sup>219</sup> See John Arnold, ‘Newspapers and Daily Reading’ in Martyn Lyons and John Arnold (eds.), *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945: A National Culture in a Colonised Market*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 2001, 255 for 1892 figures of 241 newspapers and magazines in Victoria, 34 in SA, and 29 sectarian papers nationally.

<sup>220</sup> Jones, *Powers of the Press*, 201.

<sup>221</sup> John MacKenzie, ‘The press and the dominant ideology of empire’ in Simon J Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire c.1857-1921*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2004, 26.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

press ‘silences’ and noise need noting; concentration on ‘perceived [Irish] disloyalties’ could effectively illustrate ‘the reassuring loyalties of others’; and finally the stereotyping levels evident within iconography.<sup>223</sup> His observation that the ‘effects of this visual and verbal imagery retained their potency throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’, resonates with the work of L. Perry Curtis Jr. discussed previously.<sup>224</sup> Using Home Rule to expand his second point, MacKenzie shows the term ‘English’ was employed for ‘national characteristics, perceived qualities and the dissemination of notable institutions’. In contrast, ‘British’ dominated ‘when... a threat or...a need’ to include the Welsh or Scots into the imperial configuration developed. This represented ‘pluralistic forms of othering,’ not the binary construct proposed by Linda Colley.<sup>225</sup> Mackenzie’s discussion of the complexity of ‘Othering’ evident in the imperial press helps illuminate the identity issues at the centre of this research:

The peregrinations of politicians and fundraisers, the celebration of royal visits, the fighting of colonial wars, all seem to have acted as arenas in which these implicit debates on identities...could take place.

Although he found press evidence of a quest for common imperial identities, he perceived the continuing power of ‘stereotypical differences’ ensured the impossibility of Ireland and empire relating differently.<sup>226</sup>

Potter categorises the press as ‘the single most important institution acting to define the limits for the acceptable integration of the British world in the late nineteenth and early

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-5. MacKenzie comments for example on the prominence of Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants in press coverage of empire, and the virtual silence on the contribution of Irish Protestants and Scottish Catholics

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 36. See 31 above for reference to work of L. Perry Curtis Jr.

<sup>225</sup> See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992, 1-9, passim.

<sup>226</sup> Mackenzie, ‘The press and the dominant ideology’, 37-8.

twentieth centuries'.<sup>227</sup> This resulted from transformative technological changes, the 'unparalleled reciprocity' between journalists across the empire, and the social inclusivity of journalism. He argues therefore that focussing on the press facilitates engagement 'with...questions of identity'. Like Morrison, Potter maintains that the institution supported a range of identities which both interacted and competed.<sup>228</sup> But the 'imperial context' of news-gathering and transmission had far-reaching consequences: 'the vast bulk of the news floating around the British Empire in this period came via London, selected and processed by British journalists'.<sup>229</sup>

Thus Irish-Australian editors faced obstacles in locating, interpreting (often disputing) commercially transmitted news of particular interest/importance to their Irish-Catholic readers. Editors fostered subscriber caution about accepting daily paper Irish content as 'truth', and needed to acquire additional material catering for their needs. Here the mechanics of the previously mentioned 'exchange table' were crucial for the function of the religious press at the extreme of the diaspora.<sup>230</sup> Early editions of Adelaide's *Southern Cross* display responses to its dispatch of copies to a wide range of colonial and inter-colonial publications.<sup>231</sup> While the operation of the imperial press framework has been clearly established; this research concentrates on the receiving end, seeking to show how the Irish-Australian press countered the propaganda generated by imperial conflict.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Simon J Potter, 'Communication and Integration: The British and Dominion Press and the British World, c.1876-1914, in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol XXXI, No 2, May 2003, 191.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>230</sup> See McNamara, *The Sole Organ*, 19-22, 77-8. And see 17-18 and 37 above for earlier discussion.

<sup>231</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19, 26 July and 2 August 1889. See issue of 21 August 1914 after the paper's 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary for the NZ *Tablet*'s compliment: '...one of the brightest, most readable and best edited papers that comes to our exchange table'.

<sup>232</sup> See Peter Putnis and Kerry McCallum, 'Reuters, Propaganda-Inspired News, and the Australian Press During the First World War' in *Media History*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 2013, 284-304, for account of British propaganda use of Reuters from March 1917.

Historian Eugenio Biagini's comments about both usage and relevance of nineteenth century newspapers provide important direction for this research.<sup>233</sup> Focussing on the influence of British daily/weekly publications, he highlights the importance of geographic concentration, the ratio of political to other news, and the editor reader relationship.<sup>234</sup> And, discussing reports of meetings which reproduced speeches, he emphasises the value of capturing these details for readers, with an occasional interjector or questioner's voice.<sup>235</sup> Crucially, his framing of a newspaper 'as a group of sources' involved recognition that leading articles, reports, correspondence and advertisement components all had 'differing value and usefulness'.<sup>236</sup>

Translating these insights to reliance on the Irish-Catholic press as a research tool, it is clear that readers accessed these newspapers for perspectives unavailable elsewhere. In this study of Victorian and South Australian newspapers both Irish and imperially slanted factors have been examined, not the specifically religious. However given the purpose of the Irish-Catholic press to both connect readers to Church and Ireland, their content is extraordinarily concentrated on these often overlapping dimensions.

With this background, reading weekly editions of the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* from mid-1899 through to the end of the Anglo-Boer War, and from early 1914 to December 1923, presented a journey through serious conflicts, and complex newspaper development. In addition, daily papers in both Melbourne and Adelaide often needed consultation to supplement or clarify material in the religious papers. Research revealed the vast gaps in knowledge about these Irish-Catholic publications, for example who edited the *Advocate*

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<sup>233</sup> Eugenio F Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform. Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone 1860-1880*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, 20-28.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-3.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.



from 1901 to 1915, and which individuals were elected as *Southern Cross* directors?<sup>237</sup>

Although small holdings of papers from Joseph Winter and J.V. O’Loghlin are located in the State Library of Victoria and the N.L.A. respectively, these frustratingly represent the only known editorial records. While company records for the *Southern Cross* await further analysis, they have contributed to an understanding of its shareholder base, and Church intervention in its development. The irony of important particulars about both newspapers being revealed from post-Easter Rising surveillance of Irish-Australians is delightful. The N.A.A. proved to be of immense, unanticipated significance in this research, not only in revealing details of Irish-Australian organisations and adherents, but also in demonstrating the breadth and depth of surveillance processes, and the resistance strategies adopted by determined individuals. Security records provided powerful evidence of strong Irish identification, identification which did not materialise in the wake of Easter 1916.

Additional N.L.A. manuscripts provided confirmation of both Irish-Australian networks (for example, correspondence between Melbourne’s M.P. Jageurs and Irish-Protestant H.B. Higgins), and Anglo-Australian prejudice and bigotry (Herbert Brookes). In Dublin at TCD, similar network connections were revealed between Jageurs and John Dillon, IPP leader from March 1918. Other manuscript holdings there and at the NLI (including the networks documented in the Redmond Papers) preserved material from and about (after his sudden death in 1906) Michael Davitt, John W. Walshe (the 1881 delegate to Australia), and Alfred Webb. At the NLI, newspapers such as the Dublin Weekly *Freeman’s Journal*, the *Irish Independent* and the Gaelic League’s *An Claidheamh Solius*, provided additional sources of evidence in references to Irish-Australia.

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<sup>237</sup> Despite the *Advocate* having an idiosyncratic index, answers proved impossible, whereas all *Southern Cross* directors could be identified by using published records of shareholder meetings. Should digitisation eventuate, both newspapers will be of great value to historians.

While the approach to sourcing newspapers was informed by Biagini and Boyce,<sup>238</sup> the nature of the Irish-Catholic press focussing only on Ireland and Rome (either in a general or a local sense) made prioritising their content much more difficult. Although consistent access to feature articles, correspondence,<sup>239</sup> ‘exchanges’ and cables, editorial comment, and activities of Irish organisations dominated, such limitations proved more difficult to apply when Irish events represented the bulk of content, particularly after Easter 1916. (Such demands were not faced by either Biagini or Boyce in their secular press research.) The lack of any applicable template for the Irish-Catholic press contributed to a complex newspaper research environment. Each issue was noted and its contents summarised, with scans made of significant items; the result was an often overwhelming excess of riches. Prioritising the material, and the inevitable jettisoning of innumerable items, presented a constant pressure: how was it possible to judge which of a dozen articles was the most significant? Editorials and correspondence encapsulated the voice of individuals, usually responding to local events (often prejudiced comments or reactions) or news from Ireland. ‘Exchanges’ often provided detailed information about relatively minor events in Ireland, demonstrating the continuing importance of homeland news for the diaspora community. Reports from Irish organisations reflected the strength and significance of these groups for Irish-Australians, often providing unexpected insights into local networks and tensions. Such a continuous and detailed focus on the content of the newspaper glue connecting these real but dispersed Irish-Australian communities, and the highlighting of their community life and priorities, reveals many layers of their strong Irish identification, and increasing evidence that their imperial loyalty was shifting.

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<sup>238</sup> Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 200. See ‘Bibliographical Note’, 197-205 for discussion of his newspaper research methodology.

<sup>239</sup> See David Paul Nord, ‘Reading the Newspaper: Strategies and Politics of Reader Responses, Chicago, 1912-1917’ in *Journal of Communication*, Vol. XLV, No 3, 1995, 66-93 for detailed discussion of correspondence usage. This however refers to archival holdings of letters to one editor, and his responses.

This research covers two weekly Irish-Catholic newspapers throughout the Anglo-Boer War and from the outbreak of World War One in August 1914 beyond the end of the Irish Civil War to December 1923. Such coverage had multiple benefits: augmenting the comparative approach by greater recognition and understanding of differences between the two newspapers, differences of scope and tone, and in the development of the newspapers themselves. Additionally, this approach revealed stark differences between these two Irish-Catholic communities; their divergence became most evident under the intense stress of the Civil War. Understanding how these newspapers represented imperial crises, and from where their information was sourced, provides evidence of the processes and impact of ideas crossing boundaries, an important transnational layer.<sup>240</sup>

#### *Overview of Thesis*

Chapter One will outline the historical context which will establish the background from which the emigrants journeyed to Australia, and an overview of the events and issues which continued to affect the immigrants and their Australian-born families in the colonies/states. The chapter will also describe the nature of Irish-Victoria and South Australia in the period from the 1860s to the 1920s; and introduce the Irish-Catholic newspapers, the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*.

Chapter Two presents loyalty crisis points of the later nineteenth century, such as the attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh in 1868, royal visits in 1881 and 1901, and the Sudan War of 1885, all events marginalised Irish-Australian as ‘Other’ and their loyalty performance or participation was closely scrutinised. The pattern of Irishmen visiting the colonies in the 1880s to raise funds and inform their distant countrymen about ‘Home’ developments, aroused concerns from the dominant culture, a further reinforcement of

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<sup>240</sup> Curthoys and Lake, 5.

‘Otherness’, and undoubtedly a bolstering of Irish identity. While Irish visits provoked particular criticism, all events evoked ‘watchful concern’.

The Anglo-Boer conflict, the focus of Chapter Three, tested Irish-Australian loyalty and identity, and demonstrated a differentiation from other Australians. Irish opposition to that conflict was mirrored in Irish-Australia, and, as opposed to previous crises, loyalty and identity became more visible and vocal issues. The focus of the newspapers visibly differed in these colonies, preparing the ground for subsequent crises where the two occupied different ground, particularly the Irish Civil War. This chapter is organised chronologically rather than thematically, and provides the most detailed description of the methodology used in this research.

Chapters Four, Five and Six examine the response of these newspapers to World War One, both before and after Dublin’s Easter Rising. In the earlier period, transnational threads and Australian dimensions reveal the newspapers’ struggles to find ways to respond to the war and its growing casualty dimension, and to demonstrate Irish-Australian Catholic support and patriotism. Chapter Five witnesses the post-1916 floundering and the expansion of transnational issues as disillusion replaced certainty, especially in relation to Home Rule. Chapter Six documents how increasing numbers of Irish-Australians felt targeted for the perceived inadequacy of their support for the war, despite enlistment rates and grief experiences. This chapter marks the descent from superficial acceptance by the wider community to increased marginalisation, hyper-criticism and official surveillance.

Thus the way is prepared for Chapter Seven’s examination of the Anglo-Irish War where Ireland was under British attack. Between 1919 and 1921 Irish-Australians faced their

biggest test of imperial loyalty, and their very (strengthened) Irish identification guaranteed this was a test they would fail.

In Chapter Eight, because Irish were in deadly conflict with Irish over the nature and acceptability of the Treaty which ended the War of Independence, for most Irish-Australians questions of imperial disloyalty and Anglo-Australian outrage were removed. Thus Irish-Australians were largely focussed on their Irish identification, and where its most appropriate definition lay, with those supporting or opposing the Treaty. This continued to raise issues with imperial loyalists.

The Irish-Australian community has attracted some scholarly interest. This minority's statistical significance underlines the value of examining the processes and forces which shaped its loyalty and informed its point of identification. Ireland and Australia, related via the Empire and migration, were also connected by Irish struggles, initially to establish constitutional independence, and later to declare a separate national identity. The role of the Irish-Australian press has been the subject of little examination. It provides a mechanism not only for providing insights into what readers were internalising about themselves as Irish-Australians and about painful processes in Ireland, but also for the breadth and depth of insights received from other diaspora locations via newspaper 'exchanges'. Such moving beyond national boundaries places Irish-Australians uniquely within three transnational communities – the Catholic Church, the Irish diaspora and the British Empire. While Anne Liddy's grandparents could scarcely have been aware of this complexity as defined here, her recall of their world view exactly replicates this understanding – listening to an Australian Irish-Catholic newspaper's account of British policy in Ireland, an account read by their Australian-born son.

## Chapter One

### Contexts

*Colonial rulers, colonised subjects, and specific vehicles of popular imperial culture circulated not only from the metropole, but to the metropole and between multiple imperial sites.<sup>1</sup>*

This chapter will outline, within the context of the imperial framework connecting Ireland and Irish-Australia, the framework alluded to in the above quotation, the nature of the Irish question which bedevilled the Empire, and the crises which challenged the imperial loyalty of Irish-Australians. Secondly, it will establish the processes by which Australia acquired significant Irish numbers, describing the outcome in Victoria and South Australia, and indicating important features of Australia's population on the eve of World War One. Finally, the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*, the newspapers supporting this research, will be compared in terms of their evolution and development. The chapter will conclude by addressing their circulation, and very brief and preliminary discussion of issues relating to contributors and gender.

#### *Britain, Ireland and the World 1798 to 1923*

This section will summarise important features of background history, locating those aspects of Ireland's history which impinged on Irish in Australia, especially factors relating to the imperial relationships which involved both Irish in Ireland, and those in the diaspora. Ireland's location and its Catholicity, adjacent to but religiously incompatible with Protestant England, endowed it with particular risks for the Empire. Arguably, there was potential for equal anxiety about the consequences of Irish emigration rates across the

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<sup>1</sup> Angela Woollacott 'Postcolonial histories and Catherine Hall's Civilising Subjects' in Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 73.

empire.<sup>2</sup> As Britain's territory expanded during the nineteenth century, London faced crises in various continents; these highlighted discontent among lower-status imperial subjects who did not necessarily view their primary loyalty lying with the British Empire. When Irish emigrants were involved, inherent British distrust of this community surfaced.

In 1800 the Act of Union altered the relationship between Ireland and England. Responding to the danger of Irish nationalism reflected in the United Irishmen's insurrection of 1798, this move attempted to establish a homogenous British kingdom. The goal of equal incorporation proved untenable given Ireland's size, developmental stage and religious differences. The country, under a lord lieutenant (or viceroy), was ruled from Dublin Castle with a Chief Secretary in daily command, and successive Coercion Acts were implemented to control the population.<sup>3</sup> But subsequent challenges to Britain in the form of 1848's 'Young Irelander' movement, and the potentially more serious Fenian activities of the 1860s, demonstrated limited central control and generated wider imperial consequences.<sup>4</sup>

The Fenians, linking Ireland and America, represented a transnational threat. Established in 1858, the revolutionary movement, which aimed to establish a democratic Irish republic, experienced some successes after the American Civil War, but successful government infiltration foiled attempts to invade Canada and mount coordinated Irish risings in 1867.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, official and popular anxiety about Fenianism was reflected throughout the empire. In this context, a purported Fenian attempt to shoot Australia's first-ever royal

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<sup>2</sup> See MacKenzie, 'The Press', 37. 'Yet Irish emigration could seem tantamount to exporting disloyalty'.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the repeated suspension of habeas corpus from 1871, the Prevention of Crime Act (1882) made intimidation a crime, redefined in 1887 to add conspiracy.

<sup>4</sup> Convicted members of both groups were transported, Young Irelanders to Tasmania and Fenians to Western Australia. The assassination attempt raised concerns about Australian Fenian circles. A strong nationalist legacy emerged from both groups; the Easter Rising of 1916, through its IRB links, demonstrated the Fenian tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Fenians were divided over whether attacking England in Canada or Ireland was most likely to succeed; failed interventions in Canada during 1866, 1867 and 1871 resulted.

tourist, Prince Alfred, in March 1868 was perceived as an imperial threat. It will be discussed in the next chapter.

From the late 1870s, at the heart of empire, the invigorated Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) under Protestant landowner C.S. Parnell engineered an imperial crisis of a different kind in their Westminster manoeuvrings. The issue of Home Rule not only overshadowed parliament to 1918, but coloured relationships across the diaspora with the previously mentioned IPP educative/fundraising missions within and beyond the empire ensuring media attention.<sup>6</sup> In colonial Australia such visits not only worked to strengthen the Irish identification of many Irish-Australians but also more definitively targeted them as ‘Other’ and, frequently as disloyal. Opposition to Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone’s Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 contributed to Irish-Australian uncertainty about British commitment to major Irish change. But, by the time the House of Lords displayed its unequivocal antipathy to reform in 1893, the IPP had split following Parnell’s role in a divorce scandal. The association of the Irish issue with an atmosphere of vituperative internecine conflict paralysed constitutional developments.<sup>7</sup>

Colonial Australia identified strongly with the imperial centre, and in the late nineteenth century, this relationship resulted in military engagement in some wider imperial crises. The perceived threat in the Sudan following the murder of General Gordon in 1885 resulted in Australian colonies scrambling to offer support to London. When Sydney’s offer was accepted, Irish-Australians featured in the embarkation. Australian insignificance in the conflict in no way reflected levels of colonial loyalty. But in 1899, when London explicitly

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<sup>6</sup> See 24-5, 32 above for discussion of IPP visits to Australia, Appendix A, and Alan O’Day, ‘Media and Power: Charles Stewart Parnell’s 1880 Mission to North America’ in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Information, Media and Power through the Ages, Historical Studies XXII*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 2001, 202-21.

<sup>7</sup> See FSL Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, Collins/Fontana, Glasgow, 1973, 195-201, 260-2 for details of the split, the ensuing conflict, and reunification in 1900.



represented the Anglo-Boer War as an imperial crisis; all Australian colonies responded, dispatching volunteer contingents in which Irish-Australians figured. Within the Empire Irishmen did not all greet the war with enthusiasm; active opposition was reflected in Ireland, and in South Africa where small numbers fought alongside the Boer in Irish brigades.

Britain had supplanted Dutch rule in South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, resulting in antagonism not only between Boers and incoming British colonists, but more lethally between the Boer and British states. During the first Anglo-Boer War of 1877 evidence of pro-Boer sentiment among Irish MPs at Westminster prefigured widespread Irish identification with the Boers after 1899 as similar victims of British domination. Issues and events of the 1890s (for example, Cecil Rhodes, Jameson's Raid and voting rights of British or *uitlanders*), increased questioning about Britain's motives, and expanded tensions without matched solutions. Historians have argued that the combined impact uncovered previously ignored questions: 'attitudes to the empire and the real nature of Irish loyalty and disloyalty'.<sup>8</sup> The second Anglo-Boer War had long-term transnational dimensions and consequences, both in terms of the Empire and for Ireland. Although Britain was ultimately victorious, the war was followed by some imperial soul-searching and much integrated forward-planning to ensure the early defeats, and later condemnation of military tactics, would not recur.<sup>9</sup>

Britain's attitude to Ireland's position within the Empire was complex. Despite attitudes generating authoritarian policies before reform, imperial armies nonetheless depended on

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<sup>8</sup> Donal P McCracken, *The Irish Pro-Boers 1877-1902*, Perskor Publishers, Johannesburg and Capetown, 1989, xix.

<sup>9</sup> See Keith Fewster, *Expression and Suppression: Aspects of Military Censorship in Australia during the Great War*, PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1980, Chapter One, and Leonie Foster, *High Hopes: The men and motives of the Australian Round Table*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1986.

Irish enlistment. But between 1800 and 1900, Irish recruitment fell from 42 percent of the army to 13 percent.<sup>10</sup> That Irish imperial sentiment was both ambivalent and deteriorating was revealed in Dublin's responses to Queen Victoria's gold and diamond jubilees and her 1900 visit.<sup>11</sup> Indifference marked 1887, but 1897 saw violent protest over perceptions of excessive jubilee support.<sup>12</sup> In April 1900, ostensibly recognising Irish bravery and heroism in South Africa but actually promoting recruitment, Victoria's tightly managed visit provoked widespread opposition. Not only did the enlistments continue to decline, but 'greater anti-recruiting activity' was also evident.<sup>13</sup> In January 1900, the Irish factions, under wartime pressure, managed to reconcile critical differences, potentially enabling a reunited IPP to influence Westminster. As mentioned, there were long-term consequences from the war. Many prominent Irishmen were there: military figures later visible in Ulster or Dublin gained experience,<sup>14</sup> while Nationalists, Arthur Griffith (founder of Sinn Féin), Irish brigade leaders, John MacBride (executed in 1916), Irish-Australian Arthur Lynch (later an Irish MP), and Michael Davitt (previously an MP, an author, and renowned as an ex-Fenian) all contributed to etching the war's memory in Irish history. Its imprint was lasting, its echoes also resonated for Irish-Australians, arousing memories and exposing British inconsistencies towards Ireland.

Ireland remained a preoccupation in the decades before the Great War while, shaping both Liberal and Conservative rule. And while Home Rule persisted as a focus, inadequate IPP

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<sup>10</sup> Keith Jeffrey 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire' in Jeffrey, *An Irish Empire?*, 94-5. See also Terence Denman, 'The red livery of shame': the campaign against army recruitment in Ireland, 1899-1914,' *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XXIX, No 14, November 1994, 208-231.

<sup>11</sup> See Senia Paseta, 'Nationalist Responses to two royal visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol XXXI, No 124, November 1999, 502-4, and James H Murphy, *Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland During the Reign of Queen Victoria*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 2001, 3257.

<sup>12</sup> McCracken, *The Irish Pro-Boers*, 39.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey, 'The Irish Military', 97.

<sup>14</sup> See Alvin Jackson, 'Irish Unionists and the Empire 1880-1920: classes and masses' in Jeffrey (ed.), *An Irish Empire?*, 123-148.

attention went to Ulster's intensifying hostility towards this goal.<sup>15</sup> Figure 2 provides an example of the portrayal of dismissive IPP attitudes towards opposition from Ulster to Australian readers in 1912, while Figure 3 indicates the strength of local expectations about Home Rule.

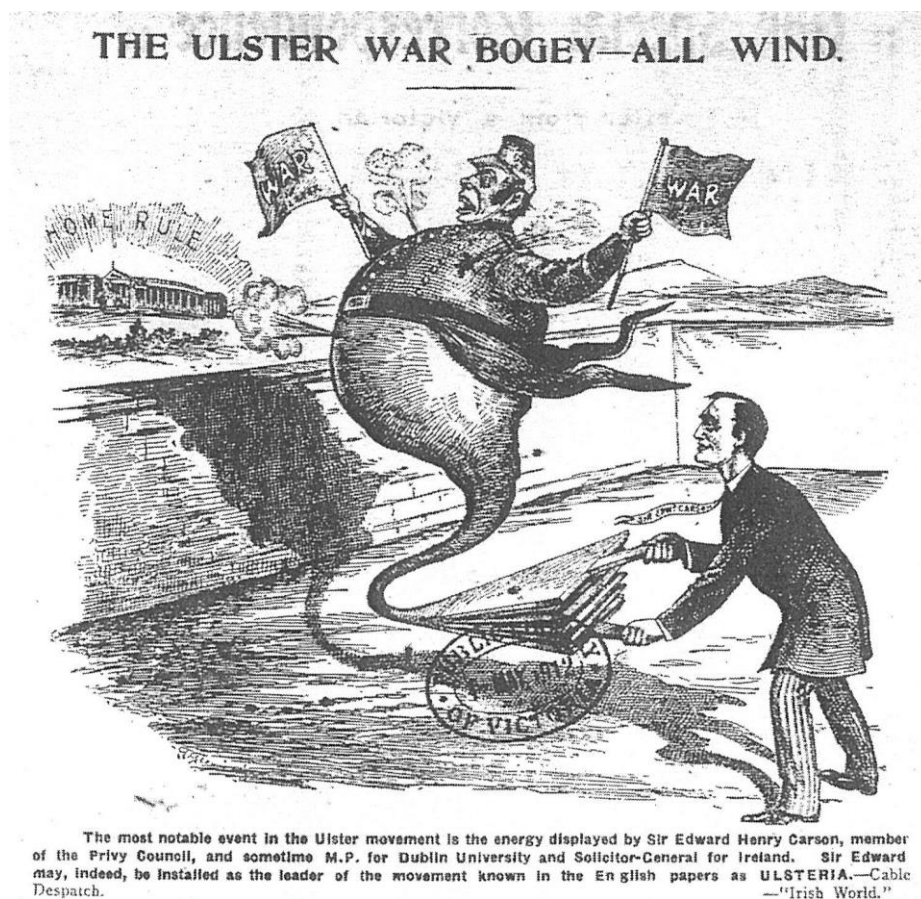
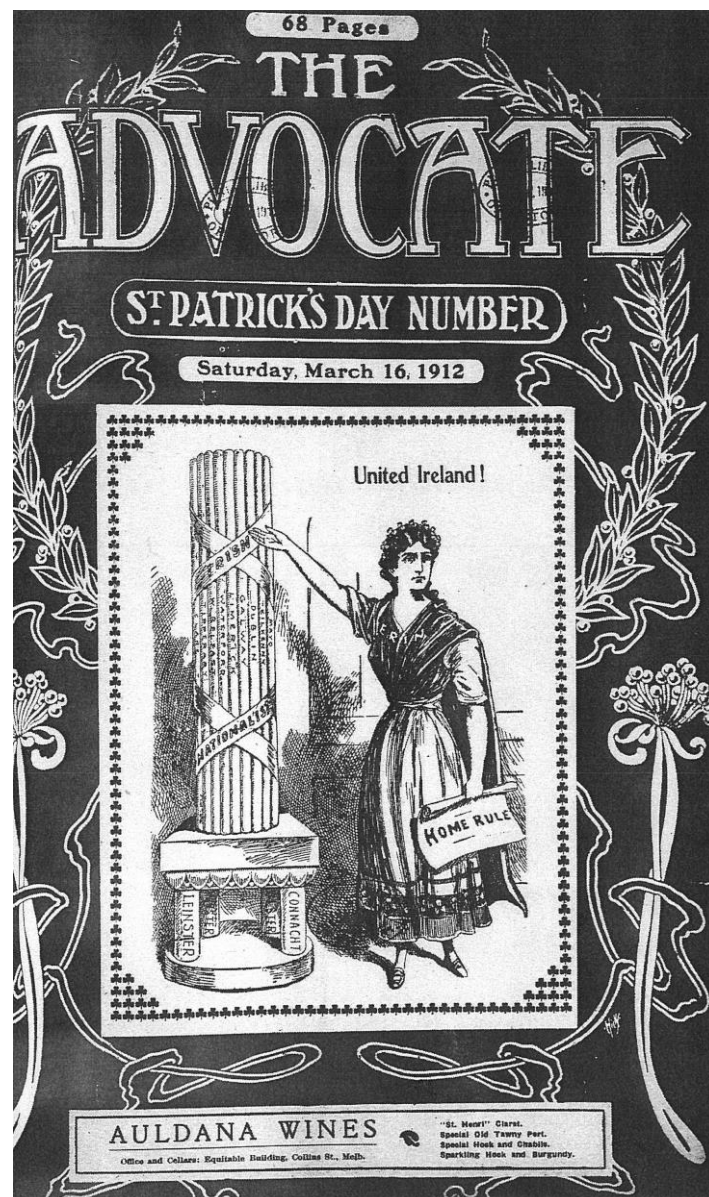


Figure 2. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 4 May 1912

British colonisation of Ulster dated from the early seventeenth century; history and long-term residence blended 'invader' rejection of Home Rule, and identification with all things British. In 1911 the census showed that while Ulster contributed one third of Ireland's population, there were 900,000 Protestants and 700,000 Catholics unevenly distributed across its nine counties. There was widespread alarm that loyalist Protestant Ulster would be delivered to the disloyal Catholic South. Evidence of Ulster fear, resolve and threat

<sup>15</sup> See Roy Jenkins, *Asquith*, Collins, London, 1978, 270-82 for Prime Minister Asquith's similar disregard for the seriousness of Unionist opposition.

emerged increasingly after the Lords rejected the third Home Rule Bill in September 1912. Ulster men, reportedly 250,000, signed a Covenant pledging willingness to use ‘all means which may be found necessary’ to resist Irish self-government; after the second rejection by the Lords in January 1913, an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was formed; in September a provisional government was authorised should Home Rule be introduced. November’s establishment of Dublin’s Irish National Volunteers completed a ‘rival armies’ scenario, raising the spectre of civil war.



**Figure 3.** St Patrick's Day, *Advocate*, 16 March 1912

Events of 1914 confirmed anxiety: the willing resignation of 60 army officer commissions in March at Curragh military camp in the face of Ulster's readiness to violently oppose Home Rule, the unopposed Larne gun-running in the North in April, a futile July Palace conference, and then the Howth (Dublin) gun-running which was greeted by official military violence.<sup>16</sup> Civil war was seriously anticipated and the outbreak of World War One in August was widely characterised as rescuing all parties.<sup>17</sup> Dublin-born Edward Carson in the Unionist leader's extremist mantle attracted Conservative support. John Redmond led the IPP (now critically out of step with Irishmen endorsing Irish-Ireland rather than constitutional change) in total confidence of a short war in which Irish participation would guarantee Liberal implementation of Home Rule.<sup>18</sup> For both groups 'it was politics outside parliament that became instrumental in shaping Ireland's future'.<sup>19</sup>

Redmond's immediate promise, without party consultation, of Volunteer defence of Ireland extended their participation range beyond Ireland in September, precipitating a fatal split in the Volunteers: the majority National Volunteers which he led while the minority, more radical, nationalists were known as the Irish Volunteers. Despite many willingly volunteering to fight for the Empire, Southern Irish soldiers faced discrimination from the War Office (barred from forming their own regiments unlike the UVF), then both appalling casualty rates and a lack of recognition in parallel with their heroism and participation. Naturally Irish support for the war diminished. War progress was slow, casualties high and conscription increasingly promoted as a solution. For Ireland, this threat epitomised British disdain. Formation of a coalition government in May 1915 not

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<sup>16</sup> Three died and 38 were wounded when arms were landed near Dublin in broad daylight.

<sup>17</sup> MacDonagh, *The Sharing of the Green*, 144.

<sup>18</sup> See D.R. O'Connor Lysaght 'The Rhetoric of Redmondism 1914-16' in *History Ireland*, Vol. XI, No 1, Spring, 2003, 44-9.

<sup>19</sup> Diarmid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, Profile Books, London, 2005, 126.

only neutralised any IPP influence, but reinforced the prejudiced attitudes towards Ireland shared by Carson,<sup>20</sup> Bonar Law,<sup>21</sup> Churchill,<sup>22</sup> and Lloyd George.<sup>23</sup>

By 1916, although Ireland had avoided conscription<sup>24</sup> disenchantment with Britain and war was widespread. The IRB ginger group, planning a Rising since May 1915, encountered major challenges, needing to conceal their activities from Volunteer leadership, especially Eoin MacNeill, and to mislead 'Castle' authorities and spies. Additionally, negotiations for German arms support were complex and coordinating regional groups in Ireland presented challenges.<sup>25</sup> Included late, MacNeill withdrew his initial support, and after the capture of the critical German arms-carrying vessel, he cancelled Easter Sunday's Volunteer movements. The IRB was committed to the Rising and pursued this goal. It was doomed. Following MacNeill's intervention, confusion resulted: a fifth of potential forces engaged in the attack but without German or adequate provincial support. The details of the week in Dublin need no retelling here,<sup>26</sup> but their immediate and longer-term consequences require explanation given Irish-Australian distance from and interest in such factors. The months between the Rising of 24 April and the end of the war can usefully be divided into six periods of English policy which explain changing Irish attitudes. This background provides essential clarification for examining shifts in loyalty to England, Ireland and Australia

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<sup>20</sup> See H Montgomery Hyde, *Carson. The Life of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Carson of Duncairn*, William Heinemann, Surrey, 1953, 490-1 for Carson's 1933 views that settlement of the Irish question was unattainable from 1886. He saw Irish leaders as anti-English, 'far from being civilised' and he maintained the inevitability of 'parties of disorder prevailing'.

<sup>21</sup> See Anne Chisholm and Michael Davie, *Beaverbrook: A Life*, Pimlico, London, 1993, 177 for Bonar Law's 1921 view of Irish racial inferiority.

<sup>22</sup> See Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 2004, 7 for Churchill's 1920 view of a 'diabolical strain' in the Irish character, referring to 'that treacherous, assassinating, conspiring trait which has...prevented them from being a great responsible nation with stability and prosperity'.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Lloyd George was described as stating in August 1919 that 'Ireland hated England and always would. He could easily govern Ireland with the sword...'.

<sup>24</sup> See Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1988, 396 and 400 for Ireland's exclusion from January 1916's Military Service Act, and April's second Conscription Act.

<sup>25</sup> MacDonagh, *Sharing of the Green*, 146-7.

<sup>26</sup> See for example, Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 364-375.

among Irish-Australians; it will be used as the backdrop for subsequent discussion of shifting Irish-Australian attitudes towards Home Rule from 1916.

Firstly, martial law was declared in Dublin on 25 April. General Maxwell arrived as Commander-in-Chief (CIC) on 27 April, the insurgents surrendered on 29 April, martial law was extended, courts martial, executions (15) and (deportations (1,841) followed. Initial negative Irish reactions to the Rising were overturned by Britain's 'unnecessary ferocity' in its response presaging widespread, subsequent opposition to the executions.<sup>27</sup> The Chief Secretary and Deputy, Augustine Birrell<sup>28</sup> and Mathew Nathan, resigned on 3 May.<sup>29</sup> A royal commission was announced, hearings began on 18 May, and a report was issued on 3 July.<sup>30</sup> Principally, Birrell<sup>31</sup> and 'unchecked lawlessness' were blamed.<sup>32</sup>

Secondly, after PM Asquith's announcement that existing Irish government machinery had broken down,<sup>33</sup> Lloyd George was tasked with negotiating settlement of the Irish question.<sup>34</sup> Consulting with leaders, he developed a six part proposal and announced immediate Home Rule, excluding Ulster. When the IPP received Cabinet's revision of undertakings made by Lloyd George – notably Ulster's permanent exclusion and non–

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 376.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 362. Appointed in 1907 with a cabinet seat, Birrell was sidelined on Irish policy by Asquith and Lloyd George after 1910; by 1915 he was 'an absentee Chief Secretary'.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, From 1914 Nathan, a distinguished public servant, directed 'the day-to-day conduct of Irish affairs', and 'assumed his task' was preparing for a Home Rule government.

<sup>30</sup> The English Commissioners criticised the Irish administration's response to police and military warnings, Birrell judged as culpable for the situation's development and the actual outbreak, and Nathan for failing to demand more 'active measures'. See Leon O Broin, *The Chief Secretary, Augustine Birrell in Ireland*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1969, 183-4.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, For O'Broin's discussion of Birrell's rationale of his low key approach, see 165-8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 183. Sir Henry Wilson, Director of Military Operations, Imperial General Staff urged Maxwell to arrest, try, and shoot Birrell.

<sup>33</sup> See Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland', 496 for comments about Ireland's administrative 'mess' – in 1914 the Castle lacked control over armed forces, with 11 Whitehall Irish interest sections, 7 treasury-controlled Irish departments, and 22 boards under Chief Secretary direction.

<sup>34</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland*, Prentice Hall Inc, New Jersey, 1968, 80 sees Asquith willing for Home Rule's 'immediate operation' while Lloyd George's control of negotiations with Redmond and Carson, forced acceptance of common terms 'but ...on the basis of contradictory assurances'.

retention of Irish seats at Westminster<sup>35</sup> – this convinced Redmond that any agreement was over.<sup>36</sup> In November martial law ended and Maxwell was replaced. Lloyd George became Prime Minister in December following Asquith's loss of Coalition support,<sup>37</sup> at which point most Irish internees were then released.

Thirdly, despite previously Asquith's previous acknowledgement of its inadequacy, 'Castle Government' was re-established. Wimbourne was reappointed as Lord Lieutenant<sup>38</sup> with a Unionist Chief Secretary.<sup>39</sup> In March 1917, following Lloyd George's admission of Ulster's permanent veto on a self-governing united Ireland, the IPP appealed to the diaspora.

Redmond wanted pressure exerted on Britain to apply her European war justification to Ireland, and President Wilson to apply his principles of self-determination. In this context remaining Irish prisoners were released.

Fourthly, in May 1917 when Lloyd George announced an Irish Convention to produce a scheme of self-government<sup>40</sup> he guaranteed accepting its proposals if 'substantial agreement' emerged.<sup>41</sup> The Convention laboured from September.<sup>42</sup> Sinn Féin declined to participate. But its by-election victories and membership growth pointed to changes in

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<sup>35</sup> See Lysaght, 'The Rhetoric', 49 for argument that Redmond's willingness to accept the temporary exclusion of Ulster in July 1916 both destroyed the IPP and Redmond.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Lloyd George's duplicity emerged in cabinet when the terms caused Unionist outrage, the dropping of the proposal, and exposure of his promises and deception.

<sup>37</sup> See Deidre McMahon in 'Ireland, the Empire, and the Commonwealth' in Kenny, *Ireland...Empire*, 206 for summary of Lloyd George's attitude to Ireland, and to Empire.

<sup>38</sup> Wimbourne replaced Lord Aberdeen as Lord Lieutenant early in 1915 and followed a more interventionist role; he resigned after the Rising but was reappointed.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Hopkinson, *Green Against Green: The Irish Civil War*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin 1988, 5-6 for his assessment of H E Duke as an 'obscure lawyer,' and Eunan O'Halpern, 'Historical revision XX: H E Duke and the Irish administration, 1916-18' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol XXII, March 1980, 362-376.

<sup>40</sup> Hopkinson, *Green Against Green*, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Roy Hattersley, *David Lloyd George. The Great Outsider*, Abacus, London, 2010, 531 suggests he relied 'on the disparate Irish elements remaining irreconcilable...to make the required promise'.

<sup>42</sup> MacDonagh, *Ireland*, 81. Convention members (almost 100) represented church, trade unions, commerce, and county councils. See Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 385-6, 389 and 393 for a more pessimistic account.



Ireland.<sup>43</sup> So in September when Volunteer and hunger-striker, Thomas Ashe died as a result of force-feeding (demanding to be treated as a political prisoner), his death caused outrage.<sup>44</sup> Carson's position in the War Cabinet between September 1917 and late January 1918 contributed to Irish doubts about the war.<sup>45</sup> Redmond's death in early March and his replacement as IPP leader by John Dillon convinced many that Ireland's future lay with Sinn Fein rather than the IPP.<sup>46</sup>

Fifthly, the joint bills for Military Service, extending conscription to Ireland, and Home Rule were introduced in April 1918.<sup>47</sup> Irish administrators advised against conscription and all resigned – Wimbourne, Shortt and the CIC.<sup>48</sup> The Church, Sinn Fein and the IPP cooperated to organise anti-conscription pledges.<sup>49</sup> May publication of the Convention Report, reflecting divergent opinions about self-government, removed the chance of Ireland deciding its future.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, Lloyd George abandoned Home Rule and postponed conscription.<sup>51</sup> But the simultaneous discovery of a German 'plot' in mid-May led to the arrest and deportation of 73 Sinn Fein members,<sup>52</sup> the re-imposition of martial law and the proscription of all public

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 392. See also, Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 181-3. Sinn Fein defeated the IPP in January, May, July and August by-elections but winners did not go to Westminster. By December 1917 Sinn Fein had 112,080 members.

<sup>44</sup> He died on 25 September 1917, 30,000 mourners followed his coffin. See Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 387 for Collins' graveside speech: 'The volley which we have just heard is the only speech which it is proper to make above the grave of a dead Fenian'.

<sup>45</sup> See Wilson, *The Myriad*, 413-15, 419-22 and 626-8 for Carson's role in replacing Asquith, as First Lord of the Admiralty, Lloyd George's recognition of his unsuitability, and his early 1917 War Cabinet redeployment.

<sup>46</sup> Dillon's replacement of Redmond demonstrated IPP intransigence and political isolation.

<sup>47</sup> See Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 392-3 for suggestion that pairing came from Lloyd George's 'unjustifiable optimism' about the Convention reaching a compromise position.

<sup>48</sup> See Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 8-9 for Duke's protest, and 'Castle' reorganisation under John French (more military experience than administrative) as Viceroy with 'clear assurance... [he was] military supremo'.

<sup>49</sup> Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 181-3, also see Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 4 for his judgement that this was 'the final death knell of Home Rule' and the IPP.

<sup>50</sup> MacDonagh, *Ireland*, 82 accepts agreement was unlikely, but insists that 'significant advances' were made.

<sup>51</sup> Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 181-3.

<sup>52</sup> See Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 395-6, see Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 10 for evidence published in 1921 which showed most items related to pre-1918 activities.

gatherings. In October President Wilson's Fourteen Points were published; World War One ended on 11 November. Sinn Fein won 73 seats in Britain's December general election while the IPP retained six. The Peace Conference opened in Versailles on 18 January 1919 and Irishmen were confident of its outcome because the war was fought for 'the rights of small nations' and 'self-determination'.

Ireland's hopes were shattered when the British displayed intransigence and the Americans, detachment. Historian Margaret Macmillan argues that 'self-determination was...one of the most controversial and opaque [of Wilson's ideas.]'<sup>53</sup> She also clarifies his indifference about Irish determination to end British rule:<sup>54</sup> it 'was a domestic matter'.<sup>55</sup> The Conference represented a singular opportunity for the Irish to upstage British propaganda;<sup>56</sup> however, Sinn Fein's inability to force a hearing was immensely disappointing. Meanwhile in parallel with Ireland's diplomatic campaign,<sup>57</sup> elected (and non-imprisoned) MPs met in Dublin as *Dail Eireann* on 21 January. From this point, the previous Irish Volunteers were increasingly known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA); their relationship with the *Dail* was ambivalent, establishing early potential for subsequent conflict. The complex sequence of events which followed the Rising of April 1916 meant that all Irish-Australians, especially those first- and second-generation Irish Australians who relied totally on Home Rule as the only solution, struggled to deal with the unprecedented changes and reverses being reported.

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<sup>53</sup> Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, Random House Trade Paperback Edition, USA, 2003, 11.

<sup>54</sup> See Stephen Bonsal, *Unfinished Business*, Michael Joseph Ltd, London, 1944, 138. A linguist, former journalist and diplomat on the staff of Wilson's advisor, Col. House, Bonsal's diary outlined Wilson's disinterest, and objections to Irish-American pressure.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> See Maurice Walsh, *The News from Ireland: Foreign Correspondents and the Irish Revolution*, IB Taurus, London, 106-9 for discussion of Irish strategies to ensure 'favourable coverage from newspaper correspondents' in Paris.

<sup>57</sup> On 11 June Wilson informed Irish representatives that Ireland would not be admitted.

The January shooting of two Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) constables in Tipperary generally dates the outbreak of the three phase conflict (1919 to 1921) between Ireland and Britain.<sup>58</sup> While Ireland's alienation from Britain's rule predated this era, Peace Conference failure highlighted the challenges of constructing a counter-state. Escalating Irish violence, including, an RIC boycott, ambushes, shootings and the undermining of Dublin's Metropolitan Police (DMP), in Britain's post-war political environment where Conservatives dominated the Coalition Government, precluded a judicious response. Dublin Castle favoured martial law but the *Dail* was not proscribed until September. In December 1919, Lloyd George's 'solution' to appease Ulster, the Government of Ireland Bill, was introduced. Never anticipated as satisfying the South, the measure avoided introduction of 1914's Home Rule Bill. Evacuating RIC barracks in the south and west from autumn 1919 indicated 'the collapse of British rule'. By early 1920, Britain extended its military effort in belated recognition that the condition of Ireland was beyond 'a short rebellion'. January's introduction of the 'Black and Tans' to reinforce the RIC exemplified the shift. Local government elections of January (urban) and June (rural) demonstrated Sinn Fein's popularity, and nationalist control. From March, evidence of 'tit for tat' and reprisal killings emerged. Escalation of violence to guerrilla war by May 1920 precipitated official British soul-searching. Dublin Castle endured an enquiry and administrative overhaul, and after Cabinet reviewed policy, negotiation and settlement hopes emerged temporarily, but by December Lloyd George's greater belligerence prevailed.

The introduction of the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act (RORA) in August 1920, and IRA responses, altered the war's character. Britain's refusal to identify the contest as a war, the military use of police without adequate guidelines, and IRA calculation of the value of

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<sup>58</sup> Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 25. He stresses (28-9) that historians have superimposed patterns on the war's initial phase arguing it was mutually 'reactive, confused and unplanned'.

transnational news/propaganda and concomitant interest in provocation,<sup>59</sup> combined to intensify the situation. British authority was often nominal – a visible government in parallel operated through revolutionary courts and county councils.<sup>60</sup> Stark differences between correspondents' reports and Government statements suggested a cover-up of British brutality.<sup>61</sup> Maurice Walsh identifies the double impact on Britain of the Great War's focus on its civil behaviour contrasted to German barbarism: this stance both validated condemnation of Britain in Ireland, and assumed that Britain would be held accountable for dishonourable actions.<sup>62</sup> A number of factors contributed to Britain's loss of the propaganda war.<sup>63</sup> These included the number of deaths in 1920,<sup>64</sup> horrific news of small towns becoming targets of reprisals,<sup>65</sup> accompanied by photographic commentaries,<sup>66</sup> and the growing perception that these were authorised.<sup>67</sup> When Archbishop Mannix was prohibited from landing in Ireland,<sup>68</sup> a prominent hunger-striker, Terence MacSwiney, was force-fed and died in October,<sup>69</sup> and a young Dublin student, Kevin Barry, was hanged, Britain's international struggles to maintain an image of civilised justice were magnified.<sup>70</sup> But November's 'Bloody Sunday' murders – 14 British officers then 12 Irish in retaliation at Croke Park – were 'decisive in changing British attitudes'.<sup>71</sup> Finally came a statement accepting Britain was at war: 'A state of armed insurrection...exist[s]...The forces of the

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<sup>59</sup> See Walsh, *The News*, 108-119.

<sup>60</sup> From May 1920 arbitration courts dealt with land issues, by July, Sinn Féin's courts handled offences such as burglary and drunkenness.

<sup>61</sup> Walsh, *The News*, 86-92.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-8.

<sup>63</sup> Tomas Kenny, *Galway: Politics and Society, 1910-23*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2011, 33. See also Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 83-102.

<sup>64</sup> See David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution*, Cork University Press, Cork, 1998, 412, 417, he lists 18 deaths from May to December 1919, 176 dead and 251 wounded in 1920.

<sup>65</sup> See Hugh Martin, *Insurrection in Ireland*, Daniel O'Connor, London, 1921.

<sup>66</sup> Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 80.

<sup>67</sup> See Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 56, 58-9, 61-4, 98. Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 81-3. While reprisals became official policy in December 1920, July reports of a senior policeman instructing police recruits about responding received widespread publicity.

<sup>68</sup> See 365 below.

<sup>69</sup> See Walsh, *The News*, 79-80.

<sup>70</sup> See MA Doherty, 'Kevin Barry and the Anglo-Irish propaganda war' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XXXII, No 126, November 2000, 217-31 for discussion of his execution's different propaganda role for both sides in 1920.

<sup>71</sup> Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 88-91.

Crown...were...declared to be on active service'.<sup>72</sup> In the short term, the Irish population experienced greater repression – 500 arrests, widespread raids, martial law and internment – but in the longer term, this 'violence...opened the way to negotiation'.<sup>73</sup>

While the war's final phase initially reflected positives for Britain: IRA arrests, internments, reduction of the republican 'counter-state', and more effective responses to guerrilla warfare, these did not equate with military victory.<sup>74</sup> The British government's unwillingness to accept military advice and take 'extreme measures' helped precipitate truce moves in June 1921. During 1920 there were numerous failed dips into treacherous truce waters;<sup>75</sup> Perth's Archbishop Clune came closest to success late in the year when he negotiated between Sinn Féin and the British cabinet. Full responsibility for failure to negotiate a truce was attributed to Lloyd George who 'backed away...when faced with military and Conservative opposition'.<sup>76</sup> The year 1921 then became a test of resolve, Britain faced military resource issues while the IRA struggled to replace significant individuals, killed or interned. Following spurious Southern elections held under the misnomer, the Better Government of Ireland Act which produced the second *Dail* (but not a Parliament as in Ulster), George V intervened.<sup>77</sup> Opening Belfast's parliament on 22 June, his plea for 'the end of strife' was followed by a meeting between Lloyd George and Eamonn de Valera, President of the *Dail*, which resulted in a truce. Over five months, further meetings and pauses for disagreement were accompanied by British threats of renewed war, and random Irish violence.

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>74</sup> See Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: Politics and War*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1999, 257-8 for brief discussion of parallels between Ireland and South Africa.

<sup>75</sup> Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 180-2. He discusses 6 possibilities of varying seriousness.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>77</sup> The speech, with input from General Smuts, replaced a more trenchant Unionist version.

However, on 6 December 1921, five hesitant, apprehensive delegates signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty, threatened with ‘immediate and terrible war’, should they resist.<sup>78</sup> De Valera rejected their decision, and following the *Dail’s* 7 January ratification (64 to 57 votes), resigned his presidency. Failing by two votes to be re-elected, de Valera and followers walked out. Pro-Treatyites formed a Provisional Government; British evacuation proceeded.<sup>79</sup> Smooth transition was unlikely given the increasing subversion of Ireland’s machinery of government from 1919; ‘respect for law’ had become an implicit casualty of Anglo-Irish warfare.<sup>80</sup> In Australia, as will be seen, the war’s end produced responses which divided the Irish-Australian community.

Ireland’s experience of civil war from 1922 to 1923 left scars, antagonisms and conflicting explanations and interpretations.<sup>81</sup> Although the Provisional Government’s 28 June attack on the Four Courts (occupied by Anti-Treaty Irregulars since 13 April) typically marks the outbreak, the previous six months witnessed a ‘general drift to violence...accompanied by constant efforts to prevent the Treaty split culminating in...civil war’.<sup>82</sup> Here the phases will be summarised as preliminary, conventional, guerrilla warfare, and without an official end, the cessation process.

While the treaty ended conflict with Britain, it revealed the extent of differences within Ireland.<sup>83</sup> Formal transition required a constitution and an election (within six months), obvious sites for disagreement. Election delay created a power vacuum in which the

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<sup>78</sup> See Frank Pakenham, *Peace By Ordeal: An Account, from first-hand sources, of the Negotiation and Signature of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921*, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1962, 296-302.

<sup>79</sup> Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 249 describes evacuation of 40,000 soldiers, 7,000 Black and Tans, and 6,000 auxiliaries within 6 months.

<sup>80</sup> Bulmer Hobson (a pro-Treatyite) quoted in Bill Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, 22.

<sup>81</sup> See Joost Augusteijn ‘Irish Civil War’ in Connolly, *Companion*, 277 for reference to the divisive legacies of sensitivity placing research ‘far behind that into the Anglo-Irish War’.

<sup>82</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 3, 64.

<sup>83</sup> See Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 262-3.

Provisional government struggled with post-war issues of unemployment, infrastructure rebuilding and military withdrawal, and anti-Treaty forces constructed a power base around the IRA (formerly the Volunteers), the cornerstone of subsequent violence.<sup>84</sup> Although the factions initially compromised over the election,<sup>85</sup> when the British-amended constitution was published,<sup>86</sup> it was clear they could not coexist.<sup>87</sup> The IRA's commitment to protecting the Republic 'against British aggression'<sup>88</sup> contributed to Liam Lynch's leadership, probably encouraging the Four Courts attack.<sup>89</sup> Pro-Treaty electoral success provided 'moral authority',<sup>90</sup> firming resolve not to 'tolerate a rebellion in their midst'.<sup>91</sup> The assassination of Unionist MP Sir Henry Wilson on 22 June launched Britain's demand for action.<sup>92</sup> The election sanctioned London's interpretation of Irish inaction as a Treaty violation, legitimating British action.<sup>93</sup> The Four Courts attack pushed Treaty conflict to an irrevocable military plane.<sup>94</sup>

In the brief, conventional phase of this war, the IRA held initial military advantages.<sup>95</sup> But huge enlistments and British military support combined with limited IRA strategy after the Four Courts evacuation altered the balance. While this may suggest conviction that Treaty

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<sup>84</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 69, 72-3. The 'IRA was no longer under the authority of the Ministry of Defence' but under an 'Executive appointed by the [IRA] convention' of 26 March. From May, talks about army reunification, disputes re Ministers and equal representation of Treaty factions on the Army Council, contributed to the breakdown of talks on 14 June.

<sup>85</sup> Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 457.

<sup>86</sup> Of the 3 drafts, the one chosen (and amended) included a clause rendering it 'void and inoperative' should it clash with the Treaty.

<sup>87</sup> Churchill insisted on the inclusion of Treaty Article 17 requiring all Government members to sign a declaration of adherence to the Treaty in Collins' constitution or 'the process of transfer of function does not go forward anymore'.

<sup>88</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 74-5.

<sup>89</sup> Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 455.

<sup>90</sup> Pro-Treaty Sinn Féin won 58 of 128 seats, while the anti-Treatyites lost 12 seats. But, third party first preference votes were greater than for either Treaty side.

<sup>91</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 73.

<sup>92</sup> An Irish Protestant, a Great War Field Marshall, by 1922 he was a Unionist MP for North Down and advised the Belfast Government on stringent security measures.

<sup>93</sup> See Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 254 for extract of Lloyd George's ultimatum. See also Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 266.

<sup>94</sup> Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, 461.

<sup>95</sup> See Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 265 for point that in the early months 'the rebels...had actually a fair chance of winning a military showdown'.

divisions would not cause war,<sup>96</sup> IRA tactics generally overlooked the importance of military victories.<sup>97</sup> Anti-Treaty propaganda claims that the government was a British-backed 'colonial junta' embarking on reconquest<sup>98</sup> were supported by the actions of Michael Collins as CIC of a war council of three. His centralisation policies, insistence on senior bureaucrats taking loyalty oaths, termination of Republican courts, and imposing formal and informal censorship, all reinforced such an interpretation.

Collins's death on 22 August created fears about the Provisional government in the short term, but longer term, Cosgrave's leadership both developed a stable relationship with Ulster<sup>99</sup> and managed clearer support for the Treaty.<sup>100</sup> But more problematically, Collins's death empowered those Irishmen ready to 'entirely exclude the republican viewpoint', and to adopt measures tested by the British from 1919.<sup>101</sup>

During the guerrilla war phase, Provisional government policies were characterised by 'emergency powers, internment, and official and unofficial reprisals'. There were renewed Republican accusations of neo-colonialism.<sup>102</sup> In addition, British demands over the Treaty produced greater government willingness to employ extreme measures, including military courts and executions.<sup>103</sup> When the Bishops issued their Pastoral letter of 10 October 1922 this not only underlined civic responsibility to support the Provisional government, but

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<sup>96</sup> Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, 128.

<sup>97</sup> See Kissane, *The Politics*, 79 for discussion of IRA forces 'provok[ing] counter-productive coercion, arous[ing] popular indignation, and destabilis[ing] the state to the point of collapse'.

<sup>98</sup> See Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 268 for description of the Free State as representing 'the forces...of the vestigial ancient regime', and 270 for his view that in some ways the 'campaign...was an automatic extension of the struggle against the British'.

<sup>99</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 82-3. Ambiguities had characterised Collins' Ulster dealings, he tried to protect its Catholics, negotiating pacts with Sir James Craig, and worked with its pro-Treaty IRA.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-4. Elected as President of Executive Council on 9 September, WT Cosgrave's record as a politician led to military doubts about his capacity to 'see the conflict through'.

<sup>101</sup> Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 270-1.

<sup>102</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 85

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-8. These measures were contained in the Public Safety Bill.



also excluded Republicans from the sacraments.<sup>104</sup> Belatedly, de Valera established a Republican government to counter the Provisional body,<sup>105</sup> and Republicans appealed to the Vatican about extreme Church action 'on political grounds'.<sup>106</sup> Mgr Luzio was dispatched from Rome to mediate in 1923.<sup>107</sup> Among the Republican leaders, there were major differences: de Valera keen to end the conflict, and Lynch<sup>108</sup> committed to the assassination of *Dail* members who voted for executions.<sup>109</sup> State killings revealed the impossibility of reunification,<sup>110</sup> and Republican forces disintegrated under the increasingly hopeless military situation.<sup>111</sup> The death of Lynch on 10 April allowed the IRA to overturn its refusal of terms based on Free State recognition and betrayal of the Republic, facilitating the ceasefire of 30 April.

Deaths of those personifying Civil War conflict liberated Ireland from its violent impasse. Collins' murder<sup>112</sup> precipitated extremism then matched by the IRA, these responses demonstrated military imbalance and ultimate futility; Lynch's death removed the chief obstacle to peace.<sup>113</sup> But there was 'no negotiated peace, and consequently the Civil War ...never officially ended'.<sup>114</sup>

The complexity of Ireland's history provided a backdrop of continuing importance to many Irish-Australians, and thus this section has sought to present an outline of the impact of Ireland's relationship to Britain within the Union and the Empire, particularly in the

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-89. See Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 246-7 for attitudes of individual prelates.

<sup>105</sup> Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 466. De Valera's limited power was reflected in his need to request IRA army authorisation.

<sup>106</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 89-90.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 89. The Church never challenged government civil war violence.

<sup>108</sup> See Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 271-2, and Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 464 for description of Lynch as personifying military intransigence.

<sup>109</sup> Kissane, *The Politics*, 90-1. Selective and local, 77 were official, possibly 40 in custody.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-4.

<sup>112</sup> See Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 273 for long and short term consequences of his death.

<sup>113</sup> Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, 467-8.

<sup>114</sup> Augusteijn, 'Civil War', 277. See Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 266-7, Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, 273-4, and Kissane, *The Politics*, 95-6, for 'legal aspects of the conflict' persisting until the end of 1924.

complex years between 1916 and 1923. While some historians have disputed any sustained interest among Irish-Australians, this was neither the perception of their fellow Australians, nor the impression gained from a close study of the Irish-Catholic press.

*The Irish in Australia, Victoria and South Australia*

Australia's Irish association was tied to the transportation of convicts, among them significant numbers of Irish. Historians have debated the reasons for Britain's August 1786 decision to locate convicts in Australia. On the one hand, those supporting the conventional explanation of remoteness plus necessity for a new convict destination, refuse to accept the views of those perceiving more 'auspicious national origins'<sup>115</sup> who insist that plans demonstrated 'proof of foresight and efficiency in the extension of Empire'.<sup>116</sup> In other words, settlement in Sydney was always intended as a pegging out of an imperial marker. Atkinson suggests that the basic divergence between historians flows from 'two equally inconsistent ambitions for a British Australia': Lord Sydney's optimism about the advantages of the remote community set against his colleagues who understood the potential for British expansion into the Pacific.<sup>117</sup>

Notwithstanding the administrative or ideological rationale, at least 150,000 convicts, including 25,000 women, were dispatched to eastern Australia between 1787 and 1840.<sup>118</sup>

Among these were 50,000 Irish, most were Catholic,<sup>119</sup> one third had earlier convictions.

Transportation was increasingly contested by free settlers<sup>120</sup> and had eventually ceased in all the colonies by 1868. By 1914 more than 300,000 free Irish immigrants had settled in

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<sup>115</sup> Stuart Macintyre 'Settlement' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Stuart Macintyre (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Revised Edition), Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2001, 586.

<sup>116</sup> Alan Atkinson, 'Conquest' in Schreuder and Ward, *Australia's Empire*, 50.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Convict transportation to WA from 1849 to 1868 brought the total to about 164,000.

<sup>119</sup> O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 2-3.

<sup>120</sup> The Anti-Transportation movement began in 1847; there were Melbourne and Sydney protests before the 1851 Australasian Anti-Transportation League developed a more strategic campaign. By 1852 the Colonial Office ended transportation to eastern Australia.

Australia. Numbers of arrivals were highest in the 1850s (101,540) and 1860s (82,900).<sup>121</sup>

MacDonagh paints a vivid profile of mid-nineteenth century emigrants from Ireland. The ratio of Catholics to Protestants was probably four to one (Ulster-Presbyterian and Irish-Anglican) thus transplanting and ‘determin[ing locally]...a wide range of political and social attitudes’. His analysis shows immigrant rural background matched the religious divide, with urban middle-class professionals typically found among Irish-Anglicans. Significantly, he suggests high levels of literacy and political familiarity gained from experiences in Ireland; these attributes – cultural/religious distinctiveness, acquired familiarity with and negativity towards commonly accepted ‘ruling orthodoxies’ – inclined Irish immigrants ‘to challenge and dissent’.<sup>122</sup>

Before 1914, this potentially antagonistic group (from very specific Irish counties) trailed the English as the largest immigrant cohort. According to historian Janet McCalman, ‘the culture of respectability’ occupied an important place in ‘the cultural baggage’ imported by emigrants from Britain in the nineteenth century.<sup>123</sup> The quest for respectability ‘crossed class, gender and ethnic lines’; the shared striving for ‘dignity and prosperity’ may have facilitated Irish acclimatisation, even masking prejudices. Most immigrants received colonial government assistance, and local labour needs, in conjunction with enterprising Irish use of available schemes, ensured the Irish became a higher proportion of the colonial population than in Britain. Catholics constituted 80 percent of assisted Irish immigrants while Protestants probably accounted for most of those unassisted. Thus by 1911, the first census which ‘cross-tabulated’ birthplace and religion, Protestants represented one quarter of the nation’s Irish population. Of Australians identifying as Irish-born, 71 percent nominated themselves as Catholic, 14 percent as Anglican, with Presbyterians and

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<sup>121</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 63.

<sup>122</sup> Oliver MacDonagh ‘The Condition of Ireland 1788-1850’ in Jupp, *The Australian People*, 556.

<sup>123</sup> Janet McCalman, ‘Class and Respectability in a working-class suburb: Richmond, Victoria, Before the Great War’ in *Historical Studies*, Vol XXII, No 78, April, 1982, 90.

Methodists constituting the other nine and three percent. Significantly, for the present research, 78 percent of South Australia's Irish were Catholic compared to only 70 percent of Victoria's.<sup>124</sup>

Dispersal patterns across and between colonies were even, and the community exhibited little clustering; even in the most 'Irish areas' they made up only 20-25 percent of the population. Not until the twentieth century did Irish-Australians become urban in large numbers, and where there were inner-city clusters, Fitzpatrick acknowledges these 'choices reflected the predominance of unskilled labourers and servants requiring cheap housing and easy access to their workplaces'.<sup>125</sup> Additionally, he characterises most Irish as benefitting from immigration's opportunities. He ascribes this to their generally early arrival and location choice, the availability of middle class, agricultural or working class occupations, as well as options for marriage partners beyond Irish and Catholic. He also emphasises the 'social costs' – the consequences of 'latent bigotry and hostility', and the over-representation of Irish among 'offenders, paupers and lunatics'.<sup>126</sup> While Irish and Catholic were easily equated, and when Church figures such as Cardinal Moran (who misjudged the sectarian impact of standing for election as a delegate to the 1897 Australasian Federation Convention) and Archbishop Mannix (whose public stance on conscription ensured prominence) entered the political ring, the position of Irish as Catholic and 'Other' in an Anglo-dominant population, ensured their marginalisation by the majority.

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<sup>124</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, 14.

<sup>125</sup> David Fitzpatrick, 'Irish Immigration 1840-1914' in Jupp, *The Australian People*, 562.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 563-4.

## *Victoria*

Victoria, the 'only colony where permanent European settlement began without the sanction of British authority',<sup>127</sup> received official recognition in 1836 following the establishment of small European centres at Portland (1834) and Port Phillip Bay.

MacDonagh argues that 1851 (opening the 'golden' decade) represented economic takeoff as well as initial large population inflow, and demonstrates that 'the Irish element was prominent and clearly discernible'.<sup>128</sup> He also attributed the 'enriching' quality of 1850s immigrants to issues/events in Ireland which precipitated the departure of so many with 'political interests and expertise'.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, middle class immigrant numbers among the Irish, resulted in this group generally 'enter[ing] the social, political and economic race on more equal terms than in [other] colonies'.<sup>130</sup> One direct consequence was evident in Victoria boasting three Irish-born Catholic premiers before 1891,<sup>131</sup> in addition to speakers, attorneys-general and solicitors-general.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> John Lack 'Victoria' in Davison et al, *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, 667.

<sup>128</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Victoria, 1851-91: A Demographic Essay' in TD Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies*, VIII, Dublin, 1971, 70.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-1.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>131</sup> John O'Shanassy formed two ministries, 1857-1859 and 1861-1863, Charles Gavan Duffy from 1871-2, and Bryan O'Loughlen 1881-2.

<sup>132</sup> MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Victoria', 71.

**Table One: Victorian Census Data 1846–1921**

Census Years	Colonial Population	Number of Irish born	%	Number of Native Born	%	Catholic Numbers	%
1846	32,879	9126	27.8	7,583	23	9,075	27.6
1851	77,345	14,618	18.8	20,470	26	18,014	23.3
1854	236,798	38,728	16.8	41,233	17	45,111	19.1
1857	410,766	64,592	15.7	84,881	21	76,500	18.6
1861	540,322	87,160	16.1	157,911	29	107,610	20.6
1871	731,528	100,468	13.7	358,266	49	167,468	23.4
1881	862,346	86,733	10.1	539,060	58	197,157	23.3
1891	1,140,405	85,307	11.9	773,194	63	240,310	21.5
1901	1,201,341	61,512	5.1	999,830	83	260,016	21.9
1911*	1,181,787	41,477	3.7	1,108,945	85	286,433	25.8
1921	1,433,530	27,242	1.9	1,253,895	87	322,565	22.5

Derived from Census Returns Victorian Parliamentary Papers and Commonwealth Year Books. Figures from the 1911 census show 42,082 Irish-born.

\*Figures for 1911 cited in different editions of the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia (eg. 1913 and 1922) show inexplicably different numbers of native-born, these are from 1913 which quotes the percentage.

Table One shows Victoria's total, Catholic, Irish and native-born population from the mid-nineteenth century to 1921, the figures are unable to capture the percentage of those born to Irish parents. Until 1901, Victoria's Irish-Catholic population hovers at around 20 percent and demonstrates demographic stability matched by location stability and evenness of colonial distribution: between 15 and 35 percent almost everywhere and for 75 years.<sup>133</sup> But their numbers were highest rurally, and correspondingly lower in towns and cities. They were located as small mixed farmers but not as miners or skilled tradesmen.<sup>134</sup> The Irish 'places on the Victorian social ladder were rather lower' than was true for the rest of the population.<sup>135</sup> Differentiated more by religion than political distinctiveness (given Irish literacy levels and familiarity with parliamentary government), immigrants found a very Irish Catholic Church.<sup>136</sup> Early bishops (Goold and Geoghagen), incoming priests and teaching groups were Irish, reinforcing Irish ideals and 'a sense of Irish-Australian distinctiveness' to the new generation. MacDonagh affirms the importance of the Church

<sup>133</sup> MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Australia: A General View' in MacDonagh and Mandle, 164.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>135</sup> MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Victoria', 72-7.

<sup>136</sup> Victoria's first bishop was appointed in 1847.

and its activities ‘in engendering a consciousness of special identity and multiple loyalties among the main body’ of Victoria’s Irish.<sup>137</sup>

MacDonagh makes a distinction however which applies beyond Victoria. His analysis denotes the antipodean weakness of the ‘revolutionary and republican traditions of Irish nationalism’ and the vigour of the constitutionalist variety.<sup>138</sup> He extracts other factors which clarify the position of Irish-Australians before 1914: they were, he argues, a founding people who sustained their position for 150 years, and made up 20-30 percent from the outset.<sup>139</sup> These factors, and the absence of other immigration waves which would have displaced them, positioned the Irish ‘in the building up of new Australia’ in large numbers.<sup>140</sup>

### *South Australia*

As colonies, Victorian and South Australia emerged within a few years of each other, but little else is similar in terms of history, population size, economic experience, or the concomitant size and role of the Irish-Australian community. Both were ‘founded’ in 1836, but on a very different basis – South Australia was planned whereas Victoria was a semi-arbitrary extension of New South Wales. Based on the colonisation scheme developed in 1829 by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, South Australia was intended to balance invested capital and labour, bypassing both convicts and an established church. Land was to be sold not granted, and the profit used to fund suitable immigrants. Catholics were unwelcome. But as Margaret Press summarises, the colony’s designed genesis as ‘a business venture’ determined the nature of the population: ‘most of the first Catholic community belonged

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<sup>137</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, ‘Irish in Victoria in the Nineteenth century’ in Jupp, *The Australian People*, 581-2.

<sup>138</sup> MacDonagh, ‘The Irish in Australia’, 166-7.

<sup>139</sup> See Richards, ‘The importance of being Irish’, 62 for repudiation of the Irish as a founding people in SA, based on insignificant early numbers and smaller statistical representation. Despite these points, the Irish were the colony’s largest immigrant group.

<sup>140</sup> MacDonagh, ‘The Irish in Australia’, 170-1.

to the workforce'.<sup>141</sup> Their numbers were small,<sup>142</sup> with the first permanent priest arriving in 1842; a bishop two years later. The 1844 census showed a population of 17,366 with perhaps 1,055 Catholics among them.<sup>143</sup>

**Table Two: South Australian Census Data 1844–1921.**

Census Years	Colonial Population	Number of Irish Born	%	Number of Native Born	%	Catholic Numbers	%
1844	17,366	NA	NA	NA	NA	1,055	6.1
1846	22,390	NA	NA	NA	NA	1,846	7.4
1855	85,821	NA	NA	NA	NA	8,335	9.8
1860/1	126,830	12,694	10.1	51,222*	40	15,594	13.2
1866	163,452	14,485	8.9	77,501*	47	23,684	14.5
1871	185,626	14,255	7.7	106,145*	57	28,668	15.4
1876	213,271	14,053	6.6	132,992*	62	32,668	15.3
1881	275,344	18,246	6.5	173,073	61	42,628	15.2
1891	315,212	14,369	4.5	228,229	72	47,179	14.7
1901	358,346	11,243	3.1	289,440	81	52,193	14.4
1911**	408,558	7,997	1.9	350,261	86	57,558	14.0
1921	495,160	5,648	1.1	421,153	85	67,030	13.5

Derived from Census Returns in South Australian Parliamentary Papers and Commonwealth Year Books. Figures from the 1911 census show 8,087 Irish-born.

\* In these years 'Other British Possessions' described those born beyond SA.

\*\* Figures for 1911 cited in different editions of the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia (eg. 1913 and 1922) show inexplicably different numbers of native-born; these are from 1913 which quotes the percentage.

A comparison between Table One and Table Two highlights significant and lasting differences between the two colonies in terms of Irish and Catholic proportions. In South Australia, until 1861, country of birth was not included in census data; in that year 12,694 Irish constituted just over 10 percent of the population of 126,830. This percentage fell quickly – 7.7 percent in 1871, then 4.5 percent in 1891. From 1866 when figures can be compared, the correlation between Catholic and Irish is unclear. Very preliminary focus on South Australia's counties indicates that while Irish residents were widely represented, the Victorian distribution pattern across the counties was absent. From 1861, most Irish lived in Adelaide itself, with percentages moving between 42 and 52 percent of the colonial total.

<sup>141</sup> Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 12. The South Australia Act of 1834 incorporated Wakefield's colonisation plan.

<sup>142</sup> In 1844 the first census showed Catholics constituted just over 6% of the population.

<sup>143</sup> Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 42. In 1844 Father Edmund Mahoney 'drew up a list of 1273 Catholics' based on his travel to all colonial centres 'within riding distance'.



While all 17 counties had Irish residents in 1861, as additional counties were progressively declared, Irish numbers were often small, and in 1891 and 1901, Irish-born did not appear in some areas.<sup>144</sup>

Economically, South Australia faced early challenges; copper mining salvaged the colony in the 1840s. South Australia was the leading Australian wheat producer from 1850 to 1890. However, population losses to Victoria's goldfields threatened colonial bankruptcy in the early 1850s. The Bullion Act of 1852 represented an ingenious response involving the transport of gold to Adelaide where banks exchanged the bounty for notes. The strategy restored credit and fostered trade. From the 1860s copper mining opportunities again revived the economy. But severe droughts and population loss in the 1860s and 1880s challenged the colony. The Irish immigrant pattern differed; numbers were smaller, levels of wealth and professional expertise set South Australia apart from Victoria.

Thus levels of overt egalitarian success evident in colonial Victoria were not replicated across the border. South Australia's smaller Irish-Catholic population base, its skill and economic level, were reflected in limited parliamentary representation. In contrast to Victoria, Irish parliamentarians (or those of Irish descent) were atypical and ministerial positions rare.<sup>145</sup> While levels of prejudice clearly functioned in Victoria, factors of critical mass, wealth and status combined to provide some level of protection and support for

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<sup>144</sup> Figures are based on data from SA Parliamentary Papers following the Census.

<sup>145</sup> See Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 255 for comment that it was unusual in the 1890s 'for Catholic men to attain ministerial rank'. Before 1900, there were 6 Catholic Irish-born in parliament and 6 of Irish descent, some elected and some nominated, prior to the 1857 constitution: CH Bagot from 1844-1869, JH Bagot 1851-1870, PB Coglein 1860-1891, J Cowan 1890, T Cowan 1875-1878, WP Cummins 1896-1907\*, WP Denny 1900-1930\*, PP Gillen 1889-1896\*, HC Gleeson 1868-1871, PM Glynn 1887-1899, FJ Hourigan 1893-1901, JCF Johnson 1884-1889\*, CC Kingston 1881-1900\*, GS Kingston 1851-1880, W. Lennon 1860-1861, E Lucas 1893-1918, E McEllister 1858-1866, T. Magarey 1853-1867, D Moody 1878-1900, TS O'Halloran 1843-1855, JV O'Loughlin 1888-1902\*, LT O'Loughlin 1899-1915\*, D Shannon 1858-1860, RR Torrens 1851-1857, J White 1871-1888 and WAE West-Erskine 1871-1876, 1885-1891. (\* denotes second generation.)

Irish-Catholics.<sup>146</sup> In South Australia, the Irish position differed. In general, from the bishops and the clergy down, the Irish tendency to merge into the wider community rather than drawing attention to itself by challenging the hostility of the status quo, became the behavioural norm, exemplifying Hickman's distinction between a 'low profile' and assimilation.<sup>147</sup> Thus, for example, early newspaper publication as a statement of difference occurred much later.

### *The Advocate and the Southern Cross*

The religious press, arguably a crucial participant in the previously mentioned 'web of discourses' and consequent societal transformation,<sup>148</sup> has barely figured in histories of the Australian media. The nature of its contribution awaits examination; this thesis makes some incursions into that area. 'Print journalism...[maintained] its primacy...until the 1920s' when radio broadcasting expanded.<sup>149</sup> According to historian David Hilliard, even limited analysis of comparable newspapers across denominations, suggests common approaches, demonstrating similarities.<sup>150</sup> In South Australia, the *Australian Christian Commonwealth* was published from January 1901.<sup>151</sup> While its religious focus was prominent,<sup>152</sup> its layout, editorial focus (religious and general news), local Church community news, lists of subscribers and newspaper sellers, small items of information and use of brief amusing snippets, shared many similarities with both the *Southern Cross* and *Advocate*. The sharpest distinctions between the *Christian Commonwealth* and the other two papers were in the dedicated Irish coverage of the latter, and the overtly imperial orientation of the *Christian*

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<sup>146</sup> See Naughtin, *A Green Flag in the Antipodes*, passim.

<sup>147</sup> See 23 above for discussion of Hickman's clarification.

<sup>148</sup> See 42-3 above for Aled Jones' discussion of these concepts.

<sup>149</sup> Simon Potter, 'Communication and Integration', 192. Radio reached Australia in 1924.

<sup>150</sup> David Hilliard, Pers Comm, 2 August 2013.

<sup>151</sup> This incorporated the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal*, the *South Australian Bible Christian Monthly* and the *South Australian Primitive Methodist*. Combining these titles reflected the amalgamation of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodist Church on 5 December 1900.

<sup>152</sup> See Walker, *The Newspaper Press*, xii, for explanation of his inclusion of the Catholic *Freeman's Journal* in contrast to other 'denominational journals which had too little general news'.

*Commonwealth*.<sup>153</sup> Until 1895 the main cable services were vested in the Melbourne *Age* and *Argus*, and by 1900 ‘almost all of the cable news publication in...[Australasia] was being filtered through...the *Argus* London office’.<sup>154</sup> Thus Australia’s Irish-Catholic press was necessarily ensnared in a network reflecting inherent prejudice and purveying largely hostile Irish coverage.

The *Advocate* was first published in February 1868, the *Southern Cross* in July 1889. Both newspapers were preceded by numbers of short-lived publications, four in Victoria between 1841 and 1862,<sup>155</sup> and nine in South Australia from 1867 to 1883.<sup>156</sup> Where available the latter have been consulted, but the surviving papers demonstrate an overwhelmingly religious emphasis rather than the more general approach of the *Southern Cross*.

The *Advocate*’s founding proprietor, second-generation Irish-Australian, Samuel Vincent Winter,<sup>157</sup> was part of a ‘ginger group’ keen to meet the need of Melbourne’s Irish-Catholics for a publication.<sup>158</sup> Their commitment to ‘separate... education’ (the most crucial issue for Catholics), ensured Episcopal support, allowing distribution of ‘the

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<sup>153</sup> See *Australian Christian Commonwealth* of 4 and 11 January 1901. See Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, 127 for negative consequences of greater overseas Catholic press focus.

<sup>154</sup> Potter, ‘Communication and Integration’, 197. Undersea cables connected settler colonies to Britain from 1876.

<sup>155</sup> These newspapers were: the *Weekly Free Press* (1841), the *Catholic Tribune* (1853), the *Catholic Chronicle* (1856) and the *Victorian* (1862). None were official publications; all were associated with the Church, the 1863 loss of Goold’s support led to the *Victorian*’s collapse.

<sup>156</sup> The major papers were the *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* (1867), the *Irish Harp and Farmer’s Herald* (1869-72), the *Chaplet and Southern Cross* (1870-2), the *Catholic Herald and Monthly Summary* (1870, merging quickly with the *Irish Harp*), the *Irish Harp and Southern Cross*, (1872-5), the *Tablet* (1876-7), the *Catholic Record* (1879-81) and the *Catholic Monthly and Messenger of the Sacred Heart* (1883-1889). In 1867 and from 1883-9 the papers were clerically edited, all others were laymen. Benjamin Hoare (later a prominent Victorian journalist) was involved with the *Irish Harp* in 1870, and Martin M Ryan (later a strong Tasmanian Irish nationalist), published the *Pilot* (destroyed by fire.)

<sup>157</sup> The Winter family were assisted migrants of 1841, an English Protestant father and Irish-Catholic mother. Samuel and Joseph were both printers.

<sup>158</sup> Others included MPs and Irish immigrants of 1855, Charles Gavan Duffy and Michael O’Grady, and Irish Jesuits in Melbourne since 1866, Frs Joseph Dalton and Isaac Moore.

fledgling paper' from parishes.<sup>159</sup> As secretary of Melbourne's St Patrick's Society, Samuel committed himself to Irish Nationalism following the 1867 acquittal of Orangemen accused of the fatal shooting of a young man in a sectarian fracas.<sup>160</sup> In 1874 Samuel's younger brother, Joseph, became *Advocate* proprietor, retaining ownership until his death in December 1915. The *Advocate* and proprietors were identified with the Irish cause, Joseph described as 'the heart and soul of the Home Rule movement...for thirty years'.<sup>161</sup> The family's role 'in providing facilities to propagandise Irish causes was vital'.<sup>162</sup>

The *Advocate* promoted itself as providing 'full or accurate news...on topics of special interest' to Irish Catholics.<sup>163</sup> Responding to perceptions of local prejudice and exclusion, it clearly provided an alternative. In March, following warnings from Adelaide's *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* about combining 'religion, politics and nationalities', the *Advocate* responded that it was 'a political and national journal' without 'a mission to deal with religious questions' unless introduced by prejudiced opponents.<sup>164</sup>

Editor from 1868 to 1901 was Limerick-born William Henry Gunson. The *Advocate*'s early claims of biased Irish news reports became an explicit and consistent theme.<sup>165</sup> Within weeks of the paper's appearance, the colonies were affected by Henry O'Farrell's attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh.<sup>166</sup> The Irish-born assassin's Victorian links made

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<sup>159</sup> Patrick Naughtin, 'The Melbourne *Advocate* 1868-1900: Bastion of Irish Nationalism in Colonial Victoria', in Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (eds.), *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010, 225.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 226. See Appendix F for details about the St Patrick's Society.

<sup>161</sup> Geoffrey Serle, 'Winter, Samuel Vincent (1843-1904)', in *ADB*, Vol. VI, Melbourne, 1976, 425-27.

<sup>162</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 223. Winter is credited with raising £40,000 for Ireland as treasurer of Victorian Irish organisations. See Appendix C for details of the Winter brothers.

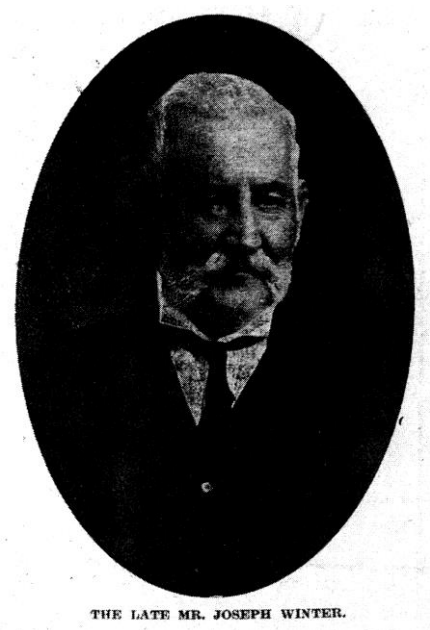
<sup>163</sup> *Advocate*, 1 February 1868. Within a week there were 21 city agents, country sellers were sought.

<sup>164</sup> *Advocate*, 7 March 1868. The *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* was Catholic rather than Irish-Catholic, with sparse mention of Ireland, local content was negligible.

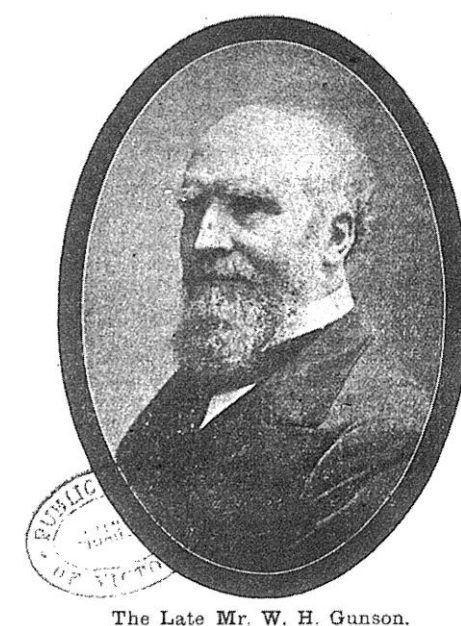
<sup>165</sup> See *Advocate*, 28 March 1868 and 25 December 1880.

<sup>166</sup> On March 12<sup>th</sup> Prince Alfred was targeted in Sydney. Henry Parkes exploited O'Farrell's mutterings about Fenians, promoting prejudice; O'Farrell was convicted and hung.

extremist connections easy; Fenianism coloured the paper's early years.<sup>167</sup> Irish-Australians contributed £4,000 to pardoned Western Australian Fenian convicts, demonstrating commitment to Irish affairs.<sup>168</sup> Melbourne's daily papers were typically venomous towards Victoria's Irish and Catholic community, reinforcing the *Advocate* as a positive alternative.<sup>169</sup>



**Figure 4.** Joseph Winter (1844-1915),  
*Advocate*, 11 December 1915



**Figure 5.** William Henry Gunson (1829-1901)  
*Advocate*, 4 January 1902

<sup>167</sup> Samuel Winter established the 'Released Irish State Prisoner's' Fund in May 1869 to raise funds for ex-Fenian convicts released from WA, as well as to cover legal costs associated with convict, John Kenealy's Victorian collecting, reinforced the paper's Fenian leanings and its Irish-Australian supporters, see *Advocate*, 29 May, 12, 19, 26 June, 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 July, 28 August, 4, 11, 18, 25 September and 2 October 1869.

<sup>168</sup> See Keith Amos, *The Fenians in Australia 1865-1880*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1988, 186 for his description of these donors as 'a sizeable minority'.

<sup>169</sup> See Naughtin, 'The Melbourne *Advocate*', 227 for distinction between levels of hostility in Melbourne: the *Argus* equated Irish nationalism with Empire-dismembering disloyalty, the *Age* exploited Irish nationalist issues to raise colonial anti-Irish/Catholic feeling.

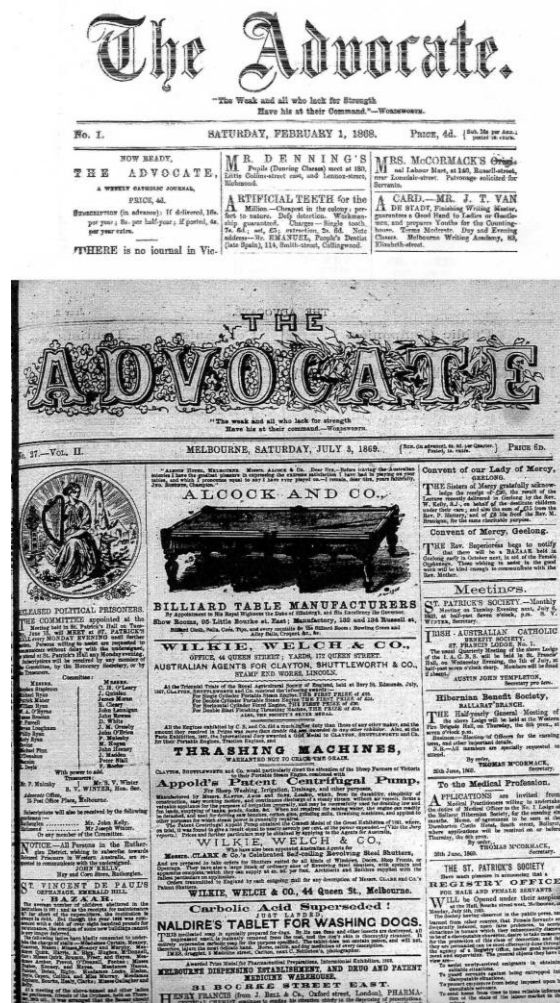


Figure 6. *Advocate* mastheads 1868-1869

Gunson's 34 year editorial role provided great continuity. Commending his conciliatory tone and moderation, Adelaide's obituary applauded his refusal to concede any 'of the principles he held sacred...as an Irishman'.<sup>170</sup> Naughtin attributes to him the *Advocate's* literary quality, and its 'direction as an Irish' rather than a Catholic paper.<sup>171</sup> The use of already mentioned 'newspaper exchanges' characterised the composition of the *Advocate*. While challenging the London-focussed cable news bias of the daily papers, the 'exchange' process involved a mail delay of at least six weeks. Gunson was followed by a series of Irish-Australians. Among them was Thomas Cornelius Brennan: he was possibly the new

<sup>170</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 January 1903.

<sup>171</sup> Naughtin, 'The Melbourne *Advocate*', 225. See Appendix C for details of Gunson's life.

but un-named editor announced in 1912. He resigned in April 1917 following conflict with Archbishop Mannix over conscription.<sup>172</sup> His successor, Thomas Shorthill, was prominent in the Home Rule movement from 1880.<sup>173</sup> The combination of Irish support and opposition to conscription located the *Advocate* at the centre of Victorian Irish-Australians. Its centrality was highlighted by a Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) security raid on *Advocate* offices, and prosecution,<sup>174</sup> in December 1917 before the second Conscription referendum.<sup>175</sup>

During 1918 Mannix decided to acquire the *Advocate*, approaching Mrs Winter with ‘terms’. The circumstances surrounding the sale will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Seven; here the importance is two fold. One relates to SIB knowledge of the sale through monitoring of Mannix’s mail months before *Advocate* readers were informed,<sup>176</sup> the other involves the Archbishop acquiring a Catholic paper ‘...guaranteed to follow his position’.<sup>177</sup> SIB ‘concern’ about the sale endorses the newspaper’s importance for Irish-Australians. The *Advocate* merely stated that the paper had ‘passed into the management or proprietorship of the archdiocese’.<sup>178</sup> Readers were reassured: ‘No Change in the Policy of Victoria’s Catholic and Irish-Australian Journal under the New Management’<sup>179</sup>. Many ‘Letters of Appreciation’ were published in March 1919, most eulogising the Irish

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<sup>172</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 June 1912. Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 131-2, 168 describes Brennan as following Winter as editor in 1915 suggesting Gunson was not replaced, but other evidence points to Irishman J Grattan Gray as editor between 1902 and 1904. See *Advocate* of 21 April 1917 for resignation, and Appendix C for Brennan’s details.

<sup>173</sup> *Advocate*, 31 January 1914. See Appendix C for Shorthill’s details

<sup>174</sup> See *Advocate*, 1, 22 December 1917. Mrs Winter was fined £20 with costs of £5.5 while Shorthill was fined 20/- without costs.

<sup>175</sup> They were fined under the War Precautions Act (WPA) of August 1914 for publishing material cleared by Sydney’s censor but not in Melbourne. The WPA led to tight censorship controls of all printed material but these were not always interpreted consistently.

<sup>176</sup> See Frank Cain, *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, Angus and Robertson Publishers, Sydney, 1983, 30-1.

<sup>177</sup> Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 196.

<sup>178</sup> *Advocate*, 8 March 1919. See issue of 8 February 1923 for announcement that the *WA Catholic Record* was becoming ‘the official organ of the Archdiocese of Perth.’

<sup>179</sup> *Advocate*, 1 March 1919.

identification.<sup>180</sup> Significantly, the new manager was a priest, Rev Dr W. Collins, with Shorthill remaining editor until 1920. During the Irish Civil War, *Advocate* support for de Valera and the Republicans was unmistakable. Mannix's forced sale of the Irish Free State-supporting *Tribune*, (Melbourne's other Catholic paper)<sup>181</sup> to the archdiocese in 1923, deprived the Irish-Catholic community of an alternative voice. For its first fifty years, the *Advocate* operated independently as an Irish-Catholic newspaper, widely respected across Australia and beyond.<sup>182</sup> Its close post-1919 identification with Mannix, especially during the years of his hierarchical marginalisation, affected its reputation.<sup>183</sup>

Adelaide's *Southern Cross* history differed in many respects, but it also became a Church-owned enterprise before achieving its fifty years. It started life as a limited proprietary company in mid-1889 when Archbishop Reynolds decided a weekly newspaper should replace the *Catholic Monthly* (for which he had publishing responsibility). The proposal for the new venture was prepared by J.V. O'Loughlin. A staunch Catholic and second generation Irish-Australian,<sup>184</sup> he had been a farmer,<sup>185</sup> a wheat agent,<sup>186</sup> part-owner/editor of a country newspaper,<sup>187</sup> and was a Legislative Councillor when invited to a meeting to

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<sup>180</sup> See *Advocate*, 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29 March 1919. Early responses from the Hierarchy, and clergy indicated receipt of news prior to any public announcement.

<sup>181</sup> Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 90-2. Backed by the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS), the *Tribune* (1900-71) was more a newspaper with local perspectives than a journal, it was working class oriented, and less Irish-focussed than the *Advocate*; its first editor was William McMahon.

<sup>182</sup> See McNamara, *The Sole Organ*, 89, 91, and 'The New Zealand Tablet', 157.

<sup>183</sup> See Michael McKernan, 'Archbishop Mannix – An Aberrant Irishman', in Edmund Campion, Axel Clark, John Fletcher, Robin Marsden (eds.), *Celts in Australia: Imagination and Identity*, Colloquium Papers, March 1980, 75-85, and Boland, TP, *James Dubig*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1986, 163-6.

<sup>184</sup> His parents, James and Susan Kennedy, emigrated from Co Clare in 1840; JV was the youngest of their 6 children. He was educated at John Besley's Classical Academy at Kapunda, Besley had previously taught at St Aloysius Jesuit College at Sevenhill.

<sup>185</sup> His father farmed at Kapunda (where he became insolvent) and later with JV at Pekina.

<sup>186</sup> From the late 1870s, JV was employed as a wheat agent at Gawler, Farrell Flat, Terowie and Gladstone (from where he was elected to the Legislative Council in May 1888.)

<sup>187</sup> See JV O'Loughlin to Mary O'Loughlin, probably 4 May 1884, O'Loughlin Papers, National Library of Australia (Hereafter NLA) MS4520/3. The letter refers to George Dawson urging him to 'take a paper again' due to his 'disgust with the [Terowie] *Enterprise*.' The first Dawson/O'Loughlin *Enterprise* edition was 8 August 1884, and O'Loughlin's final edition on 24 December 1886.



outline his editorial policy.<sup>188</sup> His newspaper model involved 200 shares of £5 to generate capital of £1000, five directors, three lay and two clerical, supported by the archbishop, anticipating a minimum circulation of 2,500. The paper's orientation was more explicit than the *Advocate's*, both in its masthead – 'A Weekly Record of Catholic, Irish and General News' – in which Irish iconography became explicit within weeks,<sup>189</sup> and in its statement about becoming the 'recognised organ' of South Australia's Catholics and Irishmen. Its coverage of 'home and colonial affairs...will secure it a wide circulation and influence'. The statement had three parts: the first assured readers the newspaper would be 'Catholic in tone, sentiments and principles', while the third summarised Irishmen's (sic) duties as Australians and the paper's promotion of 'religion, patriotism and public duty'.<sup>190</sup> The second articulated its Irish focus:

Irish Affairs will also have special prominence. Full and trustworthy intelligence will be supplied as to the progress of the great struggle for life and liberty now going on in the old land. This portion of the *Southern Cross* will be unsectarian in spirit, thoroughly national in sentiment, and, needless to say, will be in entire sympathy and unison with the great Liberal and Home Rule party, which, under the leadership of Mr Gladstone and Mr Parnell, is earnestly labouring for the legislative independence and regeneration of Ireland.<sup>191</sup>

Founding shareholders were overwhelmingly Irish, with a large clerical component. Of the 86 original shareholders taking up 168 shares, 56 were Irish-born, and 18 born to Irish parents. Priests made up slightly more than a quarter, 22 of the 24 were Irishmen. Only one director in 1889 lacked Irish blood, 60 percent of shareholders were rural, 15 and 13 percent respectively were professional and skilled/semi skilled; less than five percent were

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<sup>188</sup> The Archbishop consulted FB Keogh, (Irish nationalist, involved with the *Catholic Monthly*), JF Murphy (a printer), Bessie Baker (a wealthy Anglican convert) and senior Irish cleric, Archdeacon Russell, a veteran from Adelaide's 1868 newspaper. See *Southern Cross* of 3 July 1914 and 28 July 1919.

<sup>189</sup> Figure 10 shows changes to the *Southern Cross* masthead between 5 July and 9 August 1889, the Irish harp and shamrocks appearing. Figure 6 shows changes to the *Advocate* masthead from 3 July 1869 when shamrocks and gum leaves, replaced the previous plain lettering. Under clerical editor, Fr Collins, the *Advocate* became 'Australia's Foremost Catholic Weekly', while in 1927 the *Southern Cross* became 'The Official Catholic Organ of South Australia'.

<sup>190</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 July 1889.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

women.<sup>192</sup> Research reveals shareholders as closely identified with colonial Irish organisations and Irish fundraising.<sup>193</sup>

The *Southern Cross* under O’Loghlin and successors reflected the ‘newspaper exchange’ system mentioned earlier. O’Loghlin retained the editorial position until his appointment as Chief Secretary in March 1896. He was followed by William Joseph Denny (1896-1903),<sup>194</sup> and Frederick Martin Koerner (1903-1934)<sup>195</sup> who shared Irish heritage and commitment to Irish causes.<sup>196</sup> And, although the *Southern Cross* has yet to attract research interest comparable to the *Advocate*, it fulfilled a similar role at the centre of South Australian Irish affairs.<sup>197</sup> Shareholder meeting reports (and O’Loghlin’s few papers)<sup>198</sup> reflect early tensions between clerical and lay directors, resulting in an apparently loaded 1896 AGM voting to equalise the clerical:lay director ratio.<sup>199</sup> And the drift of shares towards greater clerical ownership was evident from at least 1908,<sup>200</sup> with pronounced additional control emerging in 1922 when Archbishop Spence gifted his 44 inherited shares to the newly established Catholic Church Endowment Society.<sup>201</sup> Additionally, most Chairmen of Directors were priests,<sup>202</sup> and after Managing Director O’Loghlin’s death in December 1925, the masthead

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<sup>192</sup> See State Records of South Australia (hereafter SRSA) GRS 5/3 3/31, File 20/1889.

<sup>193</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 December 1900 for an article by FB Keogh entitled ‘The Irish in South Australia. What They Have Done for Ireland: Interesting Reminiscences’ where he mentions the contribution of 23 founding shareholders including 4 priests.

<sup>194</sup> See Appendix C for details of Denny’s life.

<sup>195</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 May 1903 and 26 January 1934 and Appendix C for details of Koerner’s career.

<sup>196</sup> Both Denny and Koerner were committee members of the UIL, INA and SDIL.

<sup>197</sup> See Naughtin, ‘The Melbourne *Advocate*’ and Morgan, *Melbourne before Mannix*, for *Advocate* focus. See Press *From Our Broken Toil*, 213, 240, 250 and 261, and *Colour and Shadow*, xi, 2, 5, 7, 8, 17-19, 20-21 and 166 for most extensive details of the *Southern Cross*.

<sup>198</sup> The *Southern Cross* reported annual shareholder meetings; few indicated issues except those of 1895 and 1896 (following Archbishop O’Reilly’s appointment) about content and director numbers. See *Southern Cross* of 2 August 1895 and 7 August 1896. See also O’Loghlin Papers, NLA, MS 4520.

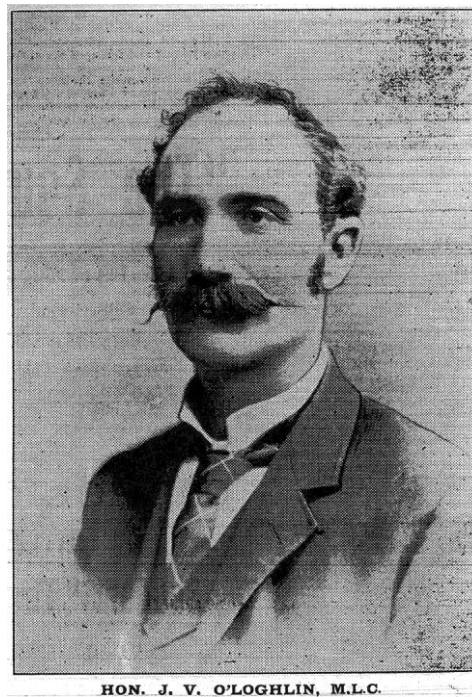
<sup>199</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 August 1895 where concerns about Catholicity led to O’Loghlin’s restatement of the paper’s original formula as more than a religious paper. See issue of 7 August 1896 for details of a constitution change at an unusual AGM attracting 16 shareholders and 100 proxy votes to increase clerical directors to protect religious content.

<sup>200</sup> See SRSA GRS 5/3 3/31, File 20/1889 which shows share movement (excluding 1893-1902), with clerical acquisition of shares: by 1937 12 priests owned 62 shares.

<sup>201</sup> This organisation operated from Archbishop Spence’s address, and showed share growth from 56 in 1922, to 70 shares by 1931, and 104 in 1936.

<sup>202</sup> There were only 3 non-clerical chairmen for 5 of the paper’s 48 year company history.

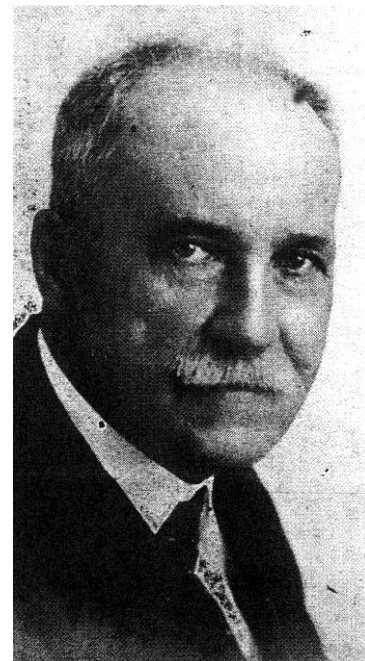
was transformed in June 1927. Without public explanation, all visible Irish masthead cues vanished and the *Southern Cross* became: 'The Official Catholic Organ of South Australia'.<sup>203</sup>



**Figure 7.** James Vincent O'Loughlin, (1852-1925),  
*Southern Cross*, 15 March 1901



**Figure 8.** William Joseph Denny  
(1872-1946), SLSA, B 6691/1



**Figure 9.** Frederick Martin Koerner,  
(1857-1943), *Southern Cross*, 10 September 1943

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<sup>203</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 June 1927.

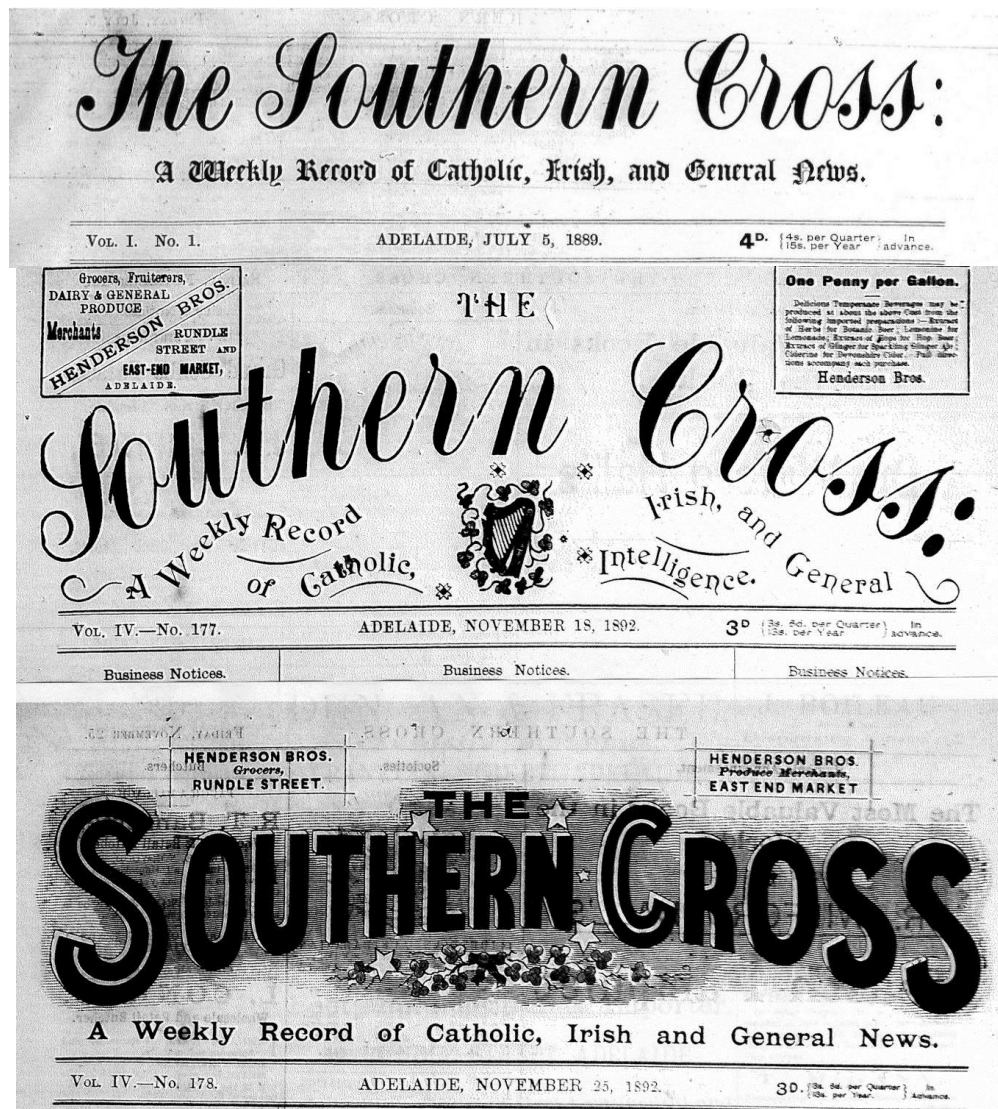


Figure 10. *Southern Cross* mastheads, 1889-1892

Nevertheless during the years covered by this research, the newspaper's preoccupation with Ireland was clear; like the *Advocate*, from the outset it promoted and supported visits of IPP delegates and other significant Irishmen, acting as a receiving house for multiple fund-raising efforts.<sup>204</sup> And in the same way as the *Advocate*, its readers were informed about both Ireland's progress towards independence, and Irish Church affairs.<sup>205</sup> From 1917, its significance as an information medium for the SIB has already been acknowledged.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>204</sup> See for example, *Southern Cross*, 8 November 1889, 15 December 1911 and 12 March 1920.

<sup>205</sup> See for example, *Southern Cross*, 11 March 1892, 29 March 1895 and 12 March 1920.

<sup>206</sup> See 3 above for discussion of its value to the security services. *Southern Cross*, 10 February, 17, 24, 31 March, 14, 22 April, 2 June 1919, 6 and 12 January 1920.

Archbishop Spence's visit to Ireland during the War of Independence was noted from the 'Cross,' items highlighted in red,<sup>207</sup> subsequent statements in Adelaide reinforced official alarm.<sup>208</sup> Koerner's mail was intercepted,<sup>209</sup> so his contact with Sinn Fein newspapers after the 1918 election victory was registered with alarm.<sup>210</sup> In August 1919 when the Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (formerly the SIB) circulated a 'Most Secret' list of 19 Australian 'Socialist and Revolutionary Papers', his Adelaide Inspector wanted the 'Cross' to be included.<sup>211</sup>

Koerner's position during Ireland's Civil War differentiated the 'Cross' from the *Advocate*; its support for the Irish Free State, although initially confused, became explicit. Although O'Loughlin, Denny and Koerner were all active within the more radical Irish groups from 1918 – the Irish National Association and the Self-Determination for Ireland League<sup>212</sup> – their attitude towards ongoing Irish violence defined their support for the Treaty. Similarly, Adelaide's Archbishop Spence did not support the Republicans. Thus, while these newspapers (and their archdioceses) had been comparable for most of their three decades in common, by 1923 their Irish positions differed. In Victoria, the *Advocate* had moved from private ownership to become a Mannix mouthpiece. In South Australia, this stage awaited a clerical editor in 1934,<sup>213</sup> then ultimate Church takeover of the company in 1937.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 September 1920.

<sup>208</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 March and 10 June 1921. Attention was paid to Spence visiting schools, especially where he commented about Ireland.

<sup>209</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 May 1918, 17 January, and 3 February 1919.

<sup>210</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 January, 3 February and 6 June 1919 for signs of Koerner's shifts; the latter issue involved his letter to (banned) Sinn Fein papers.

<sup>211</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 195-6.

<sup>212</sup> In 1923, for example, O'Loughlin was president of both the SA Self Determination for Ireland League of Australia and the INA.

<sup>213</sup> Irish-born and journalistically experienced Fr ML Dunne was invited by the directors to become editor when Koerner retired, see *Southern Cross* of 26 January 1934.

<sup>214</sup> On 30 June 1937 the Endowment Society took over the newspaper, citing economic decline and Catholic 'apathy'; 72% of shares were owned either by the clergy or the Catholic Church Endowment Society; 65 shares were held by 38 lay people.

There are many unknown aspects of these newspapers' histories: writers and general staff were often anonymous; articles were frequently published under initials or pseudonyms. For example, 'Desmond' published in the '*Cross*' and other Catholic papers, but his identity remains hidden. Correspondence seems limited, with occasional comment suggesting exclusion of some material. Editorial control, according to Koerner's 1919 reply to a correspondent, was tight: the editor always had the last word.<sup>215</sup> But many sources endorse the newspapers' importance for Irish-Australians. The challenges involved in assessing circulation figures will be covered at the end of this chapter.

While segments in these newspapers changed over the research period, some *Advocate* features such as the 'Letter from Rome', 'Catholic Intelligence' (which covered the four Victorian dioceses), 'European Intelligence', 'Our London Letter', the Ladies Page, the Children's Corner, reports from Societies, Country News, details of school/church openings or events, an instalment of a story, book reviews and various agricultural notes represented common fare. War coverage was added, a regular Australian Catholic Federation (ACF) bulletin, and increasingly focussed Irish material as the situation developed after 1916. The *Southern Cross* at 16-20 pages in contrast to the *Advocate*'s 44 included many similar items. Editorials and 'Topics' in the '*Cross*' and *Advocate* 'Prominent Topics' represented spaces for editor views, and J.V. O'Loughlin contributed the 'Currente Calamo' column until his death;<sup>216</sup> neither paper provided a dedicated column for correspondents. But full accounts of lectures and addresses ensured readers received important religious or social commentary; until the 1920s the press was without competition as a mechanism for informing the community.

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<sup>215</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA 29 Pt 1. On 30 May 1918 he justified his decision not to publish a letter from local Irish nationalist priest, Fr Prendergast.

<sup>216</sup> See undated item in NLA, O'Loughlin Papers, MS4520/4 for his son's comment: 'Dad as founder and for a long time editor...used to write a Currente Calamo (Burning pen) column of current affairs in his final years. The last was written in the afternoon of the night he died in 1925'.

For most Irish-Australians, residence in British colonies guaranteed immersion in the issues and crises of the Empire. However, some individuals resisted engagement with the colonial impulse towards unconditional loyalty and participation in Britain's imperial conflicts. Even in the Anglo-Boer War numbers were small, but that conflict became a pivotal lesson, and in the Great War, greater scepticism prevailed, supplanted by more explicit opposition after Easter 1916. Persistent reports of British intransigence over Ireland triggered increasingly intense responses from many Irish-Australians, reinforcing or reactivating earlier 'deep green loathing'. The depth of sentiment expressed in these reports suggests feelings and attitudes had been dormant rather than extinct as some historians have claimed. Within this milieu the Irish-Catholic press had the power to define an invisible world differing totally from the visible British-defined society.

*Circulation Figures, Contributors and Gender Issues.*

Without the availability of histories or even substantial records for the *Advocate* or the *Southern Cross*, there are multiple problems in establishing circulation figures and any textured sense of their reading communities. What follows therefore has been garnered by locating quite small crumbs of information, much less for the *Advocate* than the 'Cross', given the former was a family company until 1919, and the latter was a limited proprietary company which involved some formal reporting to shareholders. The *Advocate's* claim of reaching 20,000 subscribers early in 1869 cannot be tested but seems unlikely.<sup>217</sup> Michael McKernan's previously mentioned assessment that its circulation probably matched the advertised figure of 13,000 for the *Tribune* (Melbourne's other Irish-Catholic paper) during World War One, seems more plausible.<sup>218</sup> Any reference to the size of readership located in this non-digitised paper has been extremely generalised. In 1919, one correspondent's response to the Church acquisition described not only his 1870 introduction to the *Advocate*

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<sup>217</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 January 1869.

<sup>218</sup> McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 21. See 16 above.

in rural Victoria, but also his passing on of the paper to other Catholics in the area.<sup>219</sup> His account suggests that absolute sale numbers were always augmented by broader reading patterns. An editorial of the same year reflected on the wartime price increase necessitated by a 400 percent rise in paper costs. Surprisingly, price doubling from threepence to six pence had caused only a 'comparatively small' drop in subscription numbers, and by 1919 these showed 'steady improvement'.<sup>220</sup> Thus while any sense of how many Victorians read the *Advocate* must remain speculative, the fact that the Irish-Catholic population sustained two newspapers between 1900 and 1923, reinforces the local importance of Catholic newspapers.

The *Southern Cross*, on the other hand, held annual shareholder meetings. Between 1890 and 1912 the paper published detailed financial statements prior to the meetings, these included income from annual subscriptions. And from 1913 to 1925, some meeting accounts mentioned subscription income. Use of the total amount (which incorporated subscriber debt), and the annual subscription (which varied between 12 and 15/-) does enable extraction of a very crude circulation figure. The figure is crude, not only because subscribers who paid in advance received an unspecified level of discount, but also because this method of calculation totally bypasses weekly purchasers. However, these figures suggest a subscriber base of 1,788 in 1891, 1,993 in 1901, a drop to 1,586 in 1911, and 2011 by 1917. Although early '*Cross*' promotion anticipated 2,500 subscribers (the number quoted as predecessor circulation), and projected 3,000 in 1910, figures suggest these targets were not initially met.<sup>221</sup> Significantly, subscriber numbers rose in the early 1920s. The increase beyond the Civil War indicates ongoing interest in Ireland – 2,166 in 1920,

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<sup>219</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1919.

<sup>220</sup> The *Advocate* of 27 July 1918 announced the change, the issue of 1 March 1919 discussed the impact.

<sup>221</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 8 July 1910.



2,791 in 1921, 3,180 in 1922, 3,155 in 1923, 3,141 in 1924 and 3,041 in 1925, the final year in which subscription income was published.

In his analysis of the *New Zealand Tablet*, Kevin Molloy judged that each copy attracted six readers, and estimated then that 12.5 percent of the Catholic population accessed the newspaper. He argued that six was ‘not unusual for a specialist Victorian weekly given Irish family size and collective reading [patterns]’.<sup>222</sup> Early and continuing evidence of newspaper ‘sharing’ among Catholic South Australians, suggests it might be reasonable to apply such an equation to the ‘*Cross*’.<sup>223</sup> But the figures then indicate a much higher proportion of this community accessing the Catholic press than in New Zealand. In 1891 and 1901, 23 percent of local Catholics were readers, only 17 percent in 1911, but 25 percent in 1921 with a high of 28 percent the following year.<sup>224</sup> A further snapshot indication of local purchase numbers emerged in 1898 when a news item compared church door sales in some parishes between March 1897 and March 1898 following ‘favourable notices given by the clergy’.<sup>225</sup> The item, headed ‘Increase in Circulation’, represents the only specific reference to circulation figures found so far. Only three parishes were named in 1897 but their sales grew from 102 to 168 in twelve months. In 1898 a further 86 copies were sold at another four churches (indicating there had been no previous sales at these locations), the combined figures showed an increase of 151. But while such city sale details are interesting, in the absence of any more information about the paper’s sales structures, and without reference to rural purchase numbers (when less than half the colonial population was city dwelling until 1914), their impact is limited.

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<sup>222</sup> Kevin Molloy, ‘Victorians, Historians and Irish History: A Reading of the New Zealand Tablet, 1873-1903’ in Brad Patterson (ed.), *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts and Perspectives*, Stout Centre for New Zealand, Victoria University of Wellington, 2002, 155.

<sup>223</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 4 July 1890 for a correspondent complaining of neighbours ‘who are not ashamed to come borrowing the ‘*Cross*’ from me’.

<sup>224</sup> 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921 were census years.

<sup>225</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 April 1898.

Thus in the absence of verifiable data about circulation figures, there can be no certainty about the nature of the reading audience of either Irish-Catholic newspaper. Even the scant details discussed here provide absolutely no information re the gender breakdown of readers. We know that women constituted 5 percent of founding ‘*Cross*’ shareholders in 1889, by 1922 this had risen to 6.5 percent where it remained until 1936, the last year of company records. In the paper’s anniversary edition of 1914, Nora Ryeman, a frequent Irish contributor of short stories, emphasised the position of female readers in her celebration of ‘the visitor in green’, a reference to the paper’s cover.

But I musn’t forget the ladies, the daughters, the wives, the mothers who often feel dull, and want both amusement, and entertainment, and this visitor [the ‘*Cross*’] gives them both. It cheers and brightens, gives them something to think of.<sup>226</sup>

After the death of *Advocate* proprietor, Joseph Winter, in December 1915, his wife became owner, and his daughter, Mary, was office manager until mid-1919.<sup>227</sup> *Southern Cross* directors were male, but retrospective founding stories acknowledge the important role played by some women writers.<sup>228</sup> Bessie Baker, mentioned previously as involved in preliminary newspaper planning with Archbishop Reynolds in 1889, was an early contributor. Another regular writer, Mrs A.M. Ryan, proposed the introduction of a dedicated Women’s Page in 1907. The anniversary edition named nine significant female contributors. The ‘*Cross*’ ran a ‘Children’s Corner’ from 1895. Women penned numerous short stories and poetry in both papers. After the ‘Women’s Page’ appeared in the *Advocate* in mid-September 1899, until August 1900 it was located in a Supplement rather than within the actual newspaper. From early January the space also included a ‘Children’s Corner’.<sup>229</sup> A local writer, Marion Miller (later Knowles), published frequent items; these included poems, articles, serials and short stories. Although most of her writing directly

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<sup>226</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 3 July 1914.

<sup>227</sup> See *Advocate* of 21 June 1919 for account of Mary’s farewell.

<sup>228</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 3 July 1914 for details of some early contributors.

<sup>229</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 September 1899 and 6 January 1900.

focussed on women, her scope was broader.<sup>230</sup> Insight into women's place in these newspapers as writers or readers is severely constrained.

The challenges associated with contextualising the reading audience for these newspapers are considerable. Both newspapers experienced success as testified by their survival. But identifying more about their circulation base awaits further detailed research, hopefully facilitated by their digitisation.

Catholics and Irishmen of  
South Australia!

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**SUPPORT "THE SOUTHERN CROSS,"**

**A WEEKLY PAPER** which will Uphold your Rights and  
Advocate your Interests.

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**PUBLISHED. EVERY FRIDAY.**

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SUBSCRIPTION:  
**4s. Per Quarter, 15s. per Year, in Advance.**

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Send your Orders and Subscriptions at once. Bad Debts killed  
all previous Catholic Papers.

**Fill in attached Order, and send to the Office by return.**

THE EDITOR,  
28 WAYMOUTH STREET, ADELAIDE.

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Please send "The Southern Cross" weekly to my Address as below,  
until countermanded. I enclose Subscription to.....

Figure 11. Advertisement in *Southern Cross*, 5 July 1889

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<sup>230</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 March 1919 for 'The *Advocate's* Golden Jubilee'.

**Amusements.**  
**St. Patrick's Day, 1890.**

**GRAND  
NATIONAL FESTIVAL.**

**M**ONSTER PROCESSION  
will start from Wakefield-street at 11  
o'clock, and proceed to the

**ADELAIDE OVAL,**

where a splendid programme of Sports will  
be carried out, including the following  
items:—

**ST. PATRICK'S DAY GRAND SHEP-  
FIELD HANDICAP**, of 140 yards.—First,  
£7; second, £3; third, £1. Nomination  
Fee, 2s. 6d.; Acceptance Fee, 2s. 6d.

**ONE-MILE BICYCLE RACE HANDI-  
CAP**.—First, Trophy, value £3; second,  
Trophy, value £1 10s. Entrance Fee,  
2s. 6d.

**THREE-MILE BICYCLE RACE HAN-  
DICAP**.—First, Trophy, value £6; second,  
Trophy, value £3; third, Trophy, value £1.  
Entrance Fee, 5s.

**AND SEVERAL OTHER EVENTS.**

Entries will be received for the Sheffield  
Handicap by Mr. C. Wadey, King William-  
street, up to Saturday, March 8.

Handicaps will appear in the daily papers  
on March 11; Acceptances March 13. The  
draw will take place on March 14.

Entries for the Bicycle Races will be  
received at the same place, up to Tuesday,  
March 11.

Sheffield Handicap and Bicycle Races to be  
run under the S.A. Cricketing Association  
and Cyclists' Union Rules.

Handicapper—Mr. B. J. Funnell.

At one o'clock

**The Irish Delegates,**

**Messrs. DEASEY and COX, M.P.'s,**

Will deliver their

**Farewell Orations**

On the Adelaide Oval, prior to their departure  
for Europe in the afternoon.

In the Evening a

**GRAND NATIONAL CONCERT**

**At the TOWN HALL.**

Conductor—Mr. J. SMITH.

Prices of Admission:

**ADELAIDE OVAL, ONE SHILLING.**

**CONCERT**—Front Seats, 3s.; Second Seats,  
2s.; Gallery, 1s. Children, Half-price.

**P. WHELAN,**  
Hon. Sec.

**Notices.**

**THE IRISH DELEGATES.**

**T**HE following Places and Dates have now  
been **DEFINITELY FIXED** for  
**ADDRESSES** by Mr. DEASY, M.P.,  
during his visit to South Australia.  
Local Committee at places mentioned are  
requested to make all necessary arrangements  
for receiving the Delegates and making the  
meetings a success.

**Mr. DEASY'S MEETINGS.**

**CARRINGTON**, Friday, March 7.  
**WILMINGTON**, Saturday, March 8.  
**JAMESTOWN**, Tuesday, March 11.  
**GEORGETOWN**, Wednesday, March 13.  
**PORT PIRIE**, Thursday, March 13.  
**CLARE**, Friday, March 14.

**N**OMINATIONS for Orator of St. Patrick's  
Day **SHEFFIELD** and **HURDLES**,  
with past two years' Performances, to be in  
the hands of Secretary not later than  
March 6. Handicaps posted on the 10th.  
Acceptances close March 15.

**JAS. McOARTIN,**  
Secretary.

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**Figure 12.** 'Irish' Advertisements,  
*Southern Cross*, 7 March 1890

**THE  
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Every Friday.**

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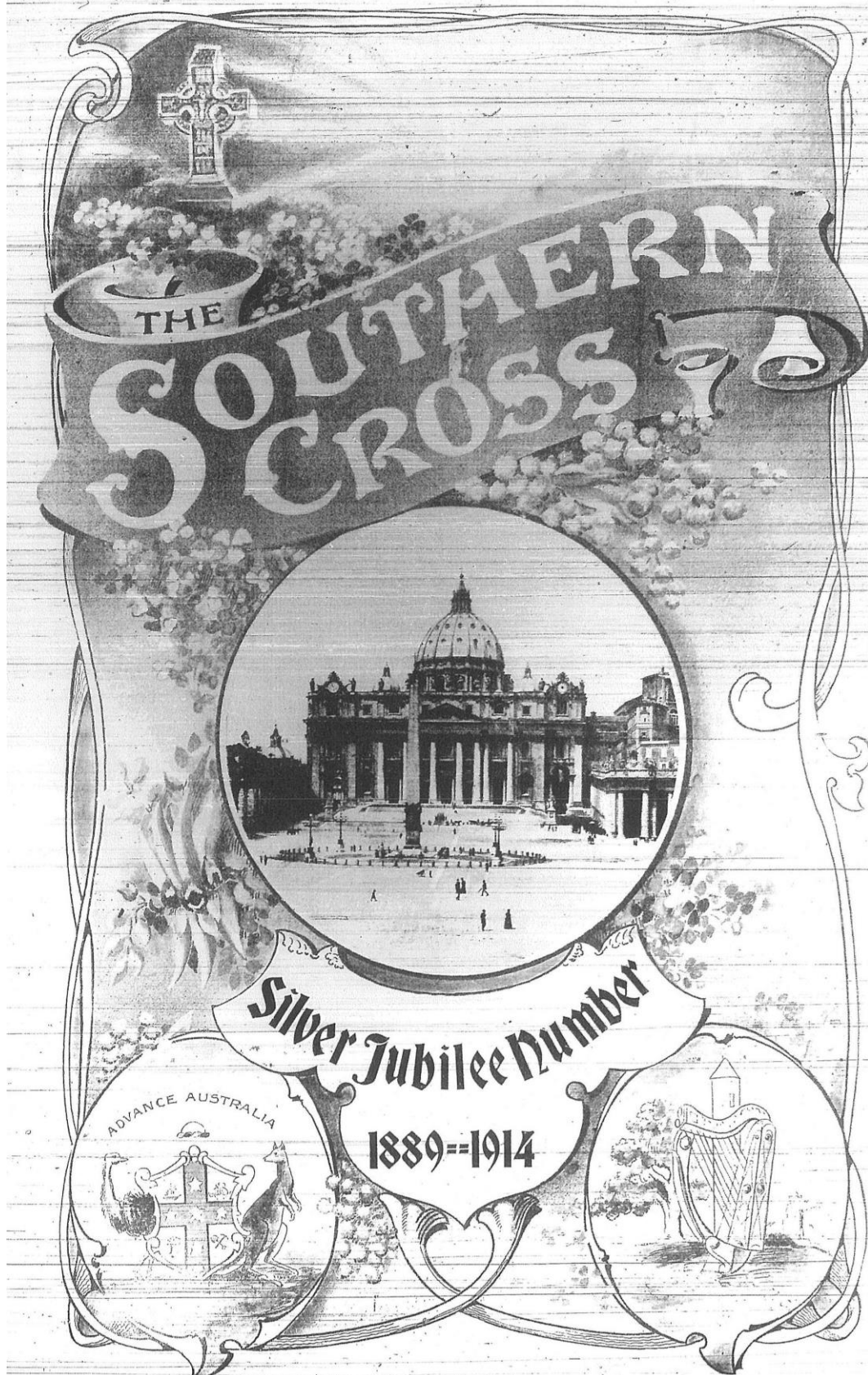
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**Figure 13.** Directors and Agents,  
*Southern Cross*, 16 January 1903

FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1914.



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Figure 14. Front Cover, *Southern Cross*, 3 July 1914



### Late Nineteenth Century Loyalty and Irish-Australians?

#### From Fenianism to Home Rule.

*The many kinds of settler Britishness that evolved in the nineteenth century were an amalgam of globalising forces adapted to local imperatives.<sup>1</sup>*

This chapter will highlight a number of explicit, late nineteenth century public challenges to Irish-Australian colonial imperial loyalty. The decades incorporating the Fenian panic of the 1860s, the Sudan War and a series of Irish visits associated with Home Rule showed that Irish-Australians occupied a different position on the loyalty continuum. Hostility towards Irish-Australians was typically based on their Catholicity, but in 1872 Henry Parkes allowed glimpses of the dominant culture's broader antagonism.<sup>2</sup> Parkes can be seen as personifying a 'settler Britishness' intent on constructing a society with minimal traces of 'Irishness'. At the declaration of the Mudjee poll, where his principal opponent had been prominent Irishman J.G. O'Connor,<sup>3</sup> Parkes was venomous, in part referring to an earlier speech opposing Irish immigration:

I protested against Irishmen coming here and bringing their national grievances with them to disturb this fair land of ours.... But I protest against their coming here to distract the working of our political institutions, by acting together in separate organised masses, not entering into the reason of our politics, nor judging public questions on their merits, but blindly obeying the dictation of others as ignorant as themselves....Until Irishmen learn to be Australian colonists...they must not be surprised if people regard their presence as something not very desirable....I object to seven Irishmen coming here to every three Englishmen....[Responding to an interjection of him as an old baboon] Those few discontented gentlemen in the crowd should be the last...to talk about baboons. If they could only see the

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<sup>1</sup> James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2010, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Having resigned his seat of Kiama in December 1870 due to bankruptcy (again), the Mudjee contest signalled Parkes' political return. Both sides displayed prejudice and antagonism, the anti-Irish factor was exacerbated both by O'Connor's candidature and hostility towards Parkes for his role after the assassination attempt on Prince Alfred in 1868.

<sup>3</sup> Parkes won 848 to O'Connor's 465 votes. See Appendix C for details of O'Connor's life.



difference between an intelligent, independent, educated man, and an infuriated, jabbering baboon – such as the spectacle repeatedly exhibited in this election, they would feel ashamed of their existence. ... Above all things I will labour...to preserve the British character of this community.<sup>4</sup>

Despite such allegations and prejudice, most Irish-Australians met the loyalty requirements in Australian colonies, supporting the monarchy and appreciating the derived advantages.

Fenian threats of the 1860s were shadowy and potential until the attempt in 1868 to assassinate the visiting Duke of Edinburgh.<sup>5</sup> The royal tours of 1867, 1881 and 1901 represented inherent opportunities for observing levels of Irish enthusiasm and determining whether this community's loyalty differed from other colonial subjects.<sup>6</sup> From the 1880s, the arrival of Irish political 'agitators and politicians',<sup>7</sup> whose primary focus was fundraising for Irish issues perceived as consequences of British policies, established clear loyalty distances between Irish and other Australians.

A different dimension of explicit loyalty was located in colonial responses to imperial war. In 1885 following the murder of General Gordon, at Khartoum, there was turmoil in the colonies about the appropriate response to this 'threat' to the Empire. In 1886 when British Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone proposed Home Rule for Ireland, many opponents, including from his own party, interpreted the scheme as an imperial security threat.<sup>8</sup> Thus strident colonial supporters of the potential reform – Irish-Australians – could be judged by the anti-Home Rule majority as disloyal to the Empire. Both in 1886

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<sup>4</sup> See Sydney *Evening News*, 6 January 1872, and Patrick O'Farrell, 'The Irish in Australia and New Zealand, 1791-1870' in WE Vaughan (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, Vol. V, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1989, 680-1 for reference to editorial in *Freeman's Journal* of 13 January where sections of this diatribe were quoted.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 680 for reference to 'a tiny fenian organisation exist[ing] in Australia...in the 1870s'.

<sup>6</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 April 1885 for editorial discussing the ramifications of Dublin Corporation refusal to provide a reception to the visiting Prince and Princess of Wales. This responded to condemnation from the *Age* which showed local monitoring of Irish loyalty.

<sup>7</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 223. The term 'agitator' is not a neutral one.

<sup>8</sup> See HV Braested, 'Irish Nationalism and the British Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century', in Oliver MacDonagh, WF, Mandle, and Pauric Travers, (eds.), *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750-1950*, Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1983, 84. Braested cites Lord Salisbury's 1883 fear of a 'chain reaction' if Irish aspirations were conceded as prefiguring litanies of concerns re 'imperial dismemberment'.



and 1893 when Gladstone attempted to introduce Home Rule, issues of Irish loyalty were fore-grounded throughout the empire.

While this chapter focuses primarily on Irish-Australian responses to overseas events, and the domestic impact of visiting royalty and Irish leaders, it is important to recognise that elsewhere eyes were on Irish-Australia. In 1889, for example, the First Lord of the Admiralty, George Hamilton, warned in a public speech at Liverpool that:

the Irish element in Australia would become exceedingly dangerous to the maintenance of friendly relations with the mother country if it were allowed to obtain a dominant influence in politics.<sup>9</sup>

This thesis argues that Irish-Australians faced a complex compendium of issues connected with loyalty; few left their Irish identity behind despite emigration, yet negotiating what it meant to be Australian caused confusion for many, largely because their desirability was always conditional within the wider community. O'Farrell's characterisation of the ongoing dilemma reveals its convolutions:

In this loyalist community [reliant on the empire for defence, status, self-image and cultural orientation] Irishmen (sic) lived as a minority, and to a very large extent they accepted its dominant ethos and attitudes, though not necessarily uncritical of Britain's treatment of Ireland.<sup>10</sup>

Demands for demonstrated imperial loyalty revealed the contradictions most starkly. The possibility that all Irish-Australians could successfully negotiate this gauntlet was unlikely.

O'Farrell claimed that while 'the overwhelming majority...[wanted] to disassociate themselves from disloyalty', this also precipitated intra-communal conflict 'with charges of treachery to Ireland, cowardice and betrayal of origins'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 December 1889. A Conservative politician, Hamilton (1845-1927) was First Lord until 1892 and from 1895-1903, Secretary of State for India.

<sup>10</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 162.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

From the 1858 formation of the transnational Irish Republican Brotherhood, (IRB) a range of Fenian ‘terrorist’ activities preoccupied imperial authorities. O’Farrell’s summary of Fenian feats provides reason for public fear far beyond Britain. There were

dynamitings and shootings in England, an extraordinary if abortive invasion of Canada by 800 Fenians [in 1867], infiltration of the British army, and eventually an insurrection in Ireland in March 1867.<sup>12</sup>

Australia’s colonial press echoed the British and Imperial authorities’ concerns,<sup>13</sup> and all the colonies increased their general surveillance of Irish-born.<sup>14</sup> In the most comprehensive (but limited to the eastern colonies) examination of any Fenian presence in Australia, Keith Amos drew unqualified conclusions: the ‘actual Fenian organisation...may be summed up as having been at best rudimentary, weakly supported and short-lived’.<sup>15</sup>

Viewed in retrospect, the Fenian threat to the colonies might seem slight but, at the time, using South Australia as an example, the allocation of police resources demonstrates high levels of concern.<sup>16</sup> Evidence from an April 1868 Adelaide police list indicates 88 colonials whose Fenian sympathies were suspect ‘and who are otherwise disloyally disposed’.<sup>17</sup> This list was a compilation from various colonial-wide police reports.<sup>18</sup> Analysis of the cited indications of disloyalty reveals that three quarters were connected to supporting the families of the executed ‘Manchester Martyrs’. In September 1867, a police van transporting two leading Fenians was attacked in Manchester, and an unarmed policeman

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>13</sup> See *South Australian Register* of 5 August and 20 November 1865, 12, 17 April, 9 July 1866, 12 December 1867 and 13 January 1868.

<sup>14</sup> Amos, *The Fenians in Australia*, 40-41, 67-9.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>16</sup> Martin Greet, *The Irish and Fenians in South Australia During 1868*, BA thesis, Flinders University, 1987, 2. Greet describes the colony as ‘preoccupied with Fenianism’.

<sup>17</sup> SRSA GRG 5/2/1868/539. ‘List of the names of Persons who are suspected of having Sympathy with the object of Fenianism and are otherwise disloyally disposed’.

<sup>18</sup> Greet, *The Irish and Fenians*, 52-67, *passim*, indicates sources for 1868 relating to police instructions re Fenian investigation were not preserved. He notes from mid-February 1868 country police sent reports – a month before O’Farrell’s action. The Chief Secretary received an initial list of suspects on 21 February; this indicated only that ‘This List has been made up from the six accompanying lists’. These no longer exist.

was shot; 29 Irishmen were arrested and five convicted of murder. In November three were hung; doubts about their guilt led to them being regarded as martyrs, and to extensive fundraising for their families across the diaspora. In Adelaide this began prior to their execution but went un-noticed by the local police.<sup>19</sup> The police list reveals that only 20 percent were noted as more active<sup>20</sup> – on committees, holding meetings in their homes, expressing disloyalty, or potentially Fenian agents. Thus the Police Commissioner reassured the Chief Secretary about the limited threat in his accompanying note.<sup>21</sup>

But a more detailed exploration of records points to the contemporary overlooking of many activities, and significant individuals escaping full (or any) investigation.<sup>22</sup> Three instances will suffice. Irishman James Reardon, a city shopkeeper (adjacent to many Irish-born colleagues), left the colony before the assassination attempt, but was detained in Sydney on advice from Adelaide.<sup>23</sup> The Secretary and Superintendent of Police assessed his papers as ‘fully prov[ing] that he was an active Fenian agent... yet there were, in [his] opinion, not sufficient grounds to warrant his detention’.<sup>24</sup> In his possession (according to the New South Wales Legislative Council Enquiry)<sup>25</sup> he had various letters which arguably

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<sup>19</sup> See *Kapunda Herald*, 4 and 11 October 1867, Greet, *The Irish and Fenians*, 59 and 70.

<sup>20</sup> SRSA GRG 5/2/1868/539.

<sup>21</sup> Despite ‘Fenian principles [being] discussed openly in low public houses...[he doubted] that any serious results will ensue’. Largely this was because those meeting and discussing ‘treason’ lacked any chance of influence ‘as they are almost all from the labouring class’. Quoted in Greet, *The Irish and Fenians*, 66. (File unable to be located at SRSA.) Analysis of the 88 named shows only 32 belonged to the labouring category.

<sup>22</sup> This comment could also apply to the academic investigation of the 1980s. Interestingly, Amos chose not to include SA (or Tasmania) in his research due to financial constraints. This decision contributed to overlooking individuals proclaiming their Fenian links, and for whom there was some evidence.

<sup>23</sup> Reardon has left few clues: a possible Adelaide marriage in July 1859, an *Advocate* item of 7 March 1869 describing him as ‘an old Australian colonist who had acquired a competence in Adelaide as a wholesale draper, after a residence of twenty years’, 1868-9 SA Directories show J Reardon with a city ‘American Warehouse’. Involved with the ‘Friends of Ireland’ committee from September 1867, he attended Adelaide meetings, 2 letters tendered to the NSW Inquiry requested his attendance at Kapunda. There on 7 October, he spoke of Ireland ‘which he had recently visited’, *Kapunda Herald*, 11 October 1867.

<sup>24</sup> *New South Wales Legislative Council Parliamentary Inquiry 1869*: ‘Attempted Assassination of his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. (Correspondence, Reports, Declarations, etc., with Reference to) No.9. (Subsequently referred to as *NSW Inquiry*.)

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 139-B (No.5)

provided incriminating material about other South Australians.<sup>26</sup> But despite evidence of some inter-colonial police communication about Reardon in early April, details of his colonial associates were not sent to Adelaide.<sup>27</sup> His documents named ten persons omitted from the April police list.

Some months later in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, the NSW Inspector-General of Police expanded comments about Reardon. Having discussed the nature of colonial Fenianism as being 'cloaked' under fundraising, he wrote that Reardon (not named):

openly avowed himself a Fenian, but stated that he had taken good cause not to bring himself within reach of the law. He had a considerable sum in American gold coin, and was, he stated, an Irishman naturalised in the United States, to which country he was returning.<sup>28</sup>

Significantly Melbourne's *Advocate* of 7 March noted Reardon's visit (and his background and destination), the large silver medal with 'wreathed shamrocks' and the inscription noting his services to Adelaide's Friends of Ireland Committee. Additionally, it referred to £100 having been sent by Secretary Dennis Clarke, with another equal sum ready to go to Ireland. Such detailed knowledge in Melbourne suggests the possibility of a nascent inter-colonial Irish political framework as early as 1868.

Charles William Parrington was another local excluded from the April police list. But, following employer concern about his fundraising activities, an Inspector investigated his case in June. Although cleared of anything other than hyperbole,<sup>29</sup> his undated letter with a donation (to be paid by the District Clerk of Lower Mitcham) had been found on

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 9. (No 17). In a letter to Reardon of 9 March, activists referred to their receipt of 'the advocates' from him, their appreciation of the Irish content and its anticipated popularity given SA's limited Irish coverage. This seems to refer to Melbourne's *Advocate* which began publication in February 1868.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No.9. After Reardon's interview and his assessment as 'an active Fenian agent', a letter from Sydney's Inspector General of Police to the Principal Under Secretary on 2 April stated that '...I have communicated with the Commissioners of Police at Melbourne and Adelaide, relative to the above-named individual, and informing them of his connections in those Colonies and the circumstances of the case'.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Enclosure in No.38. This was dated 10 August 1868.

<sup>29</sup> Greet, *The Irish and Fenians*, 65-6.

Reardon.<sup>30</sup> Parrington was explicitly Fenian – his letter to Reardon closed with the stirring ‘Wishing every success to the Fenian cause’.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, Cork-born Timothy Lonergan, in Adelaide since 1863 to assist his uncle’s drapery business, deserves attention. Luke Murphy, Treasurer of the Friends of Ireland Committee, was on the 1868 police list,<sup>32</sup> but nephew Timothy was an active Cork Fenian. His ‘centre’ was John Kenealy<sup>33</sup> (a close associate of Fenian founder James Stephens), who was later arrested and transported to Western Australia in 1868.<sup>34</sup> When Lonergan’s uncle requested his help in Adelaide, Kenealy took Timothy to Dublin to get Stephens’ approval. Years later Kenealy wrote that ‘Lonergan did not wish to leave Ireland if there was any prospect of being needed at home soon’. Stephens advised that Lonergan should go.<sup>35</sup> In May 1869, following the pardon of most Fenian convicts in Western Australia, Kenealy visited Victoria and South Australia to collect funds to enable those released to return to Ireland.<sup>36</sup> In Adelaide, his ‘dear friend Timothy Lonergan’ headed ‘a large delegation’ of local Irishmen to visit him on board ship.<sup>37</sup> In 1906, Kenealy still wore the ring given to him then by Lonergan.<sup>38</sup> Lonergan however was not mentioned on the April 1868 Police List; his activist background seemed unknown as were his continuing links with convicted

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<sup>30</sup> *NSW Inquiry*, No.9 (No.4). The investigation was superficial. Parrington, described by police as Irish-American and resident for 14 years as a kangaroo shooter, was English; he described himself to Reardon as an ‘American by adoption for the services rendered by Irishmen during the rebellion’.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* Parrington was born c.1811 in Canterbury; he did arrive from the USA, and died in May 1877.

<sup>32</sup> Luke Murphy was correctly identified as both Treasurer of the ‘Friends of Ireland Committee’ and as ‘A Subscriber to the Fund for the Wives and Families of the Irish State Prisoners’. He was also a City Councillor and deeply involved in the Catholic community.

<sup>33</sup> Fenian organisation involved a secret network of regional units called ‘circles’, each of these was headed by a leader known as the ‘centre’. Recruits took an oath to keep secrecy, obey their leaders and despite the risks, do everything possible ‘to make Ireland an independent Democratic Republic’.

<sup>34</sup> In January 1868, 62 Fenian convict prisoners were transported to WA on the *Hougomont*; Kenealy was among 34 pardoned in May 1869, the final group was released in 1878.

<sup>35</sup> John Kenealy, ‘The Fenian Prisoners in Australia’, *Gaelic American*, 24 December 1904.

<sup>36</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 212 puts the fundraising and the voyage from Perth (with prohibitions at colonial ports) in the context of ‘ke[eping] the Irish pot boiling’. Melbourne’s Joseph Winter headed the Committee, the *Advocate* published subscriptions.

<sup>37</sup> Kenealy, ‘The Fenian Prisoners’.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

Fenians. (The possibility remains of Loneragan being a Fenian ‘sleeper’<sup>39</sup> – his apparent disappearance after assigning his debts in 1886 has only recently been explained).<sup>40</sup>

Evidence about these three individuals, available for 1868-9 but not integrated by authorities, raises the prospect of active Fenian commitment in the colonies. So while the police at the time (and Amos subsequently), were confident there was no real colonial threat, the fact that nothing specific transpired in the colonies, may have been serendipitous rather than non-existent. As to whether the threat was ‘real’ or not, this hardly mattered since its public airing, as necessary, always associated the Irish with both disloyalty and violence, and ensured their differentiation from loyal colonists.<sup>41</sup>

### *Royal Visits*

In retrospect, timing Australia’s first, very extensive Royal tour in late 1867 while the Fenian threat loomed large, seems curious. But within such events multiple combinations of politics, policy, strategy and various interpretations sit in uncomfortable juxtaposition. David Cannadine’s account of the processes by which the British Monarchy adapted and evolved from 1820 emphasises features of the late nineteenth century, media development and technology, contributing to all royal events becoming ‘imperial occasion[s]’.<sup>42</sup> In this context, the 1877 crowning of Victoria as Empress of India, Colonial Secretary Joseph

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<sup>39</sup> See Amos, *The Fenians*, 254 for suggestion that an activist like Loneragan could have telegraphed friends in Darwin about severing the submarine telegraphic cable 45 miles north. Mysterious cable-cutting in April 1876 prevented immediate information flow enabling British warship pursuit of the *Catalpa*, the vessel rescuing 6 Fenians from WA.

<sup>40</sup> *SA 1886 Government Gazette*, 1161. Assigning debts avoided the publicity of insolvency proceedings. Although no death, burial (or marriage) records for any Loneragan family was located in SA, his youngest daughter’s November 1906 death in Melbourne while her mother was still alive provided some information. But discovering a 1904 obituary in the non-indexed *Southern Cross* (20 May) showed the family’s 1887 move to Sydney, Loneragan’s 5 May death, and that he ‘had been an invalid, the result of injuries received through a driving accident’ in SA.

<sup>41</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 31 March 1901 for an example of the term’s universal negative associations: in South Africa Baden-Powell wrote ‘I have 40 Fenian Prisoners’.

<sup>42</sup> David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition; c.1820-1977’ in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, 124.

Chamberlain's inclusion of colonial premiers and troops in the 1897 Diamond Jubilee procession, Edward's royal tour of Canada and India (while Prince of Wales) and his son's subsequent tour of 1901, all reinforced the imperial paradigm.<sup>43</sup>

In discussing Queen Victoria's fourth visit to Ireland,<sup>44</sup> a three week stay in April 1900,<sup>45</sup> Yvonne Whelan describes the way 'both urban and rural landscapes throughout the country served as stages upon which imperial power was acted out with a large measure of pomp and ceremony'. She suggests one interpretation of these parades, their routes, the role of participants and the use of 'symbolic devices', was that they 'ensured that these landscape spectacles were highly successful in constructing and sustaining a sense of imperial identity'.<sup>46</sup> However she also states that the presence of the monarch 'brought issues of national identity, self reliance and political independence into sharp focus, just as much as the issue of loyalty to empire'.<sup>47</sup> Of these issues, loyalty to empire functioned as an accelerator at much further flung points of this extensive imperial structure.<sup>48</sup>

In both Australia and Canada, at perhaps a more superficial level, local pressure for royal tours also reflected what could be termed 'imperial insecurity'. Visits made a statement about relationship, about some degree of equality, and provided repeated opportunities for displays of loyalty. So in 1900 when Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, responded

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-5.

<sup>44</sup> The first was in August 1849, the next in August/September 1853 and the third in August 1861. The Prince of Wales visited Ireland in April 1868 and April 1885.

<sup>45</sup> The visit was timed deliberately to respond to issues associated with the Anglo-Boer War. See 138 and 150 below for further reference to this point.

<sup>46</sup> Yvonne Whelan, 'Performing Power, Demonstrating Resistance: Interpreting Queen Victoria's Visit to Dublin in 1900' in Lindsay J Proudfoot and Michael M Roche (eds.), *(Dis)Placing Empire. Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies*, Ashgate, Hampshire, 2005, 99-100. Her alternative reading of this tour and that of King Edward in 1907 related to these 'galvanis[ing] nationalist groups into opposition activity'.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 112. Queen Elizabeth's 2011 visit to Dublin functioned very differently from all previous royal visits. See *Irish Times*, 21 May 2011.

<sup>48</sup> See James H Murphy, *Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland During the Reign of Queen Victoria*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 2001, 290-304, for argument that Nationalist leaders feared royal popularity among followers, becoming more hostile in case popular enthusiasm disrupted self-government demands.

positively to Australian requests for royal involvement in opening the Commonwealth parliament after Federation, this Australian request prompted subsequent pleas from New Zealand, Canada and South Africa for inclusion in the tour. According to Phillip Buckner, Queen Victoria had to be persuaded about *any* royal participation, and an emphasis on colonial generosity in South Africa was crucial to convincing her. Canada's addition to the itinerary however came late.<sup>49</sup> Buckner's account underlines imperial jostling for visits, and, by implication, such competition included some reckoning about comparative levels of loyalty.

John MacKenzie argues that within England '[r]everence for the monarchy developed only from the late 1870s'. Emphasising the impact of Victoria's seclusion (as distraught widow) between 1861 and 1876, he demonstrates that her 1876 reappearance as Empress of India signified, not merely her new role in India, but her more general role as 'imperial matriarch'.<sup>50</sup> However the apparent time discrepancy between the metropole and the colonies, where evidence of intense royal fervour was evident at least a decade earlier, can be explained by the combination of distance and sentiment. For many colonists (apart perhaps from some Irish), the intense identification with all symbols of Britishness was nowhere better expressed than in enthusiasm towards the Crown.

Australia's first royal visit was made by Prince Alfred, Victoria's second son, the Duke of Edinburgh. Between October 1867 and April 1868 he visited South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland and New South Wales.<sup>51</sup> From first landing there were multiple 'parades...thunder of canons...procession[s] of notabilities...presentation of

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<sup>49</sup> Phillip Buckner, 'Casting Daylight upon Magic: Deconstructing the Royal Tour of 1901 to Canada' in Bridge and Fedorowich, *The British World*, 161-2.

<sup>50</sup> John M MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, 3-4.

<sup>51</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 209, mistakenly describes the tour as getting 'under way in December in Melbourne'.



addresses...civic illuminations...’,<sup>52</sup> triumphal arches, laying of foundation stones, visits to significant places and continuous cheering crowds.<sup>53</sup> Inter-colonial rivalry was explicit, so too was noting of any hint of disloyalty among Irish-Australians.<sup>54</sup> In this atmosphere of local competition, and the tour’s explicit display of imperial relationships at work, the impact of the March 1868 assassination attempt in Sydney by an Irishman was explosive.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the judicial and complex political responses to the crime, one articulated concern related to the ‘everlasting disgrace on the Australian colonies’, thus ‘another victim which will never recover...is our national honour’.<sup>56</sup> For this to have happened was appalling, but in some quarters, for the perpetrator to be an Irish-Australian associated all those of that background with extreme disloyalty.<sup>57</sup> Thus public Irish-Australian figures almost competed for the strongest denunciations.<sup>58</sup> And execution of the assassin within weeks did not elicit any protest from Irish-Australians.<sup>59</sup> According to many historians, the whole scenario unleashed massive waves of anti-Irish prejudice across all colonies.<sup>60</sup> It can be argued that this event simply allowed latent colonial prejudice, ‘prior conditioning towards Irish disloyalty’ to Empire,<sup>61</sup> imported and reinforced from Britain, to be publicly

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<sup>52</sup> *South Australian Register*, 13 June 1881. This editorial differentiated between the events of the planned 1867 visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, and 1881’s unexpected visit of the princes following the mishap to their naval vessel which led to their colonial ‘tour’.

<sup>53</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 209 accurately describes the tour as ‘a frenzy of colonial patriotism’.

<sup>54</sup> On 20 November 1867 South Australia’s *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* reacted to daily press criticism of Vicar General, Fr John Smyth’s absence from an official royal function, explaining other duties did not stop for this visit.

<sup>55</sup> Henry J O’Farrell’s family were 1850s immigrants; educated and with some ecclesiastical training, intense animosity to Catholic figures, fervent Irish patriotism, he was apparently also hostile to Royalty. His brother’s subsequent assault of Bishop Goold in 1863 lends support to explanations of familial instability. See Pawsey, *The Demon of Discord*, 129.

<sup>56</sup> See *Register* of 13 March 1868 for editorial summary of views expressed in other capital city daily papers.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, This editorial referred 3 times to Fenianism, twice suggesting its ‘taint’ in the colonies and once in England.

<sup>58</sup> Following the officially organised Adelaide Town Hall sympathy meeting, the *Register* of 17 March 1868 commented approvingly that Irishmen had made ‘stronger denunciation[s] of O’Farrell’s outrage than any which Anglo-Saxon tongues could compass’.

<sup>59</sup> See Amos, *The Fenians*, 60, 63 67-8 for discussion of Irish-Australian responses.

<sup>60</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 210-213, Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds*, 114, refers to ‘nationally’ escalating ‘anti-Irish bigotry and sectarian animosity’ but without evidence.

<sup>61</sup> Amos, *The Fenians*, 45.

expressed.<sup>62</sup> Certainly the last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed some overtly anti-Irish behaviour.<sup>63</sup>

In 1881 when two grandsons of Victoria (training as midshipmen) unexpectedly visited the colonies,<sup>64</sup> they spent longer in Western Australia, Adelaide<sup>65</sup> and Melbourne<sup>66</sup> than in Sydney; a deliberately protective decision but a cause of public frustration in Sydney.<sup>67</sup>

Recognition that fortuitous circumstances had facilitated this visit enabled some subtle comparison with the 1867 Adelaide visit of Prince Alfred.<sup>68</sup> Press coverage seemed without any negative comment from Irish-Australians, but the *Register* recognised that both Republicans and cynics would dismiss the ‘popular enthusiasm’ and the ‘glow of loyal fervour’.<sup>69</sup> Colonial distance from the imperial centre became less important as the nineteenth century progressed. The unheralded Royal glimpses of 1881 served as a reminder that there were fewer barriers against the incursion of ideas and individuals.

On 9 May 1901 the Duke of Cornwall and York opened Australia’s Federal Parliament in Melbourne.<sup>70</sup> Occurring during an imperial war, and months after Queen Victoria’s death,

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<sup>62</sup> See Curtis, *Apes and angels*, passim for visual examples reflecting widespread attitudes of prejudice towards the Irish, these were transferred to the colonies.

<sup>63</sup> See Campbell, ‘John Redmond and the Irish National League’, 348-62, and O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 226 for evidence of this behaviour.

<sup>64</sup> Philip W. Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia: The Official Royal Tours of Australia from 1867 to 1986*, Royalty Publishing, Adelaide, 1986, 13. The princes were aboard the *Bacchante* ‘which suffered some damage to her steering during a storm and called at Albany for repairs before continuing to meet the young Princes later’.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Hastily arranged and cognisant of ‘the restraint [that] was to be placed on their activities’, time in SA involved the Art Gallery opening, a race meeting, a football match, a night at the theatre, church plus visits to Kadina, Moonta, Kapunda and Angaston.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, In Melbourne, there were ‘balls, dinners, receptions, foundation stone layings, and loyal addresses ...[There was] a special visit to Ballarat [and] the local mines...’.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-17. Prince Albert was 17 and Prince George 15. The demands of WA, SA and Victorian visits led to the decision ‘that it should not be more of the same in Sydney’.

<sup>68</sup> *Register*, 13 June 1881.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, The editorial, ‘The Princes in South Australia’, preceded 3 columns of description, a pattern largely followed for the week of the visit. In 1881 SA lacked a Catholic newspaper.

<sup>70</sup> Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo. Australia: 1901-1919, The Rise of a Nation*, Fontana Sydney, 1976, 190. On 3 September 1901 Australia’s national flag (a competition had attracted 30,000 entries) was flown for the first time in Melbourne.

the visit elicited only qualified support from the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*.<sup>71</sup> Comment about expenditure<sup>72</sup> was supplemented by seemingly snide references to paltry presents, based on reports of the royal pair bringing valuable trinkets: 'Take much and give little seems to be the motto of Royalty' was the dismissive judgement from the *Advocate's* 'Tapley'.<sup>73</sup> Denny's editorial damned the 'three months of the Duke and his train' with under-appreciation:

For...the Duke's stay on this continent the current of our life will be diverted from its natural channel, and it will be quite a relief to get into a normal channel again. All the same, it is incumbent upon us all...to deck ourselves in our best attire, to put on our sweetest smile, and to cry our loudest before the young gentleman....Too much, however, must not be expected of us, or there will be a revulsion of feeling...<sup>74</sup>

Such conditional loyalty was matched by reports in the '*Cross*' about Sydney's qualified anticipation – '[t]here is little excitement here'<sup>75</sup> – and the subsequent descriptors attached to the visit: a 'dismal failure...apathy of the people...general disappointment follow[ing] on the heels of great expectations...'.<sup>76</sup> The tone of these items reflecting perceptions in three cities, suggests Irish-Australian sentiments which differentiated them from the imperial fervour of the majority, as displayed in the weekly *Adelaide Observer*<sup>77</sup> and daily papers such as the *Register*.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 June ('Sydney News') for surprisingly personal criticism of the appearance of both royal visitors.

<sup>72</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 3 May, 17 May 1901. The first was in 'Notes and News' and the second in 'Sydney News'.

<sup>73</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 June ('Easy Chair Jottings'), and *Southern Cross* of 21 June 1901. This was in 'Notes and News' and referred to the lavish presents bestowed on the Duke of Edinburgh in 1868.

<sup>74</sup> See *Southern Cross* 3 May. The comment was in a 'Topic' titled 'A Princely Visitation'. See issue of 24 May for claim the 'Prince was manifestly bored by the festivities...in Melbourne'.

<sup>75</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1901. ('Sydney News').

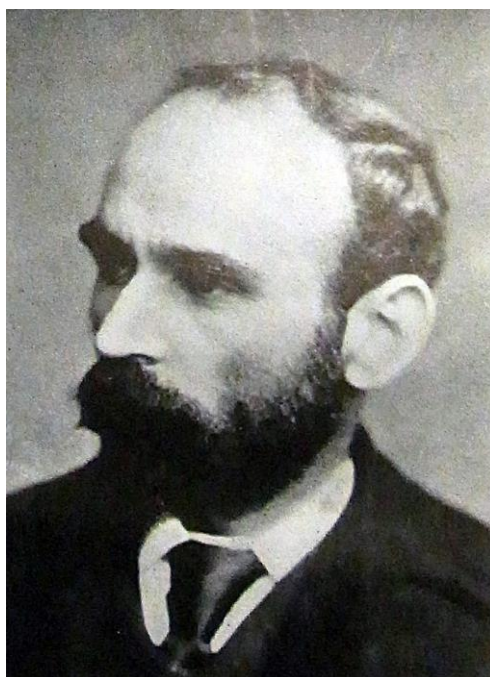
<sup>76</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 June 1901. ('Sydney News').

<sup>77</sup> See *Adelaide Observer*, 4, 11, 18, 25 May, 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 June, 6, 13 (10 pages), 13 (advertised copies of *Register* record of visit for 7 pence) 20 July (7 pages) 1901. The paper reveals a rising crescendo of interest and planning, culminating in a 4 page photo supplement covering the Royal couple's week in SA from 10 to 17 July.

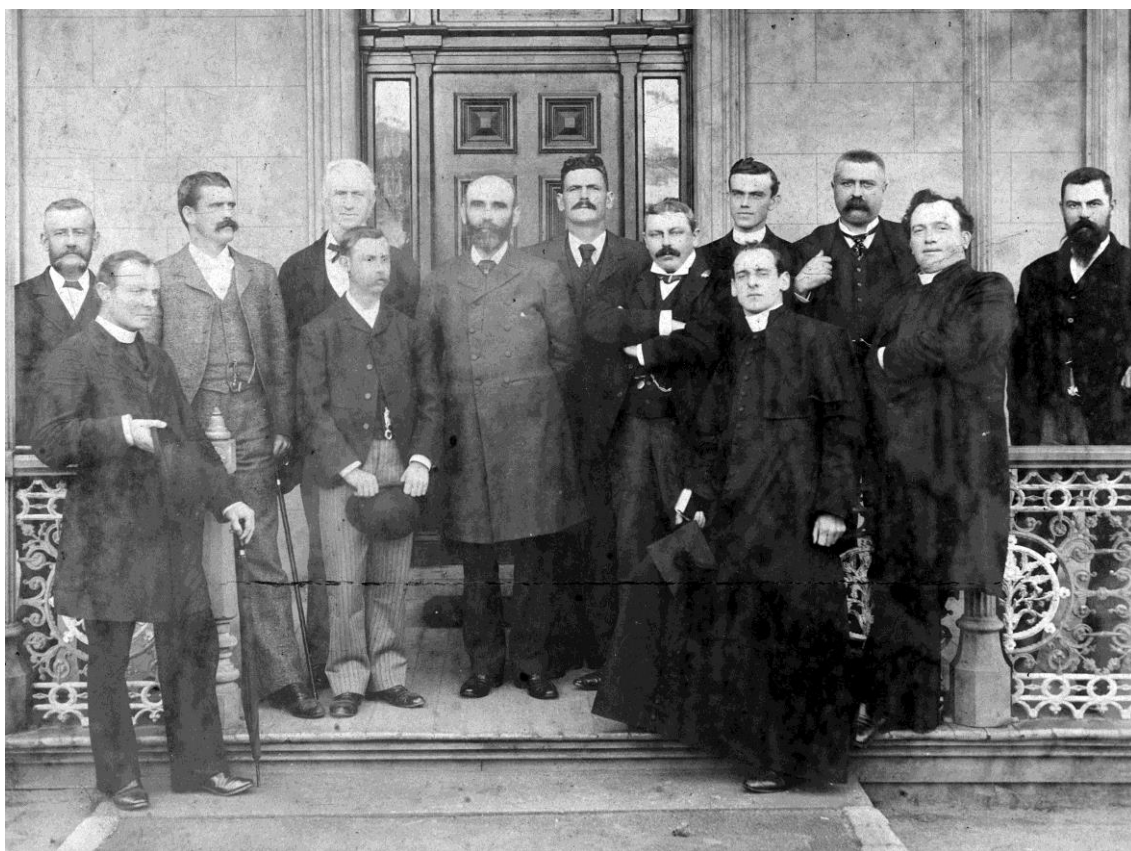
<sup>78</sup> See *Register* of 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 July 1901.



**Figure 16.** John W Walshe c 1880, TCD, Davitt Papers, MS 9649/197



**Figure 17.** Michael Davitt from Katherine Tynan, *Twenty-five Years: Reminiscences*, Smith Elder, London, 1913.



**Figure 18.** Local Geelong Committee for Michael Davitt, May 1895, JW Walshe third from left, and bearded Davitt in the centre, TCD, Davitt Papers, MS 9649/31

From 1881 visits from Irish delegates also served to distinguish the Irish-Australian community. Their mission was clear: to both inform and gather financial injections from the diaspora community. O'Farrell assesses early visitors such as J.W. Walshe (Michael Davitt's cousin, Figure 16), then John and William Redmond in 1883, as met initially with 'caution and even resistance', <sup>79</sup> but ultimately with 'anti-Irish indignation'. His recount referred to the coincidence of the Redmonds' visit with reports of the Phoenix Park murder trials.<sup>80</sup> While O'Farrell writes of such visits in terms of their compensating for the 'problem of losing touch with Ireland', his comments presuppose that this rupture had taken place.<sup>81</sup> The current research has identified widespread evidence that this was not so. And while some historians of Irish issues in Australia have made disparaging observations about levels of colonial Irish interest/enthusiasm between the visits of Irish leaders,<sup>82</sup> such variations seem consistent with Yinger's view of 'ebbs and flows' in the display of 'full ethnicity'.<sup>83</sup> Yinger's argument that self-identification, identification by others and shared activities 'can be of widely differing intensities' provides a framework within which overt Irish-Australian identification with Ireland can be seen as 'seasonal' – at times explicit and coordinated, but more often, discreet and less measurable. In this context the importance of retention of the 'deep green loathing' fragment becomes clear.

Colm Kiernan demonstrates that while IPP visits were intended to inform the colonial Irish about Home Rule, they also reinforced broader community hostility to the reform.<sup>84</sup> Both O'Farrell and Mazzaroli demonstrate the uncomfortable impact of these visitors on some very successful Irish-born citizens, pre-empting the more specific intra-community tension

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<sup>79</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 224. See Appendix A for details of all visits.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 225-6.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 229, 331, 233. Colm Kiernan, 'Home Rule for Ireland and the Formation of the Australian Labor Party, 1883 to 1891' in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, XXXVII, 1992, 7, writes that 'The St Patrick's Day celebrations in 1884 and in 1885 were not as successful as in 1883, when the Redmond brothers were present'.

<sup>83</sup> See 36 above for discussion of Yinger's clarification of the components of full ethnicity.

<sup>84</sup> Kiernan, 'Home Rule for Ireland', 6-7.

in subsequent imperial crises.<sup>85</sup> Although O'Farrell partially addressed the loyalty contradictions embedded in tours focussed on publicising and raising funds to counter problems resulting from British policies in Ireland,<sup>86</sup> his layered and complex prose does not explore the issue fully.<sup>87</sup> Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule, and espousal of it as a policy imperative in late 1885 (and again in 1893) intensified the colonial loyalty divide. Home Rule was positive for Irish colonists but negative for others who perceived the measure as a mortal blow to the Empire. As indicated previously, issues about Parnell, and IPP leadership confronted Irish-Australians when his name was associated with a very public divorce in 1890.

The publicity of the divorce trial in the colonies (cable news brought immediacy to disclosures),<sup>88</sup> was damaging. Irish communities struggled to deal with the implications of 'unacceptable behaviour' (finally established and not denied) and some hypocrisy,<sup>89</sup> debated the question of *their* responses to the imploding Irish Party,<sup>90</sup> and grappled with the potential fate of the desperately prized Home Rule.<sup>91</sup> Failure in 1893 was reflected in a strong sense of colonial Irish disappointment, especially in relation to ongoing divisions between Irish MPs. Michael Davitt's 1895 visit provided a significant boost to community spirits.<sup>92</sup> (See Figures 17 and 18.) And despite O'Farrell's general repudiation of much colonial Irish commitment to the causes of their country of origin, this was not the

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<sup>85</sup> Mazzaroli, *The Irish in New South Wales*, see Chapters 5 and 6, O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 228

<sup>86</sup> Fundraising for the Evicted Tenants' Fund, for example, was reported in the *Southern Cross* between 1889 and 1891.

<sup>87</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 226-7.

<sup>88</sup> See *Register* of 12, 13, 14 and 15 November 1890 for some South Australian examples.

<sup>89</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 December 1890 printed (without comment) an extract from the local *Quix* newspaper in which multiple namings of the Prince of Wales as co-respondent were cited: 'Let us apply to Wales the same measure of disapproval that we deal out to Parnell'. See *Register* of 19 November for an editorial making a similar point but not naming those 'occupying prominent position'.

<sup>90</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 21 and 28 November for editorials titled 'Mr Parnell's Position' and 'Unfair and Untrue', responding to a tirade in the local *Advertiser* stating that Parnell's behaviour had 'damage[d] and disgrace[d] the cause he represents'.

<sup>91</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 12 December 1890 for a report of the local INL meeting's discussion of the situation, and the editorial headed 'The Home Rule Crisis'.

<sup>92</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 and 28 June 1895. Davitt's farewell lecture in the Adelaide Town Hall on 24 June was titled 'The Progress of the Home Rule Movement'.

interpretation of visiting Irish figures, and local research, for example into the sustained engagement of Irish nationalists with a variety of Irish purposes,<sup>93</sup> hardly supports his generalisation.<sup>94</sup> Both the *Advocate* and 'Cross' regularly reported INF and UIL meetings where the focus of discussion often related to requests for financial support.<sup>95</sup> When the Irish Party reunited in 1900 during the Anglo-Boer War,<sup>96</sup> colonial responses demonstrated how closely the rupture had been followed, regretted, and the mended breach welcomed.<sup>97</sup> In that war, as in the war against the Sudan in 1885, colonial Irish had important opportunities to prove their imperial loyalty.

### *The Sudan War*

When war broke out in Sudan during 1885, much of the overt post-1868 tumult against the Irish had receded. According to Ken Inglis, news of the 'outrage' – the murder of Charles Gordon in the Sudan – was 'the greatest single item of news carried to Australia by the cable in its twelve years of operation'.<sup>98</sup> In Sydney, a retired military Irishman convinced acting premier Dalley, an Irish-Australian, to offer troops.<sup>99</sup> Other colonies were neither consulted, nor were their subsequent military overtures accepted in London where there were 'misgivings' about levels of colonial professional competence.<sup>100</sup> Ultimately the 700 troops – among whom, according to O'Farrell, the 46 Irish-born volunteers approximated

<sup>93</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 January, 10 February, 19 May 1899 for reports of South Australian donations towards Distress in Ireland' and 'Evicted Tenants' Appeals.

<sup>94</sup> See John Redmond to HB Higgins, 1 November 1905, Letter, NLA, Henry Bournes Higgins Papers, MS1057/118 congratulating him on 'masterly' parliamentary speech on Home Rule saying 'no element in our favour has been more potent than the sympathy of Australia'.

<sup>95</sup> For two of many examples, see *Southern Cross* of 3 April 1903, and *Advocate* of 30 January 1912.

<sup>96</sup> See 138 and 151 below for further reference to reunification.

<sup>97</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 10 May 1910. (Topics: 'Reuniting the Forces').

<sup>98</sup> KS Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan 1885*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1985, 11.

<sup>99</sup> Sir Edward Strickland had served in the British Army prior to retiring to NSW in 1881. A fellow-Catholic and Dalley's neighbour, his suggestion was based on misapprehension that Canada had already done so. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published his troop-proposal on 13 February with editorial endorsement; Dalley's cable was already in London. Acting Premier since October 1884, Dalley was the son of Irish convicts.

<sup>100</sup> Inglis, *The Rehearsal*, 39.

their colonial proportions<sup>101</sup> – were too late for decisive demonstration of imperial loyalty. Even in Sydney, opinions were influenced by a range of factors, and in hindsight, E.W. O’Sullivan, a newly elected Irish-Australian politician, recognised his mistake in endorsing the expedition.<sup>102</sup> In colonies excluded from such a militaristic opportunity due to British rejection of their offers, criticism of the venture came without effort.<sup>103</sup> The acute contrast between comment in Melbourne’s *Advocate* and Adelaide’s *Catholic Monthly* prefigures subsequent differences in responses from the Irish-Catholic press to imperial conflicts.

Readers of the *Catholic Monthly* learnt in March 1885 of the death of a ‘Gallant Catholic Officer’ in the initial siege, an Irishman who had family in Sydney.<sup>104</sup> Apart from that, the conflict was absent from view; ten years later the paper’s political and social silence was clarified to differentiate it from its successor. It was ‘a religious organ only’.<sup>105</sup> There was no such reticence in the weekly *Advocate* where from mid-February the conflict was highlighted either in editorials<sup>106</sup>, cable news,<sup>107</sup> letters<sup>108</sup> or commentary.<sup>109</sup> Reviewing the tenor of the coverage between February and May provides clarity about ways that loyalty issues emerged for some Irish-Australians. While some comment was framed in clear terms of inter-colonial mud-slinging, this was a specific response to Sydney’s uni-lateral decision to offer

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<sup>101</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 164. Identifying numbers of Australian-born Irish in this group presents obvious difficulties of linking surnames to mothers as well as fathers.

<sup>102</sup> Australian-born O’Sullivan based his support on the war challenging the slave trade, possibly also because Irish-Australian Dalley favoured it. By 1894 he recognised his mistake. As *Freeman’s Journal* editor in 1897, he cited Sudan as ‘foolish and humiliating’. See Bruce Mansfield, *Australian Democrat: The Career of Edward William O’Sullivan 1846-1910*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1965, 267-9. O’Sullivan mentored FM Koerner, (*Southern Cross* editor 1903-34), see Appendix C for O’Sullivan’s details.

<sup>103</sup> See *Advocate*, 28 March, 16 May, and *Terowie Enterprise* of 22 May 1885. O’Loughlin’s editorial distinguished between attitudes of country and metropolitan papers, stating general opposition from the former.

<sup>104</sup> *Catholic Monthly*, March 1885. The piece was attributed to Sydney’s *Freeman’s Journal*.

<sup>105</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 August 1895.

<sup>106</sup> See *Advocate* of 14 February, 7 and 14 March, 2 May 1885 for editorials with a Sudan focus.

<sup>107</sup> See *Advocate* of 7 and 21 March, 18 and 25 April, 2, 9 and 16 May 1885.

<sup>108</sup> See *Advocate* of 7 (2 letters) and 28 March, 11, 18 and 25 April, 2, 16 and 30 May, and 6 June. M. Collisson wrote 8 while ‘Eamon’ authored 2. (Neither writer could be identified.)

<sup>109</sup> See *Advocate* of 14 and 28 March, 4 and 25 April, 9 and 30 May for ‘Easy Chair Jottings’ items, and 11 and 18 April, 2 and 9 May in the more formal, ‘Prominent Topics’, for discussion of aspects of the war.



troops<sup>110</sup> which prevented any united colonial approach.<sup>111</sup> Colourful language from one correspondent also reveals colonial enthusiasm levels, possibly including Irishmen:

We are all gone stark, raving mad...with patriotism and the Soudan (sic) on the brain. The mania has spread like an epidemic, and young and old, big and little, laity and clergy, are all anxious to join the volunteers and be off...to slaughter the pagans.<sup>112</sup>

Another letter's opposition was partly financial, linking costs and potential military humiliation to English actions in Ireland.<sup>113</sup> Editorial comment on the same day argued local defence was more important than 'a little military masquerading'. Two weeks later in the informal 'Easy Chair Jottings', what could be termed the 'inconsistency radar' identified anti-war parliamentary statements which would have equated to Fenianism had their utterer been Irish.<sup>114</sup> A week later, editor Gunson connected opposition to Sudan participation, NSW Irishmen and disloyalty more explicitly.<sup>115</sup> And by 11 April it was claimed that comments from some government members (including Ministers) 'insinuated that those who were opposed to sending the...contingent...were disloyal'.<sup>116</sup>

When Irish-Australians read an exchange from Dublin's *Nation* of 7 March, they learnt their colonial military action was castigated as 'simply shameful'. Judging that 'pitiable' colonial participation in a quarrel 'against a people who never did them any wrong', would bring consequences, the unnamed Irish writer voiced clear predictions:

So surely as God is just they will have reason to rue the day they resolved to bear a part in the iniquities, the robberies and the murders of the hoary old sinner they call 'the mother country'.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *Advocate*, 21 February 1885.

<sup>111</sup> See *Advocate* 14 March 1885 for editorial. See also *SA Register* of 11 June 1881 for view that 1881's offer to send troops to the Transvaal 'had failed to excite attention and receive due acknowledgement in the mother country'; only later was it reported that the Queen 'had been much gratified at the evidence of loyalty', Sydney's 1885 proposal was probably seen as challenging.

<sup>112</sup> *Advocate*, 7 March 1885. The obfuscating signature was 'One Who Knows the Country and its History'.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Advocate*, 28 March 1885. James Fletcher MP (1834-91) was a Scottish emigrant of 1851

<sup>115</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 April 1885 for 'Prominent Topics'.

<sup>116</sup> *Advocate*, 11 April 1885. ('Prominent Topics').

<sup>117</sup> *Advocate*, 24 April 1885.

For those Irish-Australians who had supported colonial participation in the Sudan, the impact of such transnational questioning from Ireland, at once religious, patriotic and emotive, cannot be quantified at this distance. But it is possible there was some discomfort in their response to such judgement from Ireland when published in the *Advocate*.

A paradoxical Victorian example of contradictory Irish attitudes to all matters English appeared on 18 April when an article with the title ‘The Irish in the Soudan (sic)’ lauded the bravery of Ireland’s officers and their death rates. Proposals simultaneously to form an Irish-Australian Volunteer Corp (to defend Australia), a public meeting, and then a deputation (of significant Irishmen) to the Premier and Minister of Defence in mid-May, represented aggrieved responses to accusations of Irish disloyalty.<sup>118</sup> Instances such as these reflect not only the extent of Irish-Australian loyalty, but also implicit assumptions that other colonists would recognise the quality of this loyalty. Many Irish-Australians continued to presume their loyalty was accepted and understood until the events of Dublin in 1916.

Colonial differences over Sudan were explicit with New South Wales engaged in the conflict and other colonies, eventually, critical. For the colonial Irish, this ‘war’ demonstrated the configuration of future ‘loyalty battlelines’ and the obstacles encompassed in *any* position implying criticism of the Empire. Within the two colonies which are the focus of this research, differences in Catholic press war coverage were stark – consistent and detailed in Victoria and largely non-existent in South Australia. The *Advocate* became more overtly anti-war. While Adelaide’s Catholic press was silent, further North, in

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<sup>118</sup> *Advocate*, 16 May 1885.

the *Terowie Enterprise* (Figure 19), J.V. O’Loghlin, (future editor of the *Southern Cross*) was clear in his opposition to the conflict.<sup>119</sup> He stated that

We have not concealed our admiration of the spirit which prompted assistance to the old country in a time of supposed need, but we regard it as a deep stain on the fair escutcheon of those free young colonies to send our volunteers in the desecrated name of patriotism – to imbrae their hands in the blood of patriots.<sup>120</sup>

The strength of his position in 1885 found no echo in 1899 when as Chief Secretary he dispatched Volunteer contingents to South Africa.

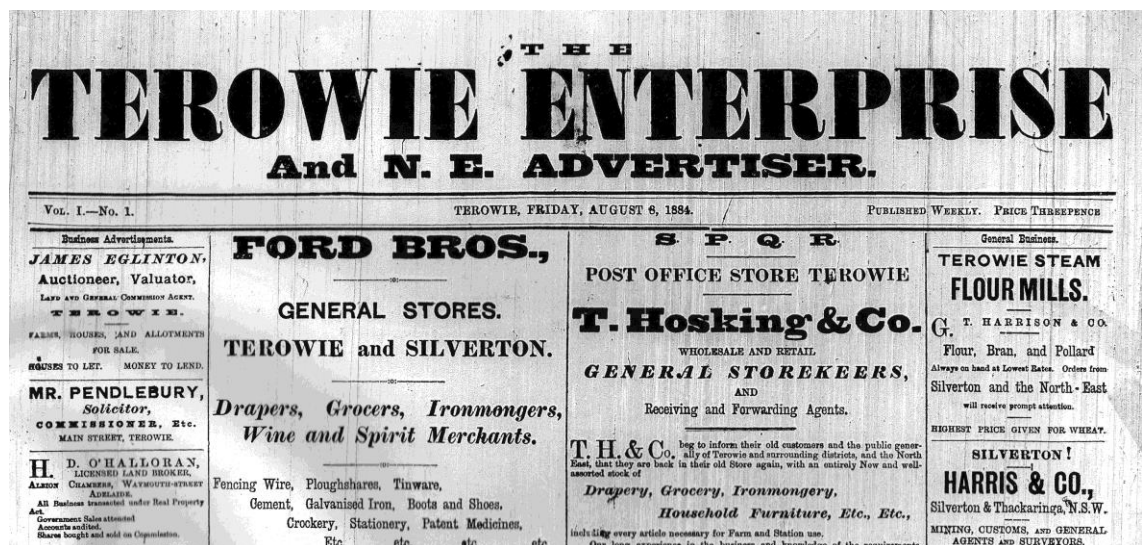


Figure 19. Masthead of *Terowie Enterprise*, edited by J.V. O’Loghlin, 1884-7

### *From the Sudan to South Africa*

In the 15 years after Sudan, non-Irish colonists were reminded that the imperial loyalty of their Irish neighbours could not be presumed, and also that trusting Irish leaders was equally problematic. Discussing Britain, imperial propaganda and its multiple constituent elements, MacKenzie examines the cultural embedding of ideas through public entertainment, literature and education. He also emphasises the significance of organisations such as the Tory-leaning Primrose League founded in 1883: its core belief was ‘the maintenance of the Imperial Ascendancy of the British Empire’. He depicts the

<sup>119</sup> *Terowie Enterprise*, 22 May 1885. O’Loghlin was proud the country press followed an independent line in opposing the dispatch of volunteers.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

League's capitalisation of 'each of the imperial climacterics of the 1880s and 1890s'; Gordon's death at Khartoum, the Sudan campaign of 1896 to 1898, and the South African War. More significantly, 'the Home Rule agitation' in MacKenzie's inventory occupies a position of equal importance to those previously cited.<sup>121</sup> Against all such crucial events, the responses of colonial Irish could be assessed.

Fenianism in its theoretical challenges or 'murderous' actions, Royal tours, attitudes to imperial war games, and responses to visiting Irishmen, all represented opportunities for colonial Irishmen to be judged, and typically found wanting, in terms of appropriate levels of loyalty. Melbourne's Irish convention in late 1883 (towards the end of the Redmond brothers' visit), typified this dichotomy. *Sydney Morning Herald* repudiation not merely of the event, but its Irish Australian characterisation, has already been quoted; O'Farrell also quoted a concomitant *Age* description of Australia's Irish as 'foreigners'.<sup>122</sup> With this backdrop, despite widespread affirmation of imperial loyalty, the Irish-Australian community was continually assessed against behavioural norms established by the dominant Anglo culture. While prominent Irishmen could discard the troublesome Irish identity, this choice was unavailable to many un-skilled individuals. Their level of Irish identification intensified during the Irish Missions, reinforcing application (in O'Day) of Handleman's hierarchy of ethnicity.<sup>123</sup> These events equally highlighted the reverse: 'shoneen' Irishmen, those seeking to emulate English ways and disassociate from the Irish-Australian community. The Catholic press noted these divisions. For the majority of Irish individuals, struggling to integrate all three components of loyalty and identity – imperial, Irish and Australian – represented a visible trial. As the largest colonial minority group, Irish 'identity

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<sup>121</sup> MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 150-2.

<sup>122</sup> See 5 above and O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 244.

<sup>123</sup> See 36 above for discussion of Handleman's 4 levels of ethnicity.

juggling' was observed critically at high points of imperial display. Thus in the three decades before the Anglo-Boer War, the foundations of the loyalty problem were laid publicly (and repeatedly) for Irish-Australians; the strength of this base enabled the rapid construction and disclosure of further challenges to their loyalty when and as required.

## Chapter Three

### Demonstrated Loyalty?

#### Irish-Australians and the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902.

*[W]ould it not be more patriotic for us Australians to prosecute patiently and peacefully the building up of our own...Commonwealth and avoid the 'pomp and circumstance of war,' until compelled to wage it in defence of our own hearth and homes?'*

This chapter will examine how two Irish-Catholic newspapers, the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* presented the Anglo-Boer War. It will demonstrate that within the Irish-Australian community, as the opening quotation suggests, enthusiastic participation in this conflict was contested, and these newspapers responded differently to the loyalty questions aroused by the war. Material presented here will show that *Advocate* readers accessed more fervent opposition to the war than was presented in the *Southern Cross*. Craig Wilcox, in the most recent Australian examination of participation in the war, notes that 'many Irish minds were troubled by doubts about the conflict, and the empire too'.<sup>2</sup> However, explicit representation of the Empire as being in danger created pressure for colonial assistance. When, for example, the early South Australian enthusiasm to volunteer is examined, this can be read as a clear indication of high levels of public support: 'the Mother Country was at war, and so therefore were her colonies'.<sup>3</sup> Thus loyalty, both imperial *and* Australian, was immediately inscribed as a powerful factor determining support for this conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Advocate* of 14 October 1899, the letter was signed 'Loyal Australian'.

<sup>2</sup> Craig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa 1899-1902*, Oxford University Press in association with the Australian War Memorial, Victoria, 2002, 262.

<sup>3</sup> See AP Haydon, 'South Australia's First War' in *Historical Studies*, Vol XI, No 42, April 1964, 227 for details and timing of initial enlistments.

Imperial fervour quickly displaced hesitation from colonial politicians.<sup>4</sup> While historians acknowledge some opposition to this war, they concur that colonial communities were intolerant of such opposition<sup>5</sup> on the whole, and therefore it had little impact.<sup>6</sup> Gavin Souter stresses that even '[m]iniscule...opposition was increasingly resented in loyalist circles as the war ground...to a close'.<sup>7</sup> Thus *any* Irish-Australian deviation from community interest in 'seeing Australia's Britishness tested under fire', substantiated their 'Othering'.<sup>8</sup> Coherent opposition was evident in both New South Wales<sup>9</sup> and Victoria.<sup>10</sup> In South Australia however, A.P.Haydon found 'almost universal support' for the war.<sup>11</sup> Surveying the religious press formed an important plank of his analysis. But his judgement that the *Southern Cross* was 'mildly pacifistic' yet 'opposing [Boer] oppression' was based on a single editorial of October 1899, which seems hasty.<sup>12</sup> In a situation where Irish-Australians faced all-pervasive questions of loyalty, the content and emphasis of their newspapers was critical.

Readers learnt about the war within a religious context which differentiated newspaper content from the daily press. Additionally, these Irish-Catholic newspapers explained Ireland's pro-Boer stance.<sup>13</sup> Significant Irish opposition to the war was based on

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<sup>4</sup> See CN Connolly, 'Manufacturing 'Spontaneity': The Australian Offers of Troops for the Boer War' in *Historical Studies*, Vol XVIII, No 70, April 1978, 106-117.

<sup>5</sup> John Bannon, 'A War for a Constitution: The Australian Colonies and the South African War' in *The New Federalist*, No 5, June 2000, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Haydon, *South Australia's First War*, 227.

<sup>7</sup> Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 67.

<sup>8</sup> See WM Chamberlain, 'The Characteristics of Australia's Boer War Volunteers' in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol XX, No 78, April 1982, 48-52 for focus on Victoria's volunteers in the absence of complete nominal rolls for all colonies. Catholics made up 17.8, 16.3, and 17.7 percent in the years 1900-02, a 17.2 percent total. In 1902, the SA figure was 12.8 percent. Irish-Australian enlistment numbers remain unclear. CBC was Adelaide's major boys' Catholic secondary school but in 2010 the archivist was unaware that former students had volunteered; this research has identified a small number.

<sup>9</sup> See CN Connolly, 'Class, Birthplace, Loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War' in *Historical Studies*, Vol XVIII, No 71, October 1978, 210-232, and Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 62-4.

<sup>10</sup> Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 66-7.

<sup>11</sup> Haydon 'South Australia's First War', 231.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>13</sup> Use of this term is based both on both its currency at the time, and its continued application by historians, for example Donal McCracken, *The Irish Pro-Boers 1877-1901*, Perskor Publishers, Johannesburg, 1989.

recognition that both Irish and Boer were subjects of British oppression. For many Irish-Australians, the South African conflict encapsulated the triangular interplay of imperialism: the dispute resulted from imperial subjects resisting aspects of imperial rule, something mirroring Ireland's experience. Yet as imperial residents, not only were Irish-Australians required to show tacit support, but in the context of an endangered Empire, more explicit loyalty demonstrations were required. Meanwhile, as historian John Bannon argued:

There is a close correlation of timing between the progress of the Australian constitution and events in South Africa ...[and colonial participation was an]...incentive for Chamberlain to ensure a satisfactory passage of the Commonwealth Constitution Bill....<sup>14</sup>

For many Irish-Australians the distant conflict represented a real test (unlike the Sudan) of how they viewed themselves – as Irishmen, as Australians, and more specifically, as citizens of the Empire – because Volunteer contingents were integral to this war. As indicated in Chapter One, Irish opinion became increasingly pro-Boer and loudly aggrieved about both the sustained British refusal of Home Rule and a range of policies in Ireland. Policies like ongoing evictions,<sup>15</sup> jury stacking,<sup>16</sup> and the refusal to allow an Irish University,<sup>17</sup> constructed the ongoing backdrop of Irish news presented in Irish-Australian Catholic newspapers. O'Farrell's examination of what being Irish in Australia meant<sup>18</sup> pinpoints sending money as 'the only effective action [which] became a substitute for caring'.<sup>19</sup> However, much evidence calls this view into question and points to sustained interest in Irish issues. The Anglo-Boer War challenged many Irish-Australians in terms of dual

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<sup>14</sup> Bannon, 'A War for a Constitution', 2, 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Evictions, the forcible removal of tenants from rented property had long been a feature of agrarian life in Ireland; Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) figures recorded 117,000 evictions between 1846 and 1887, affecting approximately 587,000 people. Continuing coverage of such actions reinforced Irish-Australian concern. See *Advocate* of 12 May 1900.

<sup>16</sup> Jury stacking involved disqualifying Catholics from jury duty; see *Advocate* of 7 September 1901 for item about 34 jurors being stood down.

<sup>17</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 11 May 1900, 'A Lost Opportunity – Catholic University' (editorial), and *Advocate* of 31 March and 12 May 1900 ('Prominent Topics').

<sup>18</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 197, 200.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 206. O'Farrell overlooks the point that such contributions paralleled all other financial demands (often from the Church) faced by Irish-Catholics.



loyalties as first and second generation Irish-Australians *and* imperial citizens. The Irish-Australian community was ‘regarded as inferior, indeed foreign’,<sup>20</sup> and thus its performances of loyalty were constantly monitored. O’Farrell affirms this: having acknowledged many Irish-Australians ‘were unhappy with the South African situation’, he concluded that ‘Australian loyalist critics of Irish Australia’s lack of patriotic enthusiasm had basis for their comments’.<sup>21</sup>

Irish-Australians, as imperial citizens, faced expectations that Britain was owed unqualified support when the Empire was threatened.<sup>22</sup> Many Irish-Australians experienced tensions, if not contradictions during the South African conflict. Some levels of this discomfort were evident in both newspapers’ coverage, but were perhaps more obvious in the ‘*Cross*’. McNamara’s analysis of factors impinging on the *New Zealand Tablet*’s negotiation of Irish identity includes the editor’s perspective.<sup>23</sup> Between 1899 and 1902, editorial background and orientation were critical in representing news and views. First generation Gunson edited the *Advocate* until his death late in 1901. In Adelaide, not only was the ‘*Cross*’ editor, Irish-Australian Denny, involved with the militia, but as Chief Secretary and Minister of Defence,<sup>24</sup> former editor and Managing Secretary, another second generation Irishman, J.V. O’Loughlin (a militia member from 1883) dispatched the first contingent of volunteers. Both men combined their strong Irish identification with active imperial loyalty. That the ‘*Cross*’ was more pro-war than the *Advocate* reflected some measure of their impact.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 244. O’Farrell quotes the Melbourne *Age* of 1883: ‘We are Englishmen, and this is an English colony...we do not intend to let a handful of “foreigners” [that is, Irish]...impugn our loyalties to the hard-won traditions of race’.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 240. See Wilcox, *Australia’s Boer War*, 26 for claim about the ‘unease with empire and imperial responsibilities that permeated Irish communities...’. He provides no evidence.

<sup>22</sup> Wilcox, *Australia’s Boer War*, 18, refers to Chamberlain’s 3 July cable to colonial governments, suggesting ‘an offer spontaneously made would be welcomed here and might have great effect in South Africa’, an offer of some mounted troops for a ‘military demonstration against the Transvaal’. See also Bannon, ‘A War for a Constitution’ 2-10.

<sup>23</sup> See 17-18, 37 and 46 above for discussion of McNamara.

<sup>24</sup> O’Loughlin was in this position during the critical months until December 1899.

### *Methodology*

In order to categorise and evaluate the *Advocate* and the 'Cross' in terms of their coverage of the war's build up, the war itself, and its elongated conclusion, both newspapers were read from June 1899 to June 1902. The *Advocate*, catering for Victoria's larger Catholic and Irish population,<sup>25</sup> was more substantial – 24 pages compared to Adelaide's 16 page newspaper. War news tended to be scattered throughout. Unlike the 'Cross', Gunson identified *Advocate's* use of cable news: *Argus* material (source for all incoming cables), or 'Daily Papers'. While the *Advocate's* opening news item – 'European Intelligence' – incorporated war news and specific Irish items, for the 'Cross', 'Irish News' came first. Editorials, and regular, more formal 'opinion' columns (written by staff journalists)<sup>26</sup> – 'Prominent Topics' (*Advocate*) and 'Topics' ('Cross') – and the more informal 'Easy Chair Jottings'<sup>27</sup> and 'Purely Personal' columns,<sup>28</sup> consistently included a war emphasis. More commentary, sourced from overseas 'exchanges', was published as the war lingered on.<sup>29</sup> Changes to the pattern represent an important aspect of this analysis given the role of these newspapers in informing Irish-Australians about the war and its issues. Sources for much 'exchange' material were clear, but non-attributed items tend to blur certainty about influences. Coverage of predominantly local aspects of this war – for example comments from Church figures, or Australian deaths or injuries – appeared occasionally within various sections.

In evaluating coverage of the war years, the item type in both publications was noted throughout the three years in order to establish a comparative basis. (Importantly, some categories changed over these years). Then the attitudinal slant of articles in each paper was

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<sup>25</sup> See 76-81 above for comparative discussion about Victoria and South Australia.

<sup>26</sup> *Advocate* of 17 February 1900 shows 'first person' item, using both 'we' and 'us' but the author is unknown.

<sup>27</sup> Easy Chair Jottings' presented an eclectic column where local or overseas news items received comment, often acerbically or cynically.

<sup>28</sup> 'Purely Personal' included brief life aspects of the newsworthy, or during the war, details about those embarking/returning, or events relating to South Australian participants.

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix B for details of some 'exchange' newspapers used during the Anglo-Boer War.

evaluated in order to determine the nature of the information provided to Irish-Australians when loyalty and patriotism were public issues. Table Three shows the categories developed for 1899, and subsequent discussion highlights examples within categories; Tables Four to Six encompass the remainder of the war. Using this framework of analysis for the war allowed monitoring of both newspapers, as well as changes from year to year.

### *1899 – Build-up and Early Stages of Anglo-Boer War*

Examining both newspapers between June and December 1899 revealed significant differences when comparing the raw number of listings. First editorials appeared on 17 (*Advocate*) and 30 (*Southern Cross*) June, editorial numbers almost matched during these months. However, fewer ‘*Cross*’ ‘Topics’ columns (14) included war comment compared to the *Advocate*’s 23 ‘Prominent Topic’ items, suggesting an early difference in perspective. In the ‘Miscellaneous’ category (typically with more than one article) the papers were virtually identical; this classification usually included overseas commentary. Less formal elements, ‘Easy Chair Jottings’ and ‘Purely Personal’ (categorised together for convenience), despite differences in tone, were again similar, 15 and 14 items. The *Advocate* had several inbuilt advantages reflecting its larger financial and reader base: it received regular overseas contributions and frequently published a four page Supplement. One ‘Regular Correspondent’ was IPP luminary, Michael Davitt (a Westminster MP until 25 October 1899)<sup>30</sup>, and his fortnightly contributions increasingly incorporated war commentary. ‘Our London Correspondent’ (an anonymous ‘Victorian’)<sup>31</sup> dispatched three comments about the war. Additionally, there were five war-focussed articles in the ‘Supplement’ during later 1899, while two ‘Spirit of the Press’ columns had a similar thrust. The *Advocate*’s ‘European Intelligence’ page featured ‘exchanges’ prominently and included five comments on the

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix C for details of Davitt’s life, and below 125, 131-6, 139, 142-3, 149, 166 and 175 for further reference to his perspective on this war.

<sup>31</sup> This was probably Irishman JF Hogan, a former Victorian resident. See Appendix C.

war; this differed from the briefer, up to date ‘Cable News’ in detail. Here, the six week time-lag associated with ‘exchange’ items showed when items emphasising the danger of war appeared only from 7 October. In the ‘*Cross*’ where ‘Notes and News from All Quarters’ (non-attributed ‘exchanges’) included four items in this period, the ‘General News’ column (local, inter-colonial or international items), included two. Between 21 October and December, the *Advocate* provided nine purely descriptive but non-attributed items entitled ‘War News.’ Both newspapers published only two war-related letters from readers. *Advocate* readers had access to more information from a variety of sources as the likelihood of conflict escalated, and during the opening months of war.

**Table Three: Numbers & Categories of Items, June to December 1899**

Type of Newspaper Item	<i>Advocate</i>	<i>Southern Cross</i>
Editorial	6	5
Overseas Comment	1	3
Easy Chair/Purely Personal	15	14
Prominent/Topics	23	14
Miscellaneous	13	14
Notes & News From All Quarters	–	4
Our Special Correspondent	9	–
Our London Letter	3	–
European Intelligence/ Overseas News	5	2
Spirit of the Press	2	–
Letters to Editor	2	2
War News	9	–
General News	–	2

Between June and September 1899, the ‘*Cross*’ published two editorials (one optimistic about *uitlander* issues, and one referring to Australians in the Transvaal),<sup>32</sup> six small articles about leaders (one from the *Tablet* about Kruger),<sup>33</sup> and a further six analysing issues shaping the potential conflict. Among the latter, three were overtly negative about Britain;<sup>34</sup> two reported Davitt’s views<sup>35</sup> and linked the supposed *uitlander* franchise which precipitated the war to Ireland’s deprivation of suffrage rights. Davitt was explicit about the Boer

<sup>32</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 June and 25 August 1899, ‘Hope for the *Uitlanders*’ and ‘Australia and the Transvaal’.

<sup>33</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1899. See Appendix C for details about Kruger.

<sup>34</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 23 June (England and the Transvaal), 25 August (editorial hoping there were hesitations), and 22 September 1899 (Irishman, former military figure in South Africa, Sir William Butler’s view).

<sup>35</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 July and 15 September 1899.

situation replicating police action in County Mayo. Meanwhile the *Advocate's* overall tendency to convey an anti-war message was suggested by publication of Davitt's hopes for Boer success, his expressions of 'disgust' about the colonial troop offers (or 'cable warriors') described as inviting 'ridicule and contempt' and 'carrying Imperial patriotism' too far.<sup>36</sup> Although an October '*Cross*' editorial – 'War Clouds' – affirmed the *uitlander* cause was just, Denny acknowledged different perspectives among readers.<sup>37</sup> Simultaneous publication of 'Anti-Brummagem's' letter (a term meaning cheap and flashy) where an Irishman objected to the parliamentary war support from two prominent Irish National Federation (INF) members, reflected early differences among Irish-South Australians.<sup>38</sup> The writer viewed their imperial support as cheap, if not unworthy, disputing their vote for 'an armed force to crush a people endeavouring to retain their independence and national character'.<sup>39</sup> Assessing the extent of anti-imperialism in the absence of many published responses to war issues is difficult. But a letter from the colony's West Coast displayed an informed position on the war. AFS incorporated opinions from Davitt, prominent South African priest Dr Kolbe,<sup>40</sup> and the *Glasgow Single Taxer*. He expressed deep sorrow about young Irish-Australians who volunteered for a fight akin to the slaughter of their forefathers.<sup>41</sup> In general, views presented in the '*Cross*' were more supportive of Britain during the build up than was true for the *Advocate*.

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<sup>36</sup> *Advocate*, 16 September, see *Southern Cross* of 15 September 1899 for Davitt's wish for Boer success.

<sup>37</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 13 October 1899. Editorials of 30 June and 25 August predicted a Boer back-down, but presented positive views of Australia going to the Transvaal.

<sup>38</sup> President and Vice-President of the INF, first generation Irish-Australian Patrick McMahon Glynn and JV O'Loughlin (second generation) were both MPs, elected in 1887 and 1888 respectively. See Appendix C.

<sup>39</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 October 1899.

<sup>40</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 August, 21 October and *Southern Cross* of 15 September 1899 for early Kolbe material, and Appendix C for details of his life.

<sup>41</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 November 1899. See 141, fn.93, and 155 below for further reference to this correspondent, AF Stapleton.

Davitt was a regular *Advocate* correspondent from 1883,<sup>42</sup> and an oft-quoted figure in the Irish-Catholic press.<sup>43</sup> Of all Irish commentators on the war, his relationship with Australia was unique. His opinions form a consistent thread in local discussion of the war, his background and reputation lending significant authority. Visiting Australia in 1895 confirmed his popularity, established closer relationships with local Irish nationalists (as already mentioned),<sup>44</sup> and produced a book in 1898 – *Life and Progress in Australasia*.<sup>45</sup> Although his attitudes towards imperialism have been critiqued,<sup>46</sup> in the context of that era, the limitations of his perspective are of less significance here than the nature of his ongoing transnational links to Australia, especially in relation to the war. In 1900 Davitt spent two months in the Transvaal, ‘his stay...confirmed his convictions that a brave people were making a heroic stand’.<sup>47</sup> His partisan text, *The Boer Fight for Freedom*, was published in 1902,<sup>48</sup> attracting great American interest, and, according to Arthur Davey, ‘it remains one of the attested works of reference on the clash’.<sup>49</sup> Instalments were published weekly in Dublin from 9 February 1901. Such close juxtapositioning with notices of publication appearing in the *Advocate* and ‘*Cross*’ on 2 and 8 February respectively demonstrates close transnational ties.<sup>50</sup> There were 40 regular instalments in the *Advocate*, a testament to the relationship between proprietor Joseph Winter and Davitt.<sup>51</sup> Both

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<sup>42</sup> Carla King, ‘Always with a Pen in his hand...Michael Davitt and the press’ in Breathnach and Lawless, *Visual Material and Print Culture*, 189. She emphasises his lifelong friendship with Joseph Winter.

<sup>43</sup> See Carla King, ‘Michael Davitt, Irish nationalism and the British empire in the late nineteenth century’ in Gray, *Victoria’s Ireland?*, 130 assessing his impact on public opinion, and *Southern Cross* of 15 September 1899.

<sup>44</sup> See above 25-6 and Michael Davitt to J V O’Loghlin, Letters, 30 November 1895, 21 May and 18 September 1896, 13 August 1897, O’Loghlin Papers, NLA, MS 4520/3.

<sup>45</sup> See Davitt Papers, Trinity College Dublin (hereafter TCD) MS 9652/1-4 for details of his negotiation with publishers.

<sup>46</sup> See Bruce Nelson, ‘“From the Cabins of Connemara to the Kraals of Kaffirland”: Irish Nationalists, the British Empire, and the “Boer Fight for Freedom”’ in David T Gleeson (ed.), *The Irish in the Atlantic World*, University of South Carolina Press, South Carolina, 2010, 155-7, 160-3, 166-8 for analysis of Davitt and Imperialism, especially South Africa.

<sup>47</sup> Arthur Davey, *The British Pro-Boers 1877-1902*, Tafelberg, Capetown, 1978, 139.

<sup>48</sup> See Michael Davitt to Sexton, Letter, 17 December 1900, TCD, Davitt Papers, MS9652/16. Negotiating about the book’s serialisation in the *Weekly Freeman’s Journal*, Davitt described writing ‘entirely from the Boer point of view, and [it] is of course, strongly anti-British...and strongly political’.

<sup>49</sup> Davey, *The British Pro-Boers*, 139.

<sup>50</sup> See Davitt Papers, TCD, MS 9652/16-25.

<sup>51</sup> *Advocate* publication began on 9 March 1901.

newspapers advertised his book (Figure 20); the *Advocate* printed instalments in addition to his 'Our Correspondence' contributions. Integrating Davitt's strong and consistently anti-war items contributed to the overall *Advocate* position on the war. But while his local popularity ensured his opinions received a hearing, measuring their precise impact is impossible.



**Figure 20.** Advertisement for Michael Davitt's book, *Southern Cross*, 3 February 1901

It thus seems that the *Advocate* represented an exception to Gavin Souter's claim that, apart from the *Bulletin*, 'the press was unquestioningly pro-war'.<sup>52</sup> Exclusion of the religious press bypassed a window and limited Souter's analysis. Similarly, Simon J. Potter's argument that 'a pro-Boer tone' was not a feature in the dominions has flaws.<sup>53</sup> More importantly, the

<sup>52</sup> Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 64.

<sup>53</sup> See Potter, 'Communication and Integration', 191.

*Advocate* criticised the more pro-war stance of the *Southern Cross* describing it in regretful tones as one of the ‘colonial jingoes’ in ‘Easy Chair Jottings’.<sup>54</sup>

Even before the outbreak of war on 11 October, the *Advocate* made ten negative references to its imminence. Seven related to the pretext (*uitlander* franchise) criticising Britain,<sup>55</sup> but three linked the Boer issue to Ireland.<sup>56</sup> Thus readers were presented with early, clear, reasonably detailed anti-war arguments, and paralleling of Ireland’s agenda. In June, Gunson argued Australia needed its troops to defend itself (no foe specified),<sup>57</sup> weeks later, potential colonial troop offers were specifically disputed, and the war was questioned on moral grounds: Did killing combatants equal murder if countries were not obliged to participate?<sup>58</sup> Revenge for Britain’s 1881 defeat at Majuba was cited as a major background issue for war,<sup>59</sup> reinforcing multiple accusations of Britain’s search for a pretext in ‘this vile business’.<sup>60</sup> Thus the early focus on possible causes provided readers with an array of topics on which to reflect. The advantages of the *Advocate*’s relationship with Davitt quickly became obvious. For many Irish-Australians, his 1895 visit and knowledge of Australia strengthened and personalised his criticism of the war.

Davitt was overtly critical of Australia’s manipulated support for a war in which he identified British hypocrisy – the purported issue of *uitlander* franchise, and true issues of gold and power. He accepted that ‘[t]he case of Ireland need not be insisted on here’, but reminded readers that President Kruger made this comparison when he met with Lord

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<sup>54</sup> *Advocate*, 9 September 1899.

<sup>55</sup> *Advocate*, 1 July, 26 August, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 September 1899.

<sup>56</sup> *Advocate*, 17 June (referred to ‘the pages of Irish history’ as showing examples of supposed threats leading to ‘repeated acts of oppression and tyranny’), 2 September (presented ‘oppressed nationality’ argument in Transvaal but never applied to Ireland), and 9 September 1899 (Britain appropriating what it wants from Ireland and the Transvaal).

<sup>57</sup> *Advocate*, 24 June 1899.

<sup>58</sup> *Advocate*, 15 July 1899.

<sup>59</sup> *Advocate*, 23 September 1899.

<sup>60</sup> *Advocate*, 14 October 1899.



Milner, Britain's High Commissioner.<sup>61</sup> By December 1899 the *Advocate* had published at least 36 references to the Boer-Irish connection. Found in three editorials (one focussing specifically on war and Christian conscience),<sup>62</sup> 'Prominent Topics' (for example, three items on 28 October comparing Boer and Irish 'backwardness', the partisan nature of war 'news', and Irishmen in the war),<sup>63</sup> 'Easy Chair Jottings' (for example, 'Jingoes versus Davitt' on 7 October),<sup>64</sup> three Davitt letters,<sup>65</sup> one 'Spirit of the Press',<sup>66</sup> and three feature/news items. The latter included anti-war British Liberal MP John Morley's comparisons between the Boer and Irish situations,<sup>67</sup> articles by noted South African writer Olive Schreiner,<sup>68</sup> and an item debating whether those opposing the war should be silenced.<sup>69</sup> This text insisted that without Home Rule there could never be full Irish loyalty. The message for *Advocate* readers was emphatic: there were strong parallels between the Boer and the Irish, and their oppressor was identical. Amidst colonial enthusiasm for the war, Irish-Australians were presented with alternative constructions about causes, opponents, and significant transnational comparisons.

By contrast, between October and December, only two '*Cross*' items emphasised Boer-Irish connections.<sup>70</sup> But the nature of the unfolding conflict was accentuated: it was neither a picnic nor a game.<sup>71</sup> In Melbourne, the war's potential cost, the probability of deaths, and a

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<sup>61</sup> *Advocate*, 29 July 1899.

<sup>62</sup> *Advocate*, 7 October, 18 November and 16 December 1899.

<sup>63</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 July, 30 September, 21 and 28 October, 2 and 16 December 1899.

<sup>64</sup> See *Advocate* of 7 and 28 October, 2 December 1899.

<sup>65</sup> *Advocate*, 11 and 18 November, 16 December 1899.

<sup>66</sup> *Advocate*, 9 December 1899. This was entitled 'Irishmen and the War'.

<sup>67</sup> *Advocate*, 21 October 1899. Morley's reference was in *The Times* of 6 September 1899. He was a focus of *Advocate* articles on 10 March and 18 August 1900 and 3 August 1901. See Appendix C for details of his life.

<sup>68</sup> *Advocate*, 14 October and 25 November 1899. The first was titled 'The Coming War' A Cry from South Africa'. See issue of 7 September 1901 for story of her house arrest. See Appendix C for her details.

<sup>69</sup> *Advocate*, 2 December 1899.

<sup>70</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 October 1899 for local MP Tom Price's claim that Chamberlain could not be trusted because, having 'sold the cause of Ireland', he now wanted Australian troops for another deception. See issue of 24 November where Archbishop Carr commented in 'Notes and News' that there was 'greater injury and oppression in Ireland' than South Africa, urging his flock to focus closer to 'home'.

<sup>71</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 October (editorial), and 24 November 1899 ('Topics').

‘protracted campaign’ were all stressed.<sup>72</sup> The writer of ‘Boer Successes’ prophesied that ‘if the resistance is as obstinate as some English critics predict, the war will be a long and costly one’.<sup>73</sup> As indicated, small numbers of correspondence limit the possibility of assessing either reader loyalty to Empire or their appreciation of the newspapers’ coverage of the war.

### *1900 – Shifting Fortunes*

Historians have typically used a three phase framework to explain this war. Boer armies exercised initial advantages from the outbreak in October 1899 until early 1900, the phase from February was characterised by a successful British counter-offensive. The final guerrilla phase from September 1900 to May 1902 was one in which British tactics – scorched earth and use of ‘concentration refugee camps’ (sic)<sup>74</sup> to separate Boer fighters from their support bases – drew strong criticism. Given this context, during 1900 the war attracted a greater depth of coverage in both papers than later years, a comment on the war’s early impact.

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During 1900 differences between these newspapers emerged. More editorial comment and greater accessing of additional ‘exchanges’ suggested Gunson’s recognition that these events were portentous for readers. That Denny’s perspective differed was indicated by fewer editorials and ‘Topics’, and limited ‘exchanges’ on the issue. But where Denny differed from Gunson’s more global focus on ‘War Progress’ was his inclusion of accounts of the war such as more items from the ‘Front’ and local insights. It is difficult to judge the extent to which staff writers captured reader interest in emphasising the ironic/lighter

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<sup>72</sup> *Advocate*, 14 October 1899.

<sup>73</sup> *Advocate*, 21 October 1899. (‘Prominent Topics’).

<sup>74</sup> See Stephen A Royle, ‘St Helena as a Boer prisoner of war camp, 1900-2: information from the Alice Stopford Green papers’ in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24, 1, 1998, 54 for reference to September’s establishment of the system, officially named in this way.

aspects of the war, the *Advocate's* 'Easy Chair Jottings,' and the 'Purely Personal' column in the '*Cross*'. The persistence of both segments alongside other changes in format suggests reader popularity and/or editorial importance. The greater formality of the regular 'Topic'-focussed paragraphs in both papers, indicates the complexity of issues raised by the war. Gunson's use of *Argus* cables enabled his more consistent incorporation of descriptive material about the war; he also examined wider issues such as representation of the conflict by the press, and used the 'Supplement' for additional topics.<sup>75</sup> From late January the '*Cross*' included a dedicated 'War Notes' column, and in April, 'Our Irish Letter' became a regular segment.<sup>76</sup> As the war unfurled, both newspapers incorporated local and overseas war-related comments from prominent churchmen.

**Table Four: Numbers & Categories of Items, January to December 1900**

Type of Newspaper Item	<i>Advocate</i>	<i>Southern Cross</i>
Editorial	13	8
Overseas Comment	24	10
'Easy Chair'/'Purely Personal'	37	39
'Prominent Topics'/'Topics'	44	29
Miscellaneous	23	22
'Notes & News (From All Quarters)'	—	20
Our Special Correspondence	12	—
Our London Letter/Our Irish Letter	6	2
'European Intelligence'	22	—
Overseas News	15	7
'Spirit of the Press'	7	—
Letters to Editor	7	4
'General News'	—	19
'South African War Notes' /'War Correspondent' /'At The Front'	4	12
Supplement	24	5*
'Progress of War'/'War Notes'/'The War'	21	8
Local Comment	15	25
Cable News/War Telegrams	13	2
Poetry	5	4
Church Commentary	12	11
'Westralian Comment'	—	2

\*The column became 'Notes and News' dropping the 'From All Quarters' from its title on 20 July 1900.

During 1900 factors occurring alongside the war, and of great import to Irish-Australians, such as reunification of the Irish Party and Queen Victoria's fourth visit to Dublin (a three

<sup>75</sup> See *Advocate* 'Supplements' of 10 and 24 February (12 and 8 war items) and 3 March (17 war items).

<sup>76</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January and 20 April 1900.

week stay, responding to Irish valour), were covered in detail.<sup>77</sup> Both publications accessed ‘exchanges’ for in-depth discussion of these events to augment material sourced from local papers.<sup>78</sup> In March, Denny (*Cross*’ editor since 1896), joined his predecessor O’Loghlin in parliament, becoming the representative for West Adelaide.<sup>79</sup> This electoral outcome arguably linked the *Cross* more closely to official support of the imperial war.

The conflict, a greater focus in 1900 than other years, ‘helped’ many Irish-Australians to define their relationship to their country, ‘forcing’ a more precise coming to terms with an imperial relationship. Within the context of the three overarching perspectives through which Irish-Australians could potentially relate to this conflict – Irish, Australian or imperial – the imperial perspective emerged more strongly in 1900. The notion of ‘citizenship’ developed differently in the newspapers, and was variously represented within the *Cross*. The performance of both Irish and South Australian troops featured strongly – direct accounts, local news items and special articles. The combined impact of this participation and bravery narrative demonstrated Irish and Irish-Australians as suitable members of the British Empire. The *Advocate*’s relationship with Davitt, an articulate opponent of the war, helped sustain its presentation of a stronger anti-war stance. However, its overall coverage seemed to imply that opposition did not equate with exclusion from citizenship. The *Advocate*’s more assured militant response to implications of the war possibly reflected that many Victorian Irish-Australians displayed more confidence about their position within Australian society.

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<sup>77</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 11 May, 15 and 29 June, *Advocate*, 10 and 17 March 1900 (Cable News and Editorial).

<sup>78</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 29 June 1900 for use of material about ‘Nuns in South Africa’ from *Argus* Correspondent. The English *Tablet*, the London *Truth*, *Catholic Times*, *Irish People* and the *Freeman’s Journal* from both Dublin and New York were other sources, see the *Advocate*, 13 January, 17 February and 31 March 1900. See *Advocate* of 27 October 1900 for use of Philadelphia *Catholic Standard*.

<sup>79</sup> Denny replaced Charles Cameron Kingston who moved to federal affairs. In March 1899 the *Southern Cross* Board voted against an MP as editor, see *Southern Cross* of 20 July 1900 for July AGM reversing this decision.

The fact that individuals could be Irish and participate in the conflict was emphasised in various ways by the '*Cross*'.<sup>80</sup> For example, references to Irish valour were common;<sup>81</sup> indeed there were twice as many as those found in the *Advocate*.<sup>82</sup> Within an Australian 'national' narrative portraying the Empire as threatened, the prominence of Irish bravery facilitated easy links to perceived imperial benefits from Irish Home Rule. Striking headlines, such as 'Hibernian versus Boer: The Boer's Greatest Enemy,' emphasised this point without subtlety.<sup>83</sup> Five lengthy articles on 'Famous Irish Generals' in April and May reinforced the nature of Ireland's military contributions to the Empire.<sup>84</sup> In the '*Cross*', Irish soldiers received praise from the prominent and highly regarded *Sydney Morning Herald* war correspondent, Banjo Patterson.<sup>85</sup> '*Cross*' publication of personalised stories 'From the Front' (three times *Advocate* numbers) facilitated closer identification of Irish-South Australians with the imperial adventure.<sup>86</sup> In early 1900 the proposal to form an Irish Rifle Brigade/Corps, then its swift establishment in Adelaide represents an ambiguous development.<sup>87</sup> While it provided local Irishmen with vicarious opportunities to demonstrate imperial commitment,<sup>88</sup> it could also be seen as exemplifying a shift within Handleman's levels of ethnicity, movement from an 'ethnic category' to an 'ethnic network' with its consistent interaction.<sup>89</sup> Writing about the Irish Rifle Corps establishment, Denny claimed 'No more enthusiastic or unanimous meeting of Irish citizens has been held...for

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<sup>80</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 May 1900 for description of Irish General Kelly-Kenny as 'a leading commander in the British Army'.

<sup>81</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 January for 2 items, 2 March and 11 May which both had 3. See issue of 30 March for article 'The Irish Soldiers: Their Magnificent Achievements' and issue of 6 April 1900 for 'The Bravery of the Irish Fusiliers'.

<sup>82</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 January, 24 February, 3, 10, 17 March, 12 May, 2, 16, 23 June, and 11 November 1900.

<sup>83</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1900. The article provided details of Irish war participation.

<sup>84</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 April (Lord Kitchener), 4 May 1900 (Sir William Butler resigned after his South African policies were rejected). See Appendix C for his details.

<sup>85</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 October 1900. Headline of 'A Tribute to Irish soldiers' showed Irish casualty statistics as greater than English or Scots. An item in the issue of 16 March 'Heroic Irish Soldiers: Their Immense Losses', had also demonstrated higher casualties.

<sup>86</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 February 1900 for the first letter 'From the Contingent'; others followed at irregular intervals.

<sup>87</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 September 1890 for early letter proposing a SA Irish Brigade.

<sup>88</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 February for report of the proposal. See issue of 23 February 1900 for news of enthusiastic meeting and large enrolment.

<sup>89</sup> See 36 and 123 above for discussion of Handleman's framework,.

many years'.<sup>90</sup> The '*Cross*' regularly reported on Corps activities.<sup>91</sup> But from Irishman Fr Peter Magennis (located in Gawler) came an alternative perspective about the war, possibly masking his own concerns. While affirming individuals battling 'with England's enemies', he urged those 'at home to do an equally grand service...by pleading for equal rights for Irishmen'. He argued that uniting the 'different factors of the Empire' would enable solidarity to develop.<sup>92</sup> In June, AFS (mentioned earlier as a correspondent), discussed Prime Minister Salisbury's anti-Irish sneers, insisting that Irish loyalty would come with their own parliament.<sup>93</sup> Thus the '*Cross*' provided multiple sources about imperial connections, and while the dominant thread was positive, it also operated as a space in which voices could contest community support for the demonstration of imperial loyalty.



**Figure 21.** Patrick McMahon Glynn (1855-1931) c.1900, SLSA B 11254

<sup>90</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 February 1900. ('Topics').

<sup>91</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 April (election of officers), 20 April (donations), 15 June (a social where reference was made to 'Irish prowess on the battlefield'), 3 and 10 August (enrolment meetings but insufficient numbers led to supplementary meeting, a Church Parade filled 3 columns on 10 August), 2 November (military sports participation), and 9 November 1900 (badge details).

<sup>92</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1900. Father Magennis left Adelaide in 1906 but for discussion of his role in the Irish Civil War see 356, 397 fn31 and 399 below. See Appendix C for details of his life.

<sup>93</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1900. AFS also wrote of reading the *Cork Eagle* in relation to public discussion about whether Generals Baden-Powell and Roberts were Irish. See issue of 4 August 1899 for his enquiry re local purchase of Dublin's *Freeman's Journal* and information he could access a subscription for 17/-.

Adelaide's annual INF banquet for St Patrick's Day included the singing of 'God Save Ireland'. In an imperial war, this ballad's history and emphasis sat in strained juxtaposition to Irishman (MP and INF president) Patrick McMahon Glynn's toast to the queen.<sup>94</sup>

(Figure 21) But when INF members proposed sending a message to Queen Victoria in Dublin, hoping 'that God may spare her to open an Irish Parliament',<sup>95</sup> Glynn, unhappy about the political reference,<sup>96</sup> refused to sign, leaving this to vice-president, J.V.

O'Loughlin, who was already closely identified with imperial war support. Denny discussed the 'difference of opinion' in the following *Cross* editorial, revealing the Governor felt he 'could [not] receive the message' owing to its political expression. The INF compromised by sending their message to Dublin's Lord Mayor, asking him to read it to the Queen.<sup>97</sup> The war magnified difficulties for many Irish-Australians in terms of private and public imperial sentiments (highlighting the continuums of dissent and loyalty mentioned earlier);<sup>98</sup> questions about degrees of loyalty were ubiquitous.

Pro-imperial material in the '*Cross*' during 1900 outweighed its critical comment. For example, an 'exchange' which claimed that battlefield bravery had transformed English feelings towards Ireland, probably reinforced support among Irish-South Australian imperial enthusiasts.<sup>99</sup> With such recognition and appreciation, how could Britain deny Home Rule? But Denny also included accounts that were overtly hostile to the Empire, for example Davitt's discount of British valour.<sup>100</sup> However *Advocate* readers could access many items far more critical of the demands of the imperial relationship for Irish-Australians.

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, The ballad was written in Dublin in November 1867 following the execution of three Fenians in Manchester, quickly becoming the unofficial (revolutionary) Irish anthem. See *Advocate* of 10 October 1900 for its singing in Melbourne. See Appendix D for words.

<sup>95</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1900.

<sup>96</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 November 1900. Glynn addressed the INF on 'The New Patriotism'.

<sup>97</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 April 1900. On 14 September, a report noted enquiries about whether this had happened, but no further discussion was located.

<sup>98</sup> See 2-3 and 4 above for explanation of both these continuums.

<sup>99</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1900. The 'exchange' was from the *Liverpool Catholic Times*.

<sup>100</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 October 1900.

When a second contingent was proposed – characterised by Davitt as ‘rambling dribblets from the colonies’ – Gunson questioned the consequences for international relationships.<sup>101</sup> Additional British troop requests in March evoked the first comment about tactics of burning ‘to make Boer women and children homeless when there are no men around to protect them’.<sup>102</sup> While Gunson made no link between additional troops and British tactics, thorough readers could only interpret such imperial policies negatively. In this vein, a prominent Canadian visiting England included Australia in his powerful condemnation: ‘The whole force of the British Empire is pitted against a population half as large as Liverpool’s.’<sup>103</sup> Davitt’s judgement merely reinforced his strident views:

It is unquestionably the greatest Empire of liars, of hypocrites, of poltroons, judged by its achievements in South Africa, that has ever postured before mankind with a civilising mission.<sup>104</sup>

One sardonic reflection repeated a parliamentary jibe from British Liberal politician Lloyd George – noted for his anti-war crusade<sup>105</sup> – that as imperial partners, Australian soldiers were fighting for Chamberlain, capitalism and mines.<sup>106</sup> In terms of imperial issues, Gunson and Denny held incompatible views in 1900 – the latter displayed greater optimism about the war’s impact on Ireland, while the former was confirmed in his pessimism.

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<sup>101</sup> *Advocate*, 3 February 1900. (Topics: ‘More Harm than Good’).

<sup>102</sup> *Advocate*, 10 March 1900. (The attribution was AAP America).

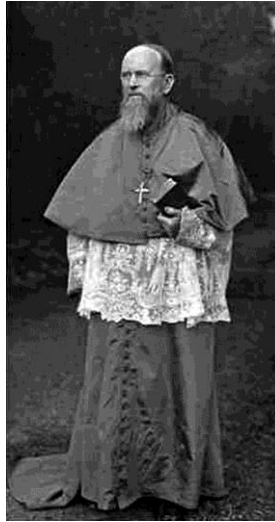
<sup>103</sup> *Advocate*, 16 June 1900. (The Supplement headline was ‘A War of Rapacity’).

<sup>104</sup> *Advocate*, 20 October 1900. Poltroon is a ‘rare’ word for abject or contemptible coward.

<sup>105</sup> See Hattersley, *David Lloyd George*, 119-144 for George’s anti-war attitudes and actions.

<sup>106</sup> *Advocate*, 17 November 1900.





**Figure 22.** Archbishop John O'Reily of Adelaide (1846-1915), SLA B 3912

Being Irish-Catholic sharply differentiated *Advocate* and 'Cross' readers from their fellow Australians. While Archbishop O'Reily's letter about the Patriotic Fund to Adelaide's *Register* publicised his position on the war (he supported it as just), it covered additional ground. (Figure 22) After acknowledging 'all the fallen', he stated 'I am a Celt, however, and my thoughts go out instinctively to my Celtic kith and kin'. Focussing on mourning for Irish and Scottish deaths, he continued 'I am an Australian, too; and my prayers are with Australia's brave boys fighting at the front'.<sup>107</sup> His 'Lenten Circular' to the Catholic community – 'Sufferers by the War' – recognised divergent views.<sup>108</sup> The close association between the *Southern Cross* and the hierarchy – O'Reily a major shareholder and three clerical directors – as well as a smaller local Irish and Catholic population, help explain perceptible differences in coverage. The *Advocate* was a family business enjoying Church support but not control. And, as mentioned, the military interests and roles of editor and managing editor clearly coloured the perspective presented in the 'Cross.' McNamara's

<sup>107</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January 1900, this reprinted his original letter. He contributed another 5 guineas to the Fund. In 1901 the *Register* applauded his support, attributing to him the unexpected raising of 100,000 shillings when promoters had hoped for only half that amount. His 'powerfully eloquent appeal' had put energy into doubters.

<sup>108</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 February 1900.

recognition that editorial differences influenced newspaper context sharpens understanding of differences between these newspapers and their attitudes to the war.<sup>109</sup>

The religious dimension of these newspapers' coverage, material unavailable elsewhere, heightened the sense of difference between Irish-Catholic Australians and others. Eleven 'Cross' and 12 *Advocate* items made explicit connections between Catholics and the war,<sup>110</sup> with a further nine 'Cross' items either describing chaplain activities or presenting their letters.<sup>111</sup> There were only two in the *Advocate*.<sup>112</sup> Both published numerous articles focussing on aspects of religion in South Africa.<sup>113</sup> O'Farrell alludes to some contestation over this realm, positioning Cardinal Moran's anti-Boer views ('anti-religious bigots') alongside 'his conviction that the British Empire was an agent of civilization'.<sup>114</sup> In February, the Boers were in the ascendant: Denny criticised the British Council of Churches praying for English dead, and English Cardinal Vaughan's prayer for Britain. Wanting only prayers for peace, he stressed that 'No good will come from the identification of Christianity with Imperialism'.<sup>115</sup> Seven *Advocate* items focussed generally on Christianity and the war;<sup>116</sup> Dr John Laurence Rentoul and his anti-war organisation, the Peace and Humanity Society attracted much attention in Melbourne.<sup>117</sup> Wilcox characterised their opposition to 'the khaki-wearing, flag-waving, rifle-wielding empire they

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<sup>109</sup> See 17–18, 37, 46 and 128 above for discussion of McNamara.

<sup>110</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 5 and 19 January for articles 'The Soldier's Requiem: Mass in London', and 'The Transvaal and the Church', the issue of 2 February for 'War Notes' which covers 'Cardinal Moran and the War: The Boers the Greatest Enemy of the Church', and issue of 12 April for 'Catholics at the Front'. See also *Advocate* of 27 January for 'Catholic Officers in the War', issue of 17 February for 2 items on (English) Cardinal Vaughan and the war, and issue of 5 May for (Irish) Cardinal Logue on the war.

<sup>111</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 26 January for 'Our Army Chaplain: Father Patrick' and issue of 9 March 1900 for 'The Bushman's Chaplain: Father Timoney'. See issue of 17 August 1900 for his article 'Bushmen who would not be missed', and comments about misbehaviour of an Australian minority. See Appendix C for his details.

<sup>112</sup> *Advocate*, 6 January, 5 May and 1 December 1900. The final item's headline was: 'British Barbarism: Worse than Turks: The Most Diabolical Work I Have Yet Witnessed'.

<sup>113</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19 January for article on 'Religion in the Transvaal', and *Advocate* of 10 February for 'The Land of the Boer's – A Missionary's View'. There were 15 and 16 items in the 'Cross' and *Advocate* respectively.

<sup>114</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 240.

<sup>115</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 February 1900. The item noted Catholic chaplains' ministry to all combatants.

<sup>116</sup> See *Advocate* of 10, 17, 24 February, 3 March, 6 June, 8 and 15 December.

<sup>117</sup> See *Advocate* of 16, 30 June, 11, 25 August, 20 October 1900 and 19 October 1901.

feared was emerging'.<sup>118</sup> Although acknowledging that 'open ardour' had shrunk, Wilcox nevertheless described dissenters as 'insignificant and unpopular'. Voters in Irishman H.B. Higgins' electorate of Geelong objected to his anti-war stance, waving Union Jacks, shouting 'You are a Boer', when he articulated his opposition to an 'unnecessary and unjust' war. These convictions contributed to loss of his parliamentary seat in 1900.<sup>119</sup> By mid-1900, the *Advocate* reduced its war coverage. Reverting to its previous pattern of greater emphasis on Irish matters constituted evidence of a shift in priorities, suggesting Ireland was a stronger agenda item than the war.<sup>120</sup>

These newspapers also reflected a more general Irish *and* Australian nuance (quite apart from Catholicism). In 1868 the *Advocate's* claim had been overt: '[It was] the reputable organ of Irish Australian sentiments in this colony'.<sup>121</sup> This stance was reflected in early wartime emphasis on the rights of free speech,<sup>122</sup> but more explicitly in an editorial discussing employees whose war views had punitive consequences.<sup>123</sup> Gunson's editorial thrust about loyalty and the Irish was unequivocal, revealing his perception that Irish-Australians were objects of critical surveillance. When Melbourne's Hibernians were identified as singing 'God Save the Queen', not 'God Save Ireland' as at Irish National Forrester meetings, three letters (more than on any wartime topic), resulted.<sup>124</sup>

Correspondents supported the INF practice, angered about Hibernian toasts excluding

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<sup>118</sup> Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War*, 187. Emphasising that the Society was unsuccessful in Sydney, Wilcox reinforces the importance of regional variations in responses to this war.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 188. See Appendix C for details about Higgins. See Davey, *The British Pro-Boers*, xxiii, for similar experiences in Britain.

<sup>120</sup> See *Advocate* of May when 5 of 6 'Supplement' items about Ireland were not about the war, and issue of 7 July when this segment was without any war items.

<sup>121</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 February 1868.

<sup>122</sup> See *Advocate* editorial of 20 January 1900 – 'The jingoism which silences free speech is brutally tyrannous'.

<sup>123</sup> See *Advocate* of 27 January for reference to public servant protection against dismissal for war views, and issues of 9, 23, 30 June (editorial in the last), 7 and 21 July 1900 for comments about Board of Works Employees threatened with dismissal, retained but denied the standard pay rise.

<sup>124</sup> *Advocate*, 23 June 1900.

Ireland.<sup>125</sup> These contradictions – Irish named and Irish-Australian focussed organisations juggling issues of how to be appropriately Australian – provide a powerful demonstration of struggles embedded in processes of determining identity, exemplifying the previously discussed Yinger assimilation and dissimulation equation.<sup>126</sup> Clearer but equally complex examples lurked in April's articles focussing on the unveiling of the Sydney monument to the heroes of 1798.<sup>127</sup> This event made a statement, amidst an imperial war, about Irish-Australians having a separate agenda. In the events thus memorialised, Britain was cast as the foe.<sup>128</sup> When Edmund Barton, a significant Federation figure (and later the first Prime Minister), argued that, based on Irish-Australian performance, Ireland should receive self-government, most *Advocate* readers welcomed his statement. Their Anglo-Saxon neighbours probably disagreed.<sup>129</sup> One atypical Irish-Australian reader, 'Paddywhack', opposed any clerical support for the war, maintaining such 'Church commands' explained past and current Irish readiness 'to risk their lives in defence of the Empire'. He linked the continuing ill-treatment of the Irish by the English to the pattern of clerical control, and urged its cessation.<sup>130</sup>

*Southern Cross* representation of being Australian seemed initially the least challenging of the three loyalty perspectives – Irish, Australian and Imperial. In January a lengthy letter, headed 'Disloyal Colonists', ascribed the hostility of 'some of our fellow Irish colonists...[to the] 'libels' and 'unfair presentation' promoted by 'a section of the press'. But Denny's editorials were judged as unbiased, 'fair, if not fervid'. The correspondent's

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<sup>125</sup> *Advocate*, 7 July 1900.

<sup>126</sup> See 36 and 116 above for reference to Yinger's framework.

<sup>127</sup> One of the 1798 anti-British rebellion's prominent participants, 'Wicklow Chief' Michael Dwyer, surrendered in 1803 and was sent to NSW as a 'state prisoner'. After a successful colonial life, he was buried in Sydney's Devonshire Street cemetery. From 1886 there were annual pilgrimages to his grave. Cardinal Moran opposed centenary plans to reinter Dwyer at Waverly Cemetery and erect a monument, but he acquiesced, 100,000 joined the reburial procession. The £2000 monument attracted national contributions.

<sup>128</sup> *Advocate*, 21, 28 April 1900.

<sup>129</sup> *Advocate*, 18 August 1900.

<sup>130</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1900.

strong imperial allegiance enabled easy dismissal of alternative views.<sup>131</sup> This represented an isolated example revealing reader opinion not just about the war, but also about ‘*Cross*’ coverage. Information about Australian troop deficits: lack of sufficient discipline, deference to constitutional authority and unflinching devotion to duty tested readers, but the visibility of their courage, self sacrifice and high-minded patriotism offset criticisms.<sup>132</sup> Early estimates of war costs – £10,000 in October 1899 for South Australia,<sup>133</sup> later quoted as £125,000 for NSW and £100,000 for Victoria<sup>134</sup> – presented subtle reminders that any imperial relationship came at a price.

In 1900 Gunson and Denny both anticipated the war’s end, contemplating possible consequences for Australia. There were predictions (late in the year) in the ‘*Cross*’: continued Boer fighting was ‘futile’, they were beaten.<sup>135</sup> Earlier Denny had outlined implications of Australians remaining in South Africa after the war.<sup>136</sup> When Cecil Rhodes encouraged this migration, the *Advocate* countered by listing inevitable colonial losses.<sup>137</sup> From the *Advocate* came trenchant criticism of ‘seducing plans’ and ‘inducements’ offered to soldiers.<sup>138</sup> Gunson’s language assumed the end of war from March, describing Kruger as ‘doomed’; this implication was replicated in a number of articles.<sup>139</sup>

Thus by the end of 1900 these newspapers had significantly reduced their coverage of the conflict. Presentation differences were marked, but their divergence in teasing out threads

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<sup>131</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January 1900.

<sup>132</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 February and 2 March 1900 – two ‘Topics’ items were headed ‘Open Hearted Public’ and ‘Lessons to Be Learnt?’. See *Advocate* of 17 November for French journalist’s criticisms of Imperial soldiers (including Australians) as ‘the scum of the earth’.

<sup>133</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 October 1899. See also Haydon, ‘South Australia’s First War’, 226.

<sup>134</sup> *Advocate*, 27 January and 16 June 1900. NSW Legislative Council figures listed the costs so far, while ‘Easy Chair Jottings’ quoted Victorian expenditure.

<sup>135</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 October and 11 November 1900.

<sup>136</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 June 1900.

<sup>137</sup> *Advocate*, 15 June 1900.

<sup>138</sup> *Advocate*, 7 July, 11 August 1900.

<sup>139</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1900, see also issues of 30 June and 22 December for ‘Prominent Topics’ items.

of loyalty and identity for Irish-Australians was of greater significance. Their representation of imperial relationships, promotion of a distinct Irish identity and a somewhat self-conscious demonstration of 'being' Australian differentiated them in 1900.

*1901 – A New Momentum from Britain's Radical Policies*

By 1901 the war had become a feature of life for all Australians. For many Irish-Australians however, the oft-repeated point of the similarities between Irish and Boer probably had greater traction as coercion policies took renewed hold in Ireland. These newspapers continued to feature the war prominently; content patterns differentiated their coverage, Denny utilised material from locals 'at the Front' while Gunson relied more on cables. Davitt's items continued to provide a contrasting, and pivotal perspective; despite delay of his letters, the weekly instalments of his book, *The Boer Fight for Freedom*, provided compensation.

**Table Five: Numbers & Categories of Items,  
January to December 1901.**

<b>Type of Newspaper Item</b>	<b><i>Advocate</i></b>	<b><i>Southern Cross</i></b>
Editorial	7	4
Overseas Comment	17	4
'Easy Chair'/Purely Personal'	29	32
'Prominent Topics'/'Topics'	32	12
Miscellaneous	15	10
'Notes and News'	—	9
Our Special Correspondence	4	—
'European Intelligence'	8	—
Overseas News	11	4
'Spirit of the Press'	2	—
Letters to Editor	1	—
'General News'	—	4
Supplement	12	—
Local Comment	8	15
Cable News	25	—
Church Commentary	6	3
'At the Front'	—	3
'Melbourne Mems'	—	5
Davitt's Book on War	40	—

1901 opened with the federation of the Australian colonies, followed quickly by the death of Queen Victoria on 22 January. Her reign largely followed the European history of both colonies. Victoria's death precipitated prolonged reflection about her relations with Ireland and Catholicism, prefiguring a lengthy and somewhat torturous debate and struggle over the wording of Edward's Coronation Oath.<sup>140</sup> Irish issues distressed readers; Chamberlain's vengeful threat to reduce numbers of Irish seats at Westminster suggested a punitive response to Irish parliamentary tactics and IPP opposition to the war.<sup>141</sup> Irish Secretary George Wyndham's imposition of unpopular policies ensured Irish news remained urgent in Australia.<sup>142</sup> It also helped explain sustained donations to Ireland, the mention of £70,000 contributed by Victorians over 20 years, a reminder and stimulus to Irish-

<sup>140</sup> Without alteration, this oath challenged the Catholic Mass as idolatrous, by implication undermining papal legitimacy.

<sup>141</sup> See *Advocate* of 7 September, 2, 16 November 1901, his claim of changed population representation ratios was recognised, but other evidence suggested revenge, see issue of 17 August for his threat to reintroduce the Penal System; because most MPs were anti-Irish, this was technically possible.

<sup>142</sup> See *Advocate* of 30 March and 6 April for reports of jury stacking, and issue of 27 April for 6 month jailing of PA McHugh (IPP MP for North Leitrim) for written criticisms about Irish juries; see issue of 26 October ('Cable News') for his release. See *Southern Cross* of 20 September 1901 for Irish MP William O'Brien's views on 'jury stacking'. See issue of 25 January 1901 for report of 'appalling figures' on evictions to the end of September 1900. See Appendix C for details about Wyndham and O'Brien.

Australians.<sup>143</sup> Other thematic preoccupations in 1901 included the brief (private) visit of William O'Brien, broker of IPP unification through his UIL, ensuring the visibility of Ireland's cause.<sup>144</sup>

Ireland dominated a Shamrock Club Social held 'to commemorate the opening of the Federal Parliament'. Senator R.E. O'Connor applauded the role always played by Irishmen in public affairs, while expressing confidence that 'the object lesson of Australian Federation ... would constitute the last and final argument in favour of Home Rule...'. H.B. Higgins MHR, having declaimed the Union of 1801 as 'a dismal failure', reminded his audience that they had seen 'in the front of [that day's] procession a banner with Robert Emmet's figure upon it'.<sup>145</sup> This deliberate linking of Ireland's past with Australia's legislative independence identified the important connections for many Irish-Australian newspaper readers.

There were major changes to the '*Cross*' during 1901. In February it expanded to 20 pages, and from April, 'Melbourne Mems' and 'Sydney Notes', both written by 'Our Correspondent,' became weekly features.<sup>146</sup>

Stronger expectations that the war would end in 1901 featured in at least 20 issues of the *Advocate*, often more than once.<sup>147</sup> The focus was reflected across most categories, however the emphasis varied within the categories – it could include the rising costs,<sup>148</sup> losses in

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<sup>143</sup> *Advocate*, 9 February 1901. Nicholas O'Donnell, a Gaelic-speaking, Irish-Australian spokesperson, quoted the figure at Melbourne's Annual UIL Irish Picnic, See Appendix C for details of his life..

<sup>144</sup> See *Advocate* of 28 December 1901 for account of his month long visit, and plea that Irish-Australians support the reunified UIL; see also *Southern Cross* of 3 January 1902. See Appendix C for his details.

<sup>145</sup> See *Advocate* of 18 May for full report, and *Southern Cross* of 17 May 1901 for 'Topics: Irishmen and Federation'.

<sup>146</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 April 1901. See issue of 28 July 1939 for Denny's explanation that Tighe Ryan, 'the brilliant editor of [Sydney's] *Catholic Press*' was author. See Appendix C for details of his life.

<sup>147</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 July and 14 September 1901.

<sup>148</sup> *Advocate*, 2 March ('Prominent Topics') and 27 April (Editorial).



general,<sup>149</sup> the fate of ex-soldiers,<sup>150</sup> or potential demands for more troops.<sup>151</sup> While the ‘*Cross*’ included fewer specific items (seven), it opposed further troop contingents,<sup>152</sup> and was concerned about the treatment of ex-soldiers.<sup>153</sup> Commenting on a recruiting drive to acquire constables for the Transvaal, Denny interpolated that ‘The Empire is no longer in danger, and the call for more of our stalwart men should be politely but firmly resisted’.<sup>154</sup> Denny can thus be seen to have shifted dramatically from his early espousal of ‘the glory of volunteering’.<sup>155</sup>

The juxtaposition between the war and federation has already been mentioned.<sup>156</sup> The timing epitomised dilemmas between Australia and Britain, but also ensured emphasis on imperial loyalty, both its display and, increasingly for many Irish-Australians, questions about how to balance its demands.<sup>157</sup> Souter judges that:

what Australia had hoped for in South Africa [was] a worthy showing by its own troops alongside seasoned imperials, and a mother country properly grateful for prompt assistance loyally given.

But the events of the war in 1901 left the Commonwealth unprepared for ‘bad news which grew progressively worse...’.<sup>158</sup> Souter details the weaknesses of some Australian contingents, troop behaviour issues, and British responses to these issues;<sup>159</sup> the war’s progress did not meet expectations.<sup>160</sup> Many Irish-Australians understood the war’s

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<sup>149</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1901.

<sup>150</sup> *Advocate*, 3, 31 August 1901.

<sup>151</sup> *Advocate*, 23, 30 November, and 28 December 1901.

<sup>152</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 February 1901.

<sup>153</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 July 1901.

<sup>154</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 February 1901. (‘Notes and News’).

<sup>155</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1899.

<sup>156</sup> See 120-1 above, and Bannon, ‘A War for a Constitution,’ 2-10.

<sup>157</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 February for a general account of the visit of 1000 troops (from all Imperial nations) in conjunction with Federation’s ceremonial dimension; before the ceremony in Melbourne on 9 May, they toured the country. See issue of 1 March for report of Irish troops among those visiting SA.

<sup>158</sup> Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 55-6.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-62.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-2. Souter, having sketched Australian nationalist uncertainty about ‘whether Australia ought to remain part of the British Empire’ during the 1880s, then describes the point of change. ‘Any doubts about ...loyalty were stifled...by the enthusiasm with which Australia sprang to Britain’s aid when the Boer War

relationship to imperialism differently to the general population: the Empire was the enemy and the depth of its criminality was evident in South Africa. Again, this theme was more dominant in the *Advocate* where 14 items made that point. An April editorial ‘Coming Home to Roost’ castigated the ‘despised British’ spending £137 million, noting the ‘lesson which loss of life and money is...being learnt by the British Empire...’.<sup>161</sup> A further 12 items showed the related but more compelling link between the conflict and events in Ireland. Presenting readers with a complex transnational exchange – Fr Kolbe’s letter to the Dublin *Freeman’s Journal* about the issues in South Africa was headed ‘Ireland and the Boers’.<sup>162</sup> The ‘*Cross*’ dealt with difficulties related to the Empire on at least 12 occasions. One ‘Topic’ insisted cynically that the ‘Empire needs saving...its trade supremacy is being sapped and its sense of superiority [is] a problem’.<sup>163</sup> Although Denny’s comparisons between Irish and Boer were less explicit, 11 items suggested the connection. The Dublin Corporation debate about conferring President Kruger with freedom of the city provided an early example. The proposal (ultimately defeated) aimed to both mark his ‘patriotic and gallant efforts to maintain the country’s freedom’, and to protest ‘against the characteristic action of the British Government and their sordid and brutal endeavours to enslave the brave and unconquerable Boers’.<sup>164</sup> Issues relating to British tactical responses clearly incensed *Advocate* writers with over half the year’s issues (28) including negative coverage, typically in multiple items of each issue. For example, on 3 August three items focussed on British actions, an English newspaper item about burning houses, ‘Uncivilized Warfare’ explicitly linking policy to previous imperial wars, and tellingly, a third connecting British

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began in 1899’. This enthusiasm waned as the war seemed less likely to generate British admiration for Australia’s soldiers.

<sup>161</sup> *Advocate*, 27 April 1901.

<sup>162</sup> *Advocate*, 8 June 1901.

<sup>163</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 February 1901.

<sup>164</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 January 1901.

‘Clemency’ to what was visited on Irish rebels in ‘98’, ‘the effects of which are not forgotten even at this date’.<sup>165</sup> Meanwhile the focus of the ‘*Cross*’ seemed to be elsewhere.

The *Advocate* increasingly viewed the imperial connection, specifically the war, as both costly and with negligible advantages for Australia. The writer of ‘Easy Chair Jottings’ refuted any need to comment on Kitchener’s request for more men. Australia, without any say in the conflict, must refuse. He asked rhetorically ‘When will this folly cease?’<sup>166</sup> Both newspapers quoted Western Australia’s premier approvingly in February when he based opposition to sending more troops on a refusal to deplete colonies of their ‘sinews and bones’.<sup>167</sup> Throughout 1901, the *Advocate* focused on war costs, on numbers involved on both sides (and their imbalance), and on loss of life. Amidst persistent references to inevitable Boer defeat, came outraged examination of rumours that the Prince of Wales wanted the war to end before his Coronation.<sup>168</sup>

In June, Edward Findley, editor of *Tocsin* (a labour newspaper),<sup>169</sup> was expelled from Melbourne’s Legislative Council for printing an article about the suppression of William O’Brien’s paper, *Irish People*.<sup>170</sup> The action in Dublin resulted from publication of a libellous item about King Edward. The episode thus revealed contradictions between imperial loyalty and free speech.<sup>171</sup> A local meeting of indignant citizens and further public

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<sup>165</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 August 1901 for *Daily Mail* item of 30 May, and material in both ‘Prominent Topics’ and ‘Easy Chair Jottings’.

<sup>166</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1901.

<sup>167</sup> *Advocate*, 23 February, *Southern Cross*, 22 February 1901.

<sup>168</sup> See *Advocate* of 14 December 1901. This was titled ‘A Monstrous Proposal’.

<sup>169</sup> Findley was involved in the newspaper’s emergence in 1896, elected to the Council in 1900, published the item on 20 June and was expelled for ‘seditious libel’ 5 days later.

<sup>170</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 and 29 June 1901.

<sup>171</sup> *Advocate*, 29 June 1901. ‘Spirit of the Press’ used material from the *Dublin Freeman* and headed it ‘Stupid Tyranny’ to decry the suppression of the *Irish People*. The seizure of copies for ‘sedition’ over the Transvaal (announced in ‘Cable News’ of 18 May), was the subject of 25 May’s editorial. The saga highlighted difficulties involved in delays between daily paper receipt of cables and arrival of ‘exchanges’ relied on by Catholic newspapers.

controversy resulted; the *Advocate's* position needed careful clarification.<sup>172</sup> Editor of the *Irish People*, a mocking reverse entrant in this extraordinary transnational exchange, 'trembled' at his paper's future if Irish and Australian readers laughed at the Chief Secretary and the ban.<sup>173</sup> In October, Denny chose not to publish correspondence from the articulate and informed, AFS.<sup>174</sup> It seems AFS made comments about the imprecise nature of war information, about evidence for concentration camps, and the oppressive nature of Kitchener's censorship. The letter merited a response in the rarely utilised 'Answers to Correspondents' section abutting the editorial.<sup>175</sup> The scarcity of letters to the editor (fewer in the '*Cross*' than the *Advocate*), and this letter's summary rather than publication, raises questions about editorial policy. Presumably there were factors in Stapleton's content which led to its deliberate marginalisation. Were other anti-war letters received and ignored, or were few Irish-Australians prepared to publicise opposition and their location on the dissent continuum?

*Advocate* coverage of Irish pro-Boer activities was far more sustained than in the '*Cross*.' A letter highlighting transnational exchange practices provides one example. From South Africa, Fr Kolbe wrote to Dublin's *Weekly Freeman*,<sup>176</sup> acknowledging Irish support, succinctly noting their joint experience of 'throttled nationality'.<sup>177</sup> As indicated these differences may have reflected Denny's greater military (and political) focus, or resulted from the more confident numerical position of Victoria's Irish. In an atmosphere of imperial support for the war, even one declining by 1901, Irish anti-war activity, individual or group, was viewed with great disfavour. Until the Galway election late in 1901 (when

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<sup>172</sup> *Advocate*, 6, 13, 20 and 27 July and *Southern Cross*, 5 July for 'Melbourne Mems'.

<sup>173</sup> *Advocate*, 10 August 1901.

<sup>174</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 10 November 1899, 8 June 1900 and 21 March 1902 for other correspondence from AF Stapleton.

<sup>175</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 October 1901.

<sup>176</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 April for mention of newspaper prohibition in South Africa, and issue of 13 July 1901 for impact of British censorship on South Africa's Catholic newspapers.

<sup>177</sup> See *Advocate*, 9 May, and issue of 8 June for further item mentioned on 153 above.

Irish-Australian Arthur Lynch was a candidate), there was minimal ‘*Cross*’ focus on the Irish anti-war movement.<sup>178</sup> In contrast, at least 12 *Advocate* issues described events such as Irish political activist Maud Gonne receiving freedom of the City of Limerick in response to her success in arousing negative publicity about Queen Victoria’s visit to Dublin, and the (related) forcible prevention of her lecture in Liverpool.<sup>179</sup> Arthur Lynch, Victorian-born Boer Colonel (leader of the smaller Irish Brigade) attracted more *Advocate* attention. His activities, his speeches,<sup>180</sup> his election (in absentia) for Galway,<sup>181</sup> were documented; here was an Irish-Australian, a transnational figure, personifying imperial disloyalty. John MacBride’s Irish Brigade fighting alongside the Boers was also noted.<sup>182</sup> These exploits showed Irish-Australians the range of alternative responses to the imperial war. With additional items to reinforce the anti-imperialist line, for example, President Kruger’s letter to the Irish Nationalists thanking them for their condolences and help ‘for our just cause’,<sup>183</sup> it could be argued that *Advocate* readers received a more balanced presentation of the war than those relying on daily papers.

In 1901 the ‘*Cross*’ took an alternative approach to imperial wartime propaganda. From February, it published a series of detailed articles headed ‘Typical Irish Patriots.’<sup>184</sup>

Authored by ‘F.F.W.’, first generation Irishman Francis F. Wholahan (a Lieutenant in the Irish Rifle Corps),<sup>185</sup> these ran throughout the year – 23 substantial pieces demonstrating

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<sup>178</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 November. See issue of 26 April for item ‘The Irish Brigade at Westminster’. See issue of 7 June 1901 ‘Public Criticism and the Results’ (Editorial).

<sup>179</sup> *Advocate*, 2, 9 February 1901. See Appendix C for details of Maud Gonne’s life and activism.

<sup>180</sup> *Advocate*, 19 January, 16 March, 13 April and 11 November 1901.

<sup>181</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 October, 2, 23, 30 November, 7, 14 and 28 December 1901.

<sup>182</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 March, 26 October and 23 November 1901.

<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 10 August 1901.

<sup>184</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 November (Judge Redmond Barry), 1 December (Peter Lalor), 15 December 1900 (Robert O’Hara Burke), 5 January (Police shot by Kelly Gang) and 19 January 1901 (Eureka Memorial). This series, ‘Irishmen to Whom Victorians have Erected Statues’ was more parochial than the overtly Irish *Southern Cross* series.

<sup>185</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 April 1901. In 1893 Wholahan was Head Teacher at the Eastern Adelaide school of Marryatville where his salary was £310 p.a.

broad and deep knowledge of Irish history.<sup>186</sup> Coverage was non-sectarian – most of these patriots were Protestant. The lives of nine Irish patriots were portrayed in articles often running across three editions.<sup>187</sup> While this series could suggest a reduction in ‘*Cross*’ war focus, it could equally be argued that the consistent publication of these articles, pointedly linking patriotism and typical Irishmen, made a powerful point. Its simultaneous education of Irish-Australian readers beyond the limitations of both assumed wisdom and dominant society perspectives highlights Aled Jones’ point about the potential structural transformation which could follow from newspaper reading.<sup>188</sup>

Denny’s commitment to the ‘Patriot’ series suggests a strong sense of responsibility for informing his community about matters Irish within a broad historical context. His dedicated Irish news section (which reproduced the paper’s masthead) may reflect a similar intention.<sup>189</sup> But the absence of any material to explain how and why such significant content or layout decisions were made leaves inferences rather than reasons.<sup>190</sup> The history of this newspaper from 1889 was shaped by the ‘Irish and Australian’ catch cry, and epitomised in its masthead.<sup>191</sup> But a growing sense of a more specifically Australian orientation was visible in 1901, perhaps connected with Federation. For example, there was greater recognition about the intractable shape of the war, and its capacity to cause short and longer-term damage to Australia. In mid-1901, chaplain, Fr Timoney reported that Australian troops were described as looters; he alluded to the potential damage to

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<sup>186</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 November 1900, for report of Wholahan’s lecture on ‘The New Patriotism’ at an INF meeting. He was optimistic about Ireland’s persistent ‘factious’ spirit ending, claiming the ‘Gaelic Revival’ could weld Catholics and Protestants into one party.

<sup>187</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1, 8 February (Henry Grattan 1746-1820), 2 February, 8, 15 March (John Philpot Curran 1750-1817), 12, 19, 26 April and 10 May (Jonathon Swift 1667-1745), 25 May, 14, 21 and 28 June (‘A trio of Protestant Patriots’: Charles Lucas 1713-71, Thomas Hussey 1746-1803 and Henry Flood c.1732-91), 5, 26 July and 2 August (Wolfe Tone 1763-98), 16 August, 13 and 20 September (Lord Edward Fitzgerald 1763-98), 11, 18 October, 1 and 8 November (Robert Emmet 1778-1803).

<sup>188</sup> See 42-3 and 81 above for discussion of Jones and newspaper reading.

<sup>189</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 December 1901.

<sup>190</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 31 October 1890 for one of the rare, limited insights into its operational processes, this issue refers to the regular monthly director’s meeting.

<sup>191</sup> This was ‘A Journal of Catholic, Irish and General News’ incorporating Irish and Australian symbols. See 91 above for early mastheads.

Australia's reputation.<sup>192</sup> Both papers put fears of post-war population depletion in a broader context when they referred to possible loss of 'our brightest and best' if migration schemes became too alluring.<sup>193</sup>

The persistence of the more local emphasis in '*Cross*' war coverage suggested Denny's recognition that readers needed references to specifically Australian (if not South Australian) implications. Alternatively, this emphasis may have reflected his individual interests, or budgetary limits.<sup>194</sup> The Irish Corps continued to attract regular, detailed coverage, incorporating a range of events. In 1901 reports included: a visit to Kapunda,<sup>195</sup> Corps promotions,<sup>196</sup> a guard of honour combining the Irish and Scotch Corps, a Church Parade<sup>197</sup> and an Irish-Scotch Corps rifle match.<sup>198</sup> At the first Corps social, Denny noted the initial fervour had been sustained; both he and Captain J.V. O'Loghlin commented explicitly on the Irish 'race'. The somewhat paradoxical dimension of this organisation in relation to strong ethnic identification has previously received comment.<sup>199</sup> Denny described the Corps' existence as both an 'honour to the race from which they sprang, and to Australia – the 'State which claimed them as its own'. O'Loghlin's accolade referred to the possibility of Corps members being called to provide service for the 'king and flag [when] they would worthily uphold the high prestige of the race as fighting men'. Given that the existence of the Corps derived from the Anglo-Boer War, these combined allusions to being Irish, Australian *and* imperial citizens provides clarity about the way this conflict impacted on some Irish-Australians. This report plus other coverage of Corps

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<sup>192</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 June and *Advocate*, 15 June 1901.

<sup>193</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 February 1901 for concerns that if the 'best were selected', there could be costs to the state population. On 22 February the WA premier's alarm about more troops was outlined, and his hope that SA would join him in opposition.

<sup>194</sup> In the absence of records, reasons remain conjectural, but Davitt's income relied on his journalistic output, and a smaller budget may explain his *Southern Cross* irregularity.

<sup>195</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 January 1901.

<sup>196</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 May 1901.

<sup>197</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 July 1901.

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 July 1901.

<sup>199</sup> See 140 above for discussion of Corps beginnings with reference to Handleman.

activities provides no evidence of any perceived contradictions within the group. In fact, this item (occupying a full column)<sup>200</sup> was heavy with self-praise. It also presented positive views from regular army officers in attendance – their presence was loudly demonstrated and emphasised Corps patriotism, potential valour, and approval from the dominant (imperial) culture. Any focus in the *Advocate* on Victoria's equivalent Rifle Corps was minimal by comparison, presumably because editorial and managerial ranks were less identified with war-related pursuits.<sup>201</sup>

Additionally, these papers were differentiated by their utilisation of overseas 'exchanges', perhaps a budgetary issue; such patterns served only to reinforce other differences. Among the mixture of Irish (religious and other) and secular papers to which the *Advocate* referred were the *London Speaker* (quoting the anti-war *Manchester Guardian*),<sup>202</sup> the *Daily Mail* (using copy from the *Cape Times*),<sup>203</sup> the *Liverpool Catholic Times*,<sup>204</sup> Dublin's *Weekly Freeman*,<sup>205</sup> the *Cork Weekly Herald* and the *London Universe*,<sup>206</sup> the *Tablet*,<sup>207</sup> the *Positivist Review*,<sup>208</sup> the *Saturday Review*,<sup>209</sup> the *Springfield Republican*<sup>210</sup> and the Austrian paper, *Vaterland*.<sup>211</sup> By contrast, Adelaide's paper referred to the *Tablet*,<sup>212</sup> the *Religious Weekly*,<sup>213</sup> the *Berlin Independent Belge*,<sup>214</sup> the *Buenos Aires Southern Cross*,<sup>215</sup> the *Catholic Times*<sup>216</sup> and the *London*

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<sup>200</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 April 1901.

<sup>201</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 May which mentioned the proposed formation, expressed hesitation and referred to the 1885 offer, and see issue of 15 June 1901 and discussion of Sydney's Irish Rifle Corps (proposed by Cardinal Moran, according to *Southern Cross* of 26 April 1895) as a precedent.

<sup>202</sup> See *Advocate* of 5 January 1901.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Advocate*, 12 January 1901.

<sup>205</sup> *Advocate*, 2 March 1901.

<sup>206</sup> *Advocate*, 30 March 1901. This was a weekly Catholic paper.

<sup>207</sup> *Advocate*, 5 October 1901. Owner/Manager, Joseph Winter, referred to specific details from an 1859 *Tablet* (in a letter), demonstrating that he or his office had back copies.

<sup>208</sup> *Advocate*, 9 November 1901.

<sup>209</sup> *Advocate*, 16 November 1901.

<sup>210</sup> *Advocate*, 30 November 1901.

<sup>211</sup> *Advocate*, 7 December 1901.

<sup>212</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1901.

<sup>213</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 August 1901.

<sup>214</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 June 1901.

<sup>215</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 August, 4 October 1901.

<sup>216</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 October 1901.



*Speaker*.<sup>217</sup> Such divergence in the range of ‘exchanges’ accessed by Gunson and Denny clearly contributed to the *Advocate*’s increasingly negative perspective on the conflict.

The ‘*Cross*’ published seven ‘Letters from the Chaplain’ in 1901; three focussed on the London death of Fr Timoney, war correspondent for Sydney’s *Catholic Press*.<sup>218</sup> While the *Advocate* included his material, and covered his death, it featured fewer items by chaplains.<sup>219</sup> Extending the local emphasis on the war, the ‘*Cross*’ featured news items, interviews and articles relating to South Australian participants: readers learnt of Sergeant Major Doherty’s experience in the Battle of Colenso,<sup>220</sup> and were exposed to a South Australian nurse’s view of the war.<sup>221</sup> Both newspapers continued to provide war details in relation to Catholicism, the ‘*Cross*’ published a further 11 articles on war and religion. For example, several items rebutted Orange Lodge attacks on Irish-Catholic war participation rates.<sup>222</sup> Dr Rentoul’s location in Melbourne ensured meetings of his anti-war ‘Peace and Humanity’ Society received ongoing *Advocate* attention.<sup>223</sup>

The imperial loyalty demands associated with the war were, for some Irish-Australians, equalled by contested identity issues within their own community. Irish-Australians were accustomed to being targeted by the non-Irish majority, but criticism, prejudice and judgement at closer quarters was more confronting. In 1901, alongside society’s scrutiny of Irish-Australian imperial loyalty and patriotism, within the Irish-Australian community, being appropriately Irish was monitored, in other words Irish identity was judged. Both newspapers reflected intra-community tensions, indicated for example by the appearance

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<sup>217</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 November 1901.

<sup>218</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9, 16 and 23 August 1901. Elizabeth Johnston, ‘Francis Timoney: The Bushman’s Priest’ in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, 1994-5, 39-53.

<sup>219</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 January, 15 June and 24 August 1901.

<sup>220</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 May 1901.

<sup>221</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 September 1901.

<sup>222</sup> *Southern Cross* of 18 January and 8 February 1901.

<sup>223</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 April, 19 October for reports of a meeting and a ‘pro-Boer’ lecture. See *Southern Cross* of 14 June 1901 for ‘Melbourne Mems’ item, ‘Dr Rentoul and the War’.

and definition of the term *shoneen*.<sup>224</sup> In April, the ‘*Cross*’ applied it to wealthy Catholics who were ashamed of the ‘low and ignorant Irish’.<sup>225</sup> But usage suggests more subtle applications. It seemed to describe those who could not be trusted, those using their ‘Irishness’ with discretion, discarding it when beneficial. A ‘Sydney News’ item about the previously mentioned<sup>226</sup> R.E. (Dick) O’Connor (then a NSW MP, later a judge) asserted he was not a *shoneen*, one believing that achieving high positions required ‘betray[ing] their Church and join[ing] Masonic and other anti-Catholic institutions’. His rebuttal of a ‘sneering remark about Irish grievances’ within Parliament House elicited an apology, his interlocutor confessing ignorance about the strength of Irish national spirit among native-born Australians. O’Connor replied ‘Since my childhood ...my first love has been for Ireland’.<sup>227</sup> A subsequent item entitled the ‘Passing of the *Shoneen*’ criticised those in public positions who were unwilling to assist their countrymen.<sup>228</sup> The visibility of the *shoneen* issue during the war accentuates fault lines within the Irish-Australian community, suggesting when imperial loyalty was at a national premium, Irish identification was placed under additional stress. Equally it supports Yinger’s insistence both that full ethnicity requires self-identification, identification by others and shared activities, and the contradictory pulls associated with assimilation and dissimulation.<sup>229</sup> An imperial crisis provided opportunities for some to jettison overt Irish identification, which was resented by some within the community.

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<sup>224</sup> See PW Joyce in *English As We Speak It In Ireland*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 1910, 321 ‘a gentleman (sic) in a small way: a would-be gentleman who puts on superior airs. Always used contemptuously’. Diarmid o Muirthe, *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish: Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1996, 175, ‘Seoinin n. In form *shoneen*. (sic) Literally, Little John (Bull). A derisory name for an Irishman who apes English ways’.

<sup>225</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 April 1901.

<sup>226</sup> See 151 above for O’Connor’s role at the Shamrock Club celebration of Federation. See Appendix C.

<sup>227</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 June 1901.

<sup>228</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 August 1901. (‘Sydney News’).

<sup>229</sup> See 36, 116 and 147 above for discussion of Yinger.

When Tighe Ryan asserted that strong Irish-Australian national sentiment could be judged by factors other than membership numbers in Irish nationalist organisations, his case rested on two examples.<sup>230</sup> The first eulogised crowd size in August at Sydney's Waverley cemetery when Wicklow-born Michael Dwyer was reburied in a monument befitting a hero of '98 – there was 'one of the most overwhelming displays of Irish patriotic sentiment ever witnessed under the British flag'.<sup>231</sup> The second described the reburial of early patriot priests (Fathers Therry and McEnroe) at Sydney's Cathedral, an event noted as 'national as well as Catholic'. Crowds purportedly exceeded those welcoming the Duke and Duchess of York.<sup>232</sup> Given the timing of Dwyer's burial within the period of an imperial war, Ryan's deliberate wording epitomises James Jupp's claim that the huge demonstration 'inflamed' hostility 'both to Catholics and Irish nationalists'.<sup>233</sup> Such displays of Irish identification provoking claims of disloyalty during the Anglo-Boer War anticipated the more heated exchanges of the Great War.

Returning to questions about the representativeness of Irish nationalist organisations, these bodies received regular and detailed coverage in both newspapers. In August the Executive Committee of Victoria's UIL called for greater support for Irish Nationalism because the IPP had reunited in Ireland. Extraordinarily strong language was used to tell Irish-Australians of their 'sacred duty' to provide moral and financial support.<sup>234</sup> News items regularly reported the amounts sent from various Australasian locations.<sup>235</sup> Both

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<sup>230</sup> His insistence challenges claims by Mazzaroli, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 7-8, 79-80, passim. She claims many Irish organisations were non-representative, largely basing this on individuals prominent in more than one body (with generally small memberships). As conclusions, these seem based on generalisations rather than broader evidence. See also O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 173.

<sup>231</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 August 1901.

<sup>232</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 August 1901. The Duke opened the Commonwealth Parliament.

<sup>233</sup> James Jupp, 'Ethnicity, Race and Sectarianism', in Marian Simms (ed.), *1901: The Forgotten Election*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 2001, 143.

<sup>234</sup> *Advocate*, 31 August 1901.

<sup>235</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 February (Bundaberg £23.0), 15 March (Western Australia £100), 10 May (Adelaide and Auckland) and 6 September 1902 ('Melbourne Mems', £300). See *Advocate* of 2 February (Victoria £100) and 9 February 1902.

newspapers promoted the Irish-Australians' sense of responsibility about supporting causes which might resolve Ireland's issues with Britain. This was exemplified in quoting comments of Irish-born American, Archbishop Keane in August 1901. Discussing 'The Exodus from Ireland' in terms of Home Rule and the need to end emigration, he claimed that:

no matter in what country they have entered as part of its lifeblood, they always feel that their allegiance to their adopted country has in no manner diminished their devotedness to the country of their birth... Irishmen when they leave Ireland are not dead. They are just as thoroughly Irish as though they lived on the green hillsides, and not merely they but their descendants.<sup>236</sup>

Reading such material reminded Irish-Australians about what they shared with the wider diaspora, that close and abiding connection between Irish emigrants, their children and Ireland. Thus when issues of loyalty to the British Empire became matters of public wartime pressure, Irish-Australian newspapers could provide, and, by 1901, were providing strong contrary sources to strengthen Irish identification.

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#### *1902 – Towards Conclusion of the War*

The last, painfully slow months of the war, which had been described by both papers as 'almost over' since 1900<sup>237</sup> were marked by reduced coverage and detail. Table Six reflects a minimal number of items, but generally reveals greater *Advocate* attention to war issues.

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<sup>236</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 August 1901.

<sup>237</sup> See *Advocate* of 17 March, *Southern Cross* of 1 June 1900.

**Table Six: Numbers & Categories of Items, January to June 1902.**

<b>Type of Newspaper Item</b>	<b><i>Advocate</i></b>	<b><i>Southern Cross</i></b>
Editorial	1	3
Overseas Comment	13	1
'Easy Chair'/'Purely Personal'	15	11
'Prominent Topics'/'Topics'	16	9
Miscellaneous	5	2
'Notes and News'	–	4
'Our Special' Correspondent'	5	–
'Our London Letter'	3	–
'European Intelligence'	9	–
Overseas News	15	2
Letters to Editor	3	–
'General News'	–	5
Local Comment	9	6
Cable News	14	–
Parliamentary/Church Commentary	6	3
'Sydney Notes'	–	4

The third calendar year of the unequal contest was marked by even clearer evidence of popular opposition than previously. In January, Senator Higgins (previously punished by his Victorian electorate for his war position)<sup>238</sup> presented petitions to both Houses of Federal Parliament, then sitting in Melbourne. Petitioners sought to end military action against the Boers, movement towards a negotiated peace settlement, granting of immediate self-government to the former republics, and for the Boers to receive compensation for war damage.<sup>239</sup> William O'Brien's late 1901 sojourn ensured the foregrounding of Irish issues in Australia.<sup>240</sup> The distressingly familiar policies in Ireland of coercion,<sup>241</sup> evictions and jailing persisted – in March Chief Secretary Wyndham declared notions of Home Rule and an Irish Parliament were impossibilities.<sup>242</sup> Denny's St Patrick's Day editorial lamented that:

It is sad to think that but two short years ago the whole of England went 'shamrock mad' in compliment to the distinguished bravery of Irishmen on the veldt in South Africa.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>238</sup> See above 146 and 151 above, 167 and 160 below for discussion of Higgins and the war.

<sup>239</sup> Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War*, 324.

<sup>240</sup> A well known Irish figure, O'Brien spent December in eastern Australia.

<sup>241</sup> *Advocate*, 21 June, see *Southern Cross* of 24 January, 7, 21 February and 13 June 1902.

<sup>242</sup> *Advocate*, 1 March 1902.

<sup>243</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 March 1902.

Three days into 1902, he had judged that that the 'glory has all gone',<sup>244</sup> and weeks later, 'If Mr Chamberlain thought more and talked less' there could be progress.<sup>245</sup>

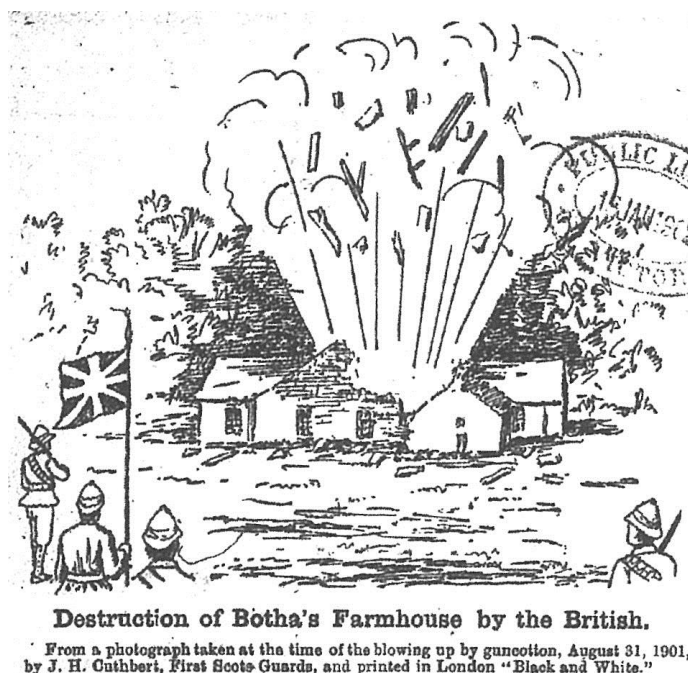


Figure 23. Illustration from *Advocate*, 18 January 1902

Both newspapers focussed more intensely on the war's end with 12 *Southern Cross* and 17 *Advocate* issues including one or more items in the early months of 1902. (Figure 23)

Denny's 'Topic', 'The Unwinding War' amounted to a précis of the conflict, but emphasising the value of diplomacy in concluding it, he said Boer defeat was always inevitable.<sup>246</sup> In February the *Advocate* editor was appalled about any attempt 'to revise interest in the war'.<sup>247</sup> Again, that newspaper concentrated more on tactics, with eight articles analysing this aspect, concentration camps featuring in January and Professor Wood's anti-war comments in February.<sup>248</sup> Denny focussed on the war's guerrilla aspects in one of the two 'Cross' items related to tactics.<sup>249</sup> His poignant comment that 'the glory has

<sup>244</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 January 1902.

<sup>245</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 January 1902.

<sup>246</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 March 1902.

<sup>247</sup> *Advocate*, 22 February 1902. (Prominent Topics). Following Gunson's death in January 1901, his replacement process was unclear.

<sup>248</sup> See *Advocate* of 11 January, 2, 8 February, 12, 19, 24 April and 7, 14 June 1902.

<sup>249</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 January, 4 April 1902.

all gone' may have been both a personal and a journalistic summary.<sup>250</sup> He did emphasise the Empire. Among his nine items an editorial stressed the coronation as a unifying event,<sup>251</sup> two interstate exchanges,<sup>252</sup> two 'Topics', one linking Queen Victoria's 1900 visit to Ireland with Kruger never visiting,<sup>253</sup> and three 'Notes and News' items which focussed on Australian motives for participation.<sup>254</sup> In Victoria, six similar items included two 'Prominent Topics',<sup>255</sup> two regular Davitt contributions, one decrying Chamberlain and the other addressing English lies,<sup>256</sup> one feature on Sydney's Bishop Kelly,<sup>257</sup> and another titled 'God Save John Bull'.<sup>258</sup> Both editors thus acknowledged the role of Empire in the war's final year.

Overseas 'exchanges' featured less in the '*Cross*,' with the Dublin *Weekly Freeman* and the New Zealand *Tablet* acknowledged.<sup>259</sup> In the *Advocate*, however, the list was lengthy. It included (in one edition) *Nineteenth Century*, the anti-war *Standard and Digger News*, the Belfast *Irish Weekly* and the *Daily Mail*.<sup>260</sup> The *London Star*, *Irish World* and the Boston *Pilot* were utilised in February, the *Irish Weekly Independent*, the Dublin *Weekly Freeman*, *Reynold's Weekly* and the *Speaker* in March.<sup>261</sup> The 'exchange' system provided critical connections across the diaspora, the *Advocate's* more consistent use of Irish newspapers enabled a broader coverage than apparently available to the '*Cross*'.

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<sup>250</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 January 1902.

<sup>251</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 May 1902.

<sup>252</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 February, 20 June 1902.

<sup>253</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 February, 24 March 1902.

<sup>254</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 January, 14 March, 27 June 1902.

<sup>255</sup> *Advocate*, 18 January, 26 April 1902.

<sup>256</sup> *Advocate*, 22 February, 10 May 1902.

<sup>257</sup> *Advocate*, 7 June 1902.

<sup>258</sup> *Advocate*, 25 January 1902.

<sup>259</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 January, 27 March 1902.

<sup>260</sup> *Advocate*, 11 January 1902.

<sup>261</sup> See *Advocate* of 1, 22 February and 1, 22 and 29 March 1902.

Both newspapers consistently linked the war to Ireland. For example, the *Advocate* reported that during Senate discussion of the loyal resolution in its first meeting of 1902, South Australian Labor Senator, Gregor McGregor (Figure 24) confronted colleagues about the war and possibilities for resolution.<sup>262</sup> The discussion was heated. McGregor disputed whether ‘loyalty’ was appropriate amidst the war. When potential Boer self-government was raised, his derisive reply of ‘It has not been granted to Ireland yet’ ensured his audience understood the connection.<sup>263</sup> Senator Higgins, avowedly anti-war, was dismissive of Australian and British war-related policies, correctly anticipating the consequences of his country’s unquestioning willingness to send young lives to South Africa. He predicted commitment ‘to the Imperial Government in all wars without having any say in the negotiations preceding them’.<sup>264</sup> Arguing fiercely that sympathy with the enemy does not equate with disloyalty, Higgins articulated the war’s challenge to many Irish-Australians. Any expression of opinion outside total support of Empire, war and volunteers, could only mean disloyalty. When Arthur Lynch was charged with treason early in 1902, epitomising disloyalty, the saga was fully acknowledged by the *Advocate*.<sup>265</sup>



**Figure 24.** Gregor McGregor MHR (1848-1914), The *Adelaide Observer*, 18 May 1901

<sup>262</sup> See Appendix C, and Haydon, ‘South Australia’s First War’ 228 for McGregor’s opposition to war in 1899 and 1900, but unwilling, eventual support for sending second contingent.

<sup>263</sup> *Advocate*, 25 January 1902. McGregor was on the executive of the INL in 1899. See *Southern Cross* of 3 November 1905 for his attending a Perth UIL meeting while visiting.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> See *Advocate* of 1, 22 February and 8 March, and *Southern Cross*, 28 February, 1902.



St Patrick's Day in 1902 seemed to achieve unusual prominence; it evoked Irish assertiveness and reiterated statements about nationalist sentiment reflected in the choice of song. When the day was not gazetted as a public holiday for Commonwealth public servants, Prime Minister Barton was accused of insulting the Irish.<sup>266</sup> Yet a week later, Tighe Ryan described the audience singing 'God Save Ireland' at Sydney's concert, and 'high above the other voices could be heard that of Prime Minister Barton singing with all his heart'.<sup>267</sup> Denny and Gunson both explored the question of Chamberlain's reaction to the combination – the Australian Prime Minister during an imperial war, singing an Irish rebel song penned in response to Britain's 1867 death sentence for Fenian prisoners.<sup>268</sup> Earlier, recently arrived Irishman, Archbishop Kelly, as chairman of Sydney's luncheon, contributed 'the speech of the day'. Avowing he was now entitled to speak as an Australian and as one who would do '[a]ll that was within his capacity' for Australia, he insisted 'he did not forget, he could not and he would not forget Ireland'.<sup>269</sup> He reminded his largely partisan audience about the ways the Act of Union circumscribed Irish lives and opportunities, linking these deficits to loyalty and the Empire. He suggested that justice for Ireland would replace the current attitude to Empire membership of 'If we must be we are, but if we could be, we wouldn't' with a willing 'I am part of the British Empire'.<sup>270</sup> 'Exchanges' and regular interstate segments provided distant readers with extensive sources (more persuasive perhaps when coming from a prelate) for reinforcing their understanding of the conflict, and attendant questions of imperial loyalty and aspects of Irish identity.

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<sup>266</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1902. In 1900 Queen Victoria granted this in recognition of Irish bravery in the Transvaal. See also O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 183.

<sup>267</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 March 1902.

<sup>268</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1902. See 142 and 146 above and Appendix D for words of 'God Save Ireland'.

<sup>269</sup> See Appendix C. Kelly arrived in 1901. See also Patrick O'Farrell, 'Archbishop Kelly and the Irish Question' in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol IV, 1974, Pt 3, 1-19.

<sup>270</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1902.

In Melbourne, where the *Advocate* claimed St Patrick's Day attracted more 'enthusiasm and success' than ever before, two Protestant and anti-war first generation Irish-Australians, Dr Rentoul and Senator Higgins were celebrity speakers at the luncheon. The latter 'received an ovation' when he rose to support a vote of thanks to the chairman. Rentoul's address, described as 'memorable' and 'overwhelming' was powerful at the time, perhaps ironic in retrospect. Proposing a toast to 'United Australia' he complimented Archbishop Carr for voicing the 'great truth that whatever views men might take about the war the one party had no right to charge the other with lack of patriotism', and he described Australia's location as obviating any need 'to have our hands soaked in the blood of downtrodden people'.<sup>271</sup> He also affirmed 'that when the next great question arose between Australia and England it must be decided on strict lines of Australian nationality and British citizenship'. Discussing possibilities of 'the higher patriotism...in standing with the minority against the truculent majority', he acknowledged presciently that 'the opinions of the minority today might be those of the majority tomorrow'.<sup>272</sup> Dr Rentoul's strong pacifism and apparent imperial disloyalty was not transferred to the Great War where his support of conscription and opposition to Irish freedom realigned him with the dominant culture.

In 1901 in the Victorian town of St Arnaud, on St Patrick's Day, Hibernians had replaced 'God Save the Queen' with 'God Save Ireland,' suggesting subtle regional transgressive action.<sup>273</sup> At Adelaide's 1902 St Patrick's concert, Ireland's unofficial anthem was advertised as the combined grand finale, Fr D.F. McGrath provided the solo at this 'Successful Gathering'.<sup>274</sup> Programming this poignant but resolutely anti-British ballad as the focal point of a public event during an unpopular imperial war where Irish support was at best

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<sup>271</sup> See Lawrence Rentoul to Hugh Mahon, Letters, 11 June 1901 and 27 March 1906, NLA Mahon Papers, MS 937/8/240, 242 for evidence of his anxiety about Indigenous Australians.

<sup>272</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 March 1902.

<sup>273</sup> See *Advocate*, 20 April 1901. ('Easy Chair Jottings').

<sup>274</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21, 27 March 1902.

qualified, made a powerful point. Denny's editorial, titled 'Our National Festival', concentrated largely on Ireland's needed and oft-delayed reforms. He quoted Gladstone's judgement 'of no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between England and Ireland'. Despite a positive finish, noting 'signs of a decided change' in this relationship, his comments still served to reinforce the history and depth of Britain's ill-treatment of Ireland.<sup>275</sup>

The Prime Minister was reported as being very sympathetic to Ireland when interviewed by Sydney's *Catholic Press*.<sup>276</sup> His St Patrick's Day rendition of Ireland's unofficial anthem was recalled in the *Advocate* before he met Chamberlain in June. The item suggested the coming Coronation Conference could present difficulties for Chamberlain, given the public support for Ireland demonstrated by both Barton and Canadian Prime Minister Laurier.<sup>277</sup> Irish nationalists clearly saw the end of the war as the point of greatest opportunity for Ireland. A Sydney Home Rule meeting (reported in Adelaide) judged it was an 'opportune time to bring the matter strongly forward because the Empire was now relieved of strain and stress consequent upon the late war'.<sup>278</sup> This expectation (which was shared with other groups suppressed within the Empire), that loyal behaviour combined with the end of conflict would bring change and justice, was ultimately unrealistic. The Irish could not afford to make the same assumptions about their entitlement to self-government, an expectation which was later to drive their participation in World War One which resulted in immeasurable disappointment.

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<sup>275</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 March 1902. Denny also quoted historian Lecky on Union as 'a crime of the deepest turpitude'.

<sup>276</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 March 1902. ('Notes and News').

<sup>277</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 June 1902. This was held in London from 30 June to 11 August. See Appendix C for details about Laurier.

<sup>278</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 June 1902.

But Irish-Australians received consistent detailed news from Ireland. The impact was often unintentionally reinforced when ‘Cable News’ or a brief article provided thin details of an event or speech, and six weeks later an ‘exchange’ item provided a fuller account in ‘Irish News’ or ‘European Intelligence’. Although McNamara argues the delayed detail disadvantaged *Tablet* readers, it could also have had the effect of reminding and reinforcing local knowledge of Irish events.<sup>279</sup> In particular, these newspapers consistently focussed on transnational activities of the UIL in Ireland and Australia. In this way Irish interconnections were stated and restated.<sup>280</sup>

Both newspapers also reported details of the activities of Australian troops, domestic opposition to the war,<sup>281</sup> and in the ‘*Cross*’, a continuing emphasis on Irish Rifle Corps activities.<sup>282</sup> Belated news of the execution of two Australians for shooting unarmed Boers resulted in general, unquestioned acceptance of their guilt.<sup>283</sup> Their behaviour then became ‘evidence’ of this war’s destructive impact.<sup>284</sup> Previous comment in an item headed ‘Australians in Trouble’ had raised the claim that the pair was ‘following orders’. This is a fascinating contemporary view given the subsequent contestation of guilt and innocence.<sup>285</sup> Both newspapers reported a radical critique of the war from Sydney University’s young Professor of History, George Arnold Wood. His dissection of war costs in relation to desperate English poverty caused ‘A Sensation’, threatening his position at the university.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> See McNamara, *The Sole Organ*, 72 and 84.

<sup>280</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 18, 25 April 1902 for reports of Adelaide UIL sending petitions to Ireland, establishing a fund for paying IPP members, then sending money to Ireland.

<sup>281</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 January and 1 February 1902 for 2 letters about new demands for Australian troops, the first used the term ‘smoodgers’ to describe those supporting imperial pressure, the second, endorsed the spirit of this letter and use of the descriptor.

<sup>282</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 February, 27 March, 6 and 13 June 1902.

<sup>283</sup> See *Advocate* of 17, 24 May, *Southern Cross*, 11 April 1902.

<sup>284</sup> *Advocate*, 24 May, 1902.

<sup>285</sup> *Advocate*, 5 April 1902. (‘Prominent Topics’). See issue of 29 March for first mention: ‘An Episode of the War’.

<sup>286</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 February and *Advocate*, 8 February 1902. See Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo*, 65-7, RM Crawford, *‘A Bit of a Rebel’: The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1975, and Appendix C.

Rentoul's 'Peace and Humanity Society' continued to attract attention.<sup>287</sup> However, in terms of the extent of the war's coverage, frequency and density was measurably less than 1901 and bore little resemblance to the depth and breadth of coverage in 1900. The supposed imminent ending to the war had provoked many comments from the beginning so when it came finally with signing a treaty, these newspapers' responses seemed muted.

Editorials written after the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in May 1902 provide further insights into differences between these newspapers: Denny's response, 'Peace at Last', alongside the *Advocate's* 'Inglorious Victory'. This war was judged negatively alongside previous British victories. Its ignominy was highlighted by recalling early boasts of easy victory, questionable methods and costs of warfare, empty demands for unconditional surrender, and the treaty's inclusion of 'almost every concession which the Boer leaders demanded'. Within 'Easy Chair Jottings', equating the war with Boer victory was even more explicit: they had 'kept at bay for two and a half years the troops of the greatest Empire that ever existed'. The *Advocate* inclusion of *Argus* comment was significant:

If the result of the war were to create a second Ireland in South Africa, that would be a disaster; every Imperial consideration requires that we create there a second Canada.<sup>288</sup>

That a generally hostile daily newspaper understood the correlation between Ireland and the South African conflict in 1902 was equally unexpected in terms of its imperial stance and its understanding of Ireland. The item reinforces Aled Jones' point discussed earlier, that the way newspapers were read, interpreted and argued about, transformed elements of society.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 January, 2 February, 22 March, 19 April and 21 June 1902.

<sup>288</sup> *Advocate*, 7 June 1902.

<sup>289</sup> See 42-3, 81 and 157 above for discussion of Jones and potential outcomes of newspaper reading.

The tone of Denny's editorial differed.<sup>290</sup> Referring to British 'light heart[edness]' about the war and to costs – 'over 30,000 lives and £220,000,000', he stressed bravery and determination on both sides, various motives for seeking peace, liberal terms, and hopes for 'peace and progress'. But consistently with the paper's stronger record of war support (never without criticism), the end was interpreted less censoriously. Having followed a more consistent anti-war line, when the end came slowly and painfully, *Advocate* self-righteousness about the conflict and its peace was predictable, and justifiable. A more equivocal final response from the '*Cross*' was equally consistent. Given the political involvement of its manager O'Loughlin in dispatching early volunteers, and the later parliamentary role of its editor Denny, and their joint association with the Irish Rifle Corps, the '*Cross*', lacking a large support base, always faced a difficult war scenario.<sup>291</sup> However, Denny reiterated that the war could have been over a year earlier.<sup>292</sup>

Beyond the war, the *Advocate's* deep concern for Ireland was displayed three weeks later. An editorial thundering about coercion, about that 'gingerly and nervous' approach to the Crimes Act while war or peace 'hung in the balance', claimed it was being replaced by more 'drastic measures for the suppression of the United Irish League'. The editor urged response and protest: this was 'the duty of Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen in Australia'.<sup>293</sup>

The Anglo-Boer War increasingly confronted many Irish-Australians in terms of negotiating their loyalty as Australian and imperial citizens. O'Farrell acknowledged Irish-Australian 'Otherness' as explaining the constant observation of imperial loyalty levels as

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<sup>290</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 June 1902.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.* 'Topics: The Unwinding War' said that 'It is a sad spectacle to see a brave little people thus bereft of their liberty, but ...[this] was inevitable from the beginning of hostilities'.

<sup>292</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 May ('Topics'), 13 June ('Notes and News'), 20 June 1902 ('Topics').

<sup>293</sup> *Advocate*, 21 June 1902.

well as informing wider community perceptions of their limited patriotism.<sup>294</sup> Both newspapers, more particularly the '*Cross*', reflected some self-consciousness in presenting items that promoted the success of Irish citizens in Australia.<sup>295</sup>

Continuing comparisons between Boer and Irish served to reinforce the Irish identification of many first and second generation Irish-Australian newspaper readers. Many perceived both groups as the 'small nation' objects of brutal British tyranny, subjected to increasing amounts of violence.<sup>296</sup> Thus Boer heroism in the face of oppression abutted neatly into a framework of Irish suffering with its epics of bravery, mistreatment and martyrs. Pro-Boer speeches, activities in Ireland and at Westminster,<sup>297</sup> as well as in the South African Brigades<sup>298</sup> provided a tapestry of information, often delightfully provocative to and opposing England. Even anti-Boer evidence, the imperial participation of Irish soldiers,<sup>299</sup> enabled editors to emphasise Irish generals, commanders, statistics, and especially in the '*Cross*', bravery.<sup>300</sup> British losses enabled subtle (or snide) comments,<sup>301</sup> and war expenditure allowed easy reference to Irish poverty. Thus largely negative news from Ireland could be interpreted as a reproach. Editorials in both papers consistently demonstrated the importance of Irish issues and assumed that all readers shared their views. Typically,

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<sup>294</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 11, 228-9, passim.

<sup>295</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 May, 'Irishmen in Australia: Some Distinguished Examples', and 25 October 1901, discussing the Federal Parliament but making a more general point: 'In every department of colonial activity [Irishmen] have demonstrated their capacity to compete successfully with all other nationalities'.

<sup>296</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 May 1901. 'Prominent Topics' compared tactics 'used to terrorise the Boers' with those used in Ireland.

<sup>297</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 March, 4 April and 15 June 1901.

<sup>298</sup> See Donal McCracken in 'Irish Settlement and Identity in South Africa Before 1910', in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. XXVIII, No 110, November 1992, 148 for explanation of the pre-war formation of the Irish Transvaal Brigade by Irish-American 'Colonel' John Blake and Irishman 'Major' John MacBride. In 1900, Victorian-born Arthur Lynch formed a second brigade. According to McCracken, the 300 who fought made a negligible military contribution, but 'for the Irish in South Africa and for Irish nationalism', their significance was enormous.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.* McCracken cites 28,000 Irishmen fighting in the British Army's Irish regiments against the Boers. See *Advocate* of 28 October 1899. 'Prominent Topic' dismissed Irish fighting for England as unrepresentative – some were always in this position.

<sup>300</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 and 30 March for 'their magnificent achievements' and on 1 June 1900, the Irish 'bore the brunt of the battle'. The *Advocate* of 13 April 1901 reported the wartime value of Irish horses; on 25 May it printed a letter from the *Tablet* about the Connaught Rangers in South Africa.

<sup>301</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 March 1901 quoting losses of 70,000.

references to significant Irish figures, Davitt<sup>302</sup>, the Redmonds<sup>303</sup> or O'Brien<sup>304</sup> were almost conversational, explanation was unnecessary. In both papers, the connection between Irish and Australian, and references to Irish-Australians were visible markers. The 'gallantry' of Irish-Australian troops was specifically emphasised by the '*Cross*' in early 1900.<sup>305</sup>

The timing of the war coincided with the final determination of Australian Federation, Western Australia's late (and deciding) referendum was a significant distraction from the war in July 1900.<sup>306</sup> Thus, one major national focus was (and had been for some time), the question of what 'the character of the new nation' would be and how this would be shaped; there were sectarian concerns.<sup>307</sup> O'Farrell suggests that 'the Federation debate and the subsequent heightened sensitivity to questions of national character', enabled 'a more confident assertion of Irish rights to influence Australia'.<sup>308</sup> Certainly, within the '*Cross*' during the war years, there is evidence of a striving to be associated with an undefined majority in society. Although this seems contradictory in terms of the paper's masthead and clear identification with all things Irish, this research demonstrates that these positions were held in an often painful tension. Because being 'Australian' in comparison to being 'Victorian' or 'South Australian' was theoretical during the initial phases of the Anglo-Boer War, and was in its basic evolution for the latter stage, the Australian 'loyalty' demands faced by many Irish-Australians were distinct from those that would dominate the next war.

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<sup>302</sup> See 125, 131-6, 139, 142-3, 149, 166 and 175 above for discussion of Davitt and the war.

<sup>303</sup> See Appendix A for details of the Redmonds in Australia. See *Southern Cross* of 20 July 1901 for John Redmond's congratulatory IPP telegram about Federation.

<sup>304</sup> William O'Brien's 1901 visit to Australia was 'private', his health the rationale for this. It was important in strengthening local branches of the UIL. See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 244. See Appendices A and C.

<sup>305</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 February 1900.

<sup>306</sup> The second Constitutional Referendum was held in all colonies except WA between May and September 1899.

<sup>307</sup> See 'The Federal Election' (Flier, nd but 1901), NLA, Hugh Mahon Papers, MS937/812. Mahon contested the Coolgardie seat and the flier was headed 'Religion in Politics: a Wesleyan Minister's Warning', and urged electors to choose 'Protestant Candidates' because 'Catholic countries had retrograded'. 'If Australia was to go ahead it was necessary that CATHOLICS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED rigidly from Parliament, and from all positions where they could influence the government of the country'.

<sup>308</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 244.



For many in Australia, the meaning of either being a colonial or an Australian citizen (after 1901) was totally and entirely interchangeable with imperial ‘citizenship.’ And so when the Empire was challenged,<sup>309</sup> it was thus the duty of Australians to support Britain – the first colonial contingent left twenty days after the ‘outbreak’ of war. In South Australia, following the formation of the Irish Rifle Brigade in February 1900,<sup>310</sup> its members (and others) were ready to join the volunteer detachments. As Chief Secretary, J.V. O’Loghlin had despatched the first contingent; Denny provided a strong defence in October 1899. Arguing that Parliament could not avoid sending troops because other colonies had sent contingents, he claimed that by going overseas the troops could show the ‘patriotism or loyalty’, ‘both [of which were] in every colonial’.<sup>311</sup> But by February 1901, he insisted that no more men should go because the Empire was no longer in danger.<sup>312</sup> In April, the *Advocate*’s editorial discerned the ‘silence of the jingoistic spirit’ which only a few months previously had been so arrogantly obtrusive. It claimed the lessons of ‘loss of life and money’ had been learnt by the Empire.<sup>313</sup>

The connectedness between the three dimensions of loyalty – Irish, Australian and imperial – was reflected in a number of ways. Australia and Empire were linked through the perceived need, and some resulting pressure, for the nearly, and then the newly, federated citizens of Australia to ‘prove’ their loyalty in a time of war. A parallel and somewhat more complicated link was presented through the interpretation of distressing

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<sup>309</sup> Davey, *The British Pro-Boers*, 62. Chamberlain and Milner agreed most British saw the situation as involving ‘our supremacy in South Africa and our existence as a great power in the world’.

<sup>310</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 246, describes Cardinal Moran chairing the 1895 NSW meeting leading to the Irish Rifle Regiment’s formation – by 1898 it had 305 enlistments, 23 fought in South Africa.

<sup>311</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1899, (‘Topics’). 4 officers, 20 non-commissioned officers and 98 rank and file soldiers made up the colony’s first contingent. A letter criticised O’Loghlin as being ‘a strong rifleman’; in defence, he referred to his 17 year military involvement.

<sup>312</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 February 1901.

<sup>313</sup> *Advocate*, 27 April 1901.

news from Ireland as a reminder of what the Empire was doing to their families. In 1900 when McMahon Glynn lectured on 'The New Patriotism', and F.F. Wholahan on 'Ireland' at an INF meeting, this demonstrated both ambiguity and integration of different strands, but not their contestation.<sup>314</sup> While the temptation to apply McLachlan's concept of reversible loyalties to individuals such as Denny and O'Loughlin has appeal, in fact for them loyalty was not reversed, rather held probably in uncomfortable tension.

Kruger claimed early that should Britain win, '...the price would stagger humanity.'<sup>315</sup> He was correct. The war was not over in a few months, the British did not easily defeat the much smaller Boer forces, the costs were huge, and the outcome virtually met all Boer demands. Imperial expectations of colonial participation were fulfilled, and most Australians enthused about many aspects of the war. That the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* differed in some representations of the war relates primarily to Victoria's more critical Irish-Australian population mass, and clearly to the more military-focussed staff and context of the latter paper.

In the Great War 12 years later, while the former distinction remained, in its early stage, the interplay of additional forces – the prominence of Home Rule, the rationale for imperial participation, and the nature of the war itself – generated more similarities in newspaper approach.

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<sup>314</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 November 1900. The Irish National Federation became the United Irish League for 'international consistency'. See *Southern Cross* of 11 January 1901.

<sup>315</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 December 1900, 1 and 12 January 1901. Kruger's comment (quoted in 'Easy Chair Jottings') was made in an interview with a *New York World* journalist on 12 October 1899, see Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, Abacus, London, 1979, 101.

## Chapter Four

### Irish-Australian Loyalty and Identity in World War One?

August 1914 to April 1916.

*The trinity of Australia, Empire and Home Rule Ireland was the holy totality advanced at the monster [Home Rule] meeting...in June 1914...*<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will demonstrate the ways that Irish-Australian imperial loyalty was reflected in the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* during the first years of the Great War. O'Farrell's religious allusion quoted above, summarising mid-1914 Irish-Australian sentiment, certainly described the early months. Following the loyalty tests of the Anglo-Boer War, the intervening years reflected apparent acceptance of Irish-Australian allegiance, symbolised by the attendance of the Governor-General at two Melbourne St Patrick's Day functions.<sup>2</sup> In 1909, Hugh Mahon MHR presented a loyal address to Lord Dudley from Australia's Irish citizens.<sup>3</sup> At Melbourne's 1916 St Patrick's Day banquet, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson applauded Irish bravery and contribution to the work of the war, 'especially by members of the Irish race'. He argued both had been 'to the great advantage of the Empire'.<sup>4</sup>

Most first and second generation Irish-Australians showed explicit loyalty to the British Empire. As indicated earlier, a continuum of public loyalty display was observable.<sup>5</sup> Former '*Cross*' editor, J.V. O'Loughlin, epitomised such behaviour in supporting the monarchy, attending official functions, and more overtly, enlisting in the imperial forces. But like most

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<sup>1</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>3</sup> See *Advocate*, 27 March 1909. The Earl of Dudley, a former Irish Viceroy, was Governor-General from November 1908 to July 1911.

<sup>4</sup> *Advocate*, 25 March 1916. Munro-Ferguson was Governor-General from May 1914 to October 1920.

<sup>5</sup> See 4 above.

Irish-Australians he was critical of British policies towards Ireland. The earlier comment from Anne Liddy's father, that Ireland's oppression was in the past, 'and we're very well off here under British rule', probably summarised general attitudes, particularly from second generation members. But in 1914 war made additional demands on all Irish-Australians, and imperial loyalty was both required by the wider Australian community, and in this phase, largely unqualified in its expression. From the extensive and – for the most part – previously unexamined weekly treasuries of '*Cross*' and *Advocate* 'exchanges', editorial opinion, local items, and correspondence, the chapter will provide examples of Irish-Australian responses between August 1914 and April 1916. It will establish the ways the war impacted on Irish-Australian identity, both as perceived by Irish-Australians themselves, and more broadly by the predominantly Anglo community.

By 1914 the *Southern Cross* had a new editor,<sup>6</sup> F.M. Koerner, who was of Irish-German heritage;<sup>7</sup> his German background provoked personal and general attacks on the newspaper in 1916.<sup>8</sup> The *Advocate* editor was probably T.C. Brennan.<sup>9</sup> As well as documenting Irish-Catholic imperial loyalty, these newspapers informed readers about Ireland's response to the war. For Ireland, and many in diaspora communities, the conflict in Europe was connected to the previous South African war by one important thread. The pivotal issue was identical: a small nation facing the military might of a bullying enemy. But in 1914, the symmetry was positive – Belgium was Catholic and Britain not the aggressor. With Ireland apparently on the cusp of Home Rule in mid-1914, Irish war support seemed destined to advance progress. Such impressions proved tragically illusory.

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<sup>6</sup> Denny retired as editor in 1903, he was completing his Law degree and from 1900 was an MP. See *Southern Cross* of 5 May 1903 for details of Koerner's appointment.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C for Koerner's details.

<sup>8</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 24 November 1916.

<sup>9</sup> Rachel Naughton, (Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission Archivist), Pers Comm 13 June 2013. Certainty about the editor after Gunson's 1901 death has not proved possible.

The bulk of O'Farrell's discussion about Australia's Irish and the war comes in a chapter titled 'Rebels'. No doubt a useful rhetorical device, this nevertheless delimits his discussion within the themes of conscription, extremism and disloyalty.<sup>10</sup> This approach bypasses much of what happened off the national stage. Although other historians have utilised the Irish-Catholic press to identify issues associated with the war, this research differs in its examination of the total sequence of both newspapers between 1914 and 1918.

A thematic examination of the war revolving around central issues of loyalty and identity pinpoints multiple layers of impact for Irish-Australians – specific domestic issues, local responses to Irish issues, and those which reflect the war's transnational context. Within the domestic aspects discussed here, the '*Cross*' and the *Advocate* performed crucial roles in describing and interpreting war details for readers, thus an understanding of their responses and wartime framework represents important background. Their focus, for example, on the Gallipoli campaign, provides evidence of different responses. Active military participation from *Cross*' directors added unique wartime insights while echoing something of the different editorial positions adopted during the Anglo-Boer War. Both publications facilitated the dissemination of prominent individuals' views about the war and Ireland; this encouraged access (and possibly understanding) for many Irish-Australians in ways that increasingly differentiated them from the general community. Looking at three of the many domestic aspects – examples of specific Irish-Australian responses, claims about Masonic influences in the army, and hints of transgression – suggests a more complex early wartime environment than has previously been understood.

This research has also identified four transnational themes critical throughout the war, but emerging as dominant (sometimes interconnected) in this first phase. Most embodied

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<sup>10</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 252-88, especially 254-79.

further issues: the Anglo-Boer War, Home Rule, 'small nations', and issues relating to Irish bravery and participation. The Anglo-Boer War cast a long shadow, understandably visible in early commentary, but in turn fading and then becoming more pronounced as the conflict extended. That war's successful settlement, subsequent Boer imperial loyalty and responses to disloyalty, formed an increasingly telling contrast with Ireland. The Home Rule question stalked Ireland and Irish-Australians; the proximity of its enactment in July 1914 circumscribed diaspora responses to the war. German actions against Catholic Belgium not only justified Britain's war participation<sup>11</sup> but, as will be shown, quickly crystallised around the rights of other 'small nations'. Irish valour and participation rates were associated with Ireland's demonstration of imperial loyalty, assumptions of equality, and expectations of justice. Participation rates became hotly contested issues in both Ireland and Australia, issues which later converged easily within the more divisive conscription debate.

For both generations of Irish-Australians, these themes had local and Irish resonance. The South African background informed early comment; excitement about Home Rule coloured the years. Concerns about the fate of Belgian Catholics were immediate, but became attached to longer-term concerns about 'small nation' rights. Others – bravery, loyalty, and official attitudes towards Irish soldiers, developed more explicit domestic associations as the war progressed. This imperial war confronted Australia as never before; in the context of these demands, Irish-Australians relied on their newspapers to translate the war for them.

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<sup>11</sup> See Wilson, *The Myriad Faces*, 25, 30-34 and 35-6 for discussion of the 1839 Treaty of London (co-signed by France and Prussia) guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. Germany's invasion of Belgium removed British hesitation about entering the war.

The ongoing importance of the Anglo-Boer War, the most recent imperial conflict and Australia's first war, was reflected in many newspaper prompts and perspectives as the war began in 1914. For example, the apparently chance item in Adelaide's daily *Register* of 5 August describing the dedication of a £16,000 monument at Bloemfontein to the 26,370 women and children who died in British concentration camps, was a timely reminder of the conflict's casualties.<sup>12</sup> In the Irish-Catholic press, material related variously to concern about press exaggeration and unreliability,<sup>13</sup> allegation of Irish soldier use as 'shock' troops,<sup>14</sup> the contrast between 1899 and Ireland's 1914 unconditional imperial support,<sup>15</sup> Archbishop O'Reily's earlier strong support,<sup>16</sup> and the potential for wartime fraud.<sup>17</sup> Both the limited nature of the previous conflict and Britain's treatment of its Boer foe in the aftermath constructed false expectations among Irish-Australians in 1914, which mirrored attitudes in society and within the military. Some did have more accurate expectations, for example, in Melbourne a witness to enthusiastically marching volunteers understood that '[t]he South African War would be a picnic compared with what is awaiting the Allies in Europe'.<sup>18</sup>

References to the previous war continued to pepper *Advocate* items (perhaps a replay of its earlier anti-war stance), reinforcing its retrospective significance for some Irish-Australians. When Frank Brennan MHR married Lloyd George's famous objection to the Anglo-Boer conflict<sup>19</sup> and his denunciation of German aggression, his précis of the 'small nation' logic

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<sup>12</sup> The item, 'Boers and Britons: A Remarkable Monument,' included a photograph and a lengthy description of the ceremony attended by 20,000; it was written by 'An Australian'.

<sup>13</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 August 1914.

<sup>14</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 October 1914.

<sup>15</sup> *Advocate*, 6 March 1915.

<sup>16</sup> *Advocate*, 5 June 1915.

<sup>17</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 July 1915.

<sup>18</sup> *Advocate*, 3 October 1914. ('Easy Chair Jottings').

<sup>19</sup> See Hattersley, *David Lloyd George*, 122 for reference to his 'there are no circumstances which would justify us fighting' speech of 1899. See Appendix C for Lloyd George's details.

was eloquent. 'If Lloyd George was right...in advocating the cause of the oppressed Belgians, he was equally right in claiming immunity from outside interference for the Boer Republics'.<sup>20</sup> William Redmond's justification of Irish support for the war not only made a transnational link to Canadian and Australian parliaments passing Home Rule resolutions,<sup>21</sup> 'reinforcing kindred all over the Empire', but went further by contrasting these wars.

The Irish people have often had to suffer for saying what they believed in, as in the case of the Boer War, which they believed to be unjust....[But] in this war they are fully with the Allied Powers...and ...in the tradition of the Irish nation...freedom for small peoples.<sup>22</sup>

John Redmond's congratulatory telegram to former Boer General Botha<sup>23</sup> after his capture of German South West Africa had similar themes. He not only linked the victory to the 'National Right deserved Empire-wide', but he emphasised 'the ties which have existed in the past between South Africa and Ireland...'.<sup>24</sup> For many Irish-Australians, accessing views from esteemed and familiar Irishmen like the Redmonds, provided strong endorsement for Irish participation.<sup>25</sup> This pattern of relying on their recommendation featured strongly in Irish-Catholic press war coverage.

As a 'former Boer General heading Imperial forces', Botha's loyalty later subtly predicted the possible outline of a future relationship between Ireland and England.<sup>26</sup> Home Rule was an unstated expectation within such allusions because Boer independence followed the war. The Anglo-Boer War thus encoded multiple dimensions for many Irish-Australians: Australian participation in and Irish opposition to an imperial conflict, the Boer loyalty towards Empire which resulted from their defeat, and anticipation of Ireland's reward for supporting Britain in 1914.

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<sup>20</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 February 1915. See Appendix C for details about Frank Brennan.

<sup>21</sup> This had happened 5 times in Canada between 1882 and 1903, while in Australia votes were in 1905 and 1914.

<sup>22</sup> *Advocate*, 6 March 1915.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix C for details about Botha.

<sup>24</sup> *Advocate*, 9 October 1915.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix A for details of Redmond visits to Australia.

<sup>26</sup> *Advocate*, 3 February 1916.



## *Home Rule*

The second transnational thread, expectation of Home Rule, also evoked a powerful Irish-Australian sense of inclusion. As indicated in Chapter Two, the successive Irish parliamentary visitors and extensive local donations to the Irish cause located the Australian diaspora community close to the centre of the struggle, reflecting strong Irish identification. This participation was acknowledged by Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) leadership. In declining the Adelaide Hibernian's invitation to attend their Annual Outing in January 1914, William Redmond declared that '[w]hen Home Rule is won...it will be largely the result of the generous and patriotic actions of the Hibernians of Australia and every part of the world'.<sup>27</sup> Home Rule excitement coloured 1914, functioning as the prism through which Ireland's imperial loyalty became visible. That the *Advocate* would dedicate a weekly page to its progress throughout 1913 demonstrated centrality as well as local conviction.<sup>28</sup> In 1914 Melbourne and Adelaide held huge meetings,<sup>29</sup> the United Irish League (UIL) appointed delegates to attend Ireland's first parliament,<sup>30</sup> and cable items identified final parliamentary steps.<sup>31</sup> But when Irish-Australians read 'exchanges' detailing eventual legislative triumph the ground had shifted in Europe. Not only had the force of Ulster's opposition been revealed (in particular Carson's malevolence),<sup>32</sup> but wartime exigencies had produced a negotiated delay.<sup>33</sup> June's jubilant accounts of the Bill being

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<sup>27</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 January 1914.

<sup>28</sup> *Advocate*, 4 January 1913, 'Home Rule Campaign'.

<sup>29</sup> *Advocate*, 9 May. 8 pages described Victoria's gathering, with speeches fully reported. 40,000 attended what O'Loughlin (mover of the first motion) categorised as 'the greatest political meeting ever held in the Southern hemisphere', *Southern Cross*, 8 May. 10,000 attended Adelaide's Home Rule Rally. The 5 June edition included (unusually) photos of English and Irish politicians and all speeches. See O'Farrell *The Irish in Australia*, 251 for rather dismissive reference to 1914 meetings: he reduces Melbourne's figures to 25,000, ignores Adelaide, and refers only to Sydney's 'monster meeting'.

<sup>30</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 January 1914 for O'Donnell's appointment as Melbourne delegate and the establishment of a Delegates Fund; by 11 July this reached almost £350. In Adelaide UIL President Patrick Healy's planned European visit would enable his observation of the Westminster triumph. See *Southern Cross*, 16 January and 24 July 1914.

<sup>31</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9, 16 (whole page account), 23, 30 January, May 1, 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1914.

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix C for details about Carson.

<sup>33</sup> *Advocate*, 19 September 1914.

conveyed to Lords were read (in ‘exchanges’) after war’s declaration.<sup>34</sup> Items recounted Liberal MPs shouting ‘God Save Ireland’ in the Commons, IPP members responding with ‘God Save England’.<sup>35</sup> Placing Home Rule on the Statute Book in September 1914 took Redmond’s Ireland into war in support of Britain.<sup>36</sup> (Figures 25 and 26) Few Irish-Australians grasped then that war had undermined any guarantee of Home Rule, and while Redmond’s unconditional generosity presumed Home Rule’s implementation, English assurances were always qualified by Ulster, and Ireland represented a low priority within the wider conflict.<sup>37</sup> Their newspapers proved unable to read the signs.



Figure 25. Cartoon from *Advocate*, 23 August 1914



Figure 26. News Item from *Advocate*, 26 September 1914

<sup>34</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 September 1914. (Currente Calamo). Irish MPs sang ‘God Save Ireland’ and ‘A Nation Once Again’ as they walked in ceremony; see Appendix D for words of both.

<sup>35</sup> *Advocate*, 25 September 1914.

<sup>36</sup> See David G Boyce, ‘British Opinion, Ireland, and the War, 1916-1918’ in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1974, 577 for Unionist resentment of this ‘limited concession’.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 578.

However, Irish-Australians rejoiced at the Statute Book achievement. Joseph Winter cabled congratulations,<sup>38</sup> the news ‘was a general topic of conversation amongst the Catholic people after Mass on Sunday’.<sup>39</sup> Both newspaper editors shared in their community’s delight: Melbourne reports included celebrations at the Celtic Club, and a Shamrock Club Smoke Social.<sup>40</sup> But in Adelaide, there was greater restraint in response to ‘mourning for victims and martyrs in a just war’.<sup>41</sup> Despite editors accessing many different ‘exchanges’ short term exhilaration seemed their most powerful response.

Thus in 1915 most Irish-Australians seemed to believe in the *‘quid pro quo’* – that Home Rule would inevitably follow Irish war support. At the same time Irish ‘exchanges’ revealed clues about Britain’s treatment of Irish volunteers. A close focus on one early 1915 issue of both newspapers shows Irish disquiet. The *‘Cross’* of 15 January included details of Irish soldiers being prohibited from saluting their flag, an item about contested Catholic enlistment figures, an account of loud anti-Catholic songs being played adjacent to recruiting centres, the inadequacy of chaplain numbers, and the stark contrast between War Office compliance with Unionist requests and ‘tardy’ responses to Nationalist appeals.<sup>42</sup> On 16 January the *Advocate* featured Irish recruiting statistics in comparison with other imperial participation levels, also published the flag and chaplain issues, reported the musical provocation to deter recruiting, and the partisan War Office actions.<sup>43</sup> Despite early evidence that Ireland was experiencing discriminatory treatment, these details were neither

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<sup>38</sup> *Advocate*, 19 September 1914. He concluded with ‘I say with you, God Save Ireland’, See *Advocate* of 26 September, 3 and 10 October for Winter’s ‘Recollections of the Struggle for Home Rule in the Early Days of Victoria’ to reinforce the event’s significance.

<sup>39</sup> *Advocate*, 26 September 1914.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, See Appendix F for details of Celtic and Shamrock Clubs. See issue of 7 November 1914 for Frank Brennan’s claim the latter ‘fostered and encouraged by every means in its power the cause of Home Rule’.

<sup>41</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 October 1914. O’Donnell sent a telegram urging victory celebrations be sensitive, advice seemingly followed more in Adelaide than Melbourne.

<sup>42</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 January 1915. (‘Irish News’ dated 20 November 1914).

<sup>43</sup> *Advocate*, 16 January 1915.

integrated nor elucidated for Irish-Australians, their imperial loyalty remained strong, and expectations for Ireland seemed unchanged.

In January 1915 Koerner used a *Catholic Times* ‘exchange’ from November 1914 alleging War Office and Unionist cooperation. Suggesting that Unionists ‘might be hatching a plot against Home Rule’, their intention was to ‘minimise the general appreciation of what Ireland is doing ...’.<sup>44</sup> The articulation of such a theory indicates strong disquiet and distrust of English actions. Equally, it justified the resolve of Irish leadership to ensure their policy of war support was not undermined by evidence of Irish disloyalty. The example highlights the difficulty for Irish-Australian editors and readers; generally fixated on Home Rule, even when they correctly identified risk factors, their distance and the nature of the news in-flow limited their capacity to grasp the total equation.

*Advocate* correspondence, however, revealed limited early repudiation of Redmond’s war commitment. The final ‘Spirit of Ireland’ letter in January 1915 closed a month long debate mainly between UIL stalwart, Morgan Peter Jageurs,<sup>45</sup> and second generation Irish-Australian, Fodhla Quilligan. She took exception to his claim that Redmond represented Ireland,<sup>46</sup> arguing that ‘the young men of ...today are not content with Ireland becoming a province of England’.<sup>47</sup> Patronisingly discounting her generation position and never visiting Ireland,<sup>48</sup> Jageurs dismissed her as misguided and ill-informed, inferring an association with first generation Irishman, Protestant academic, Alexander Leeper.<sup>49</sup> She disputed his

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<sup>44</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 January 1915.

<sup>45</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 January 1914 for description of Jageurs ‘as an authority on the Irish question [who] enjoys a high reputation’. See also Appendix C for details of his life..

<sup>46</sup> *Advocate*, 12 December 1914.

<sup>47</sup> *Advocate*, 19 December 1914.

<sup>48</sup> Jageurs’ family emigrated when he was 3; he visited Ireland in 1890 and 1901.

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix C for biographical details of Leeper.

assertions,<sup>50</sup> but Jageurs was given the last word: ‘I am too familiar with the opinions of certain Sinn Fein leaders of a decadent Melbourne organisation of which she was secretary’.<sup>51</sup> This important interchange documents early rejection in some quarters of Redmond nationalism and, by implication, his imperialism, and it highlighted alternative perspectives about Ireland, and local contestation of issues. Polarisation of Irish-Australian views before 1915 indicated challenges to the old guard of Irish nationalism

However there was little other evidence of criticism of Redmond in 1915; indeed Dr Nicholas O’Donnell and Jageurs (of different generations) consistently applauded his Home Rule achievements.<sup>52</sup> Their experience and status endowed them with a privileged newspaper voice, ensuring (most) readers were guided by their analysis.<sup>53</sup> In January, O’Donnell’s address to the UIL’s 15<sup>th</sup> annual excursion focussed mainly on Home Rule’s 1914 progress, denigrating Carson’s opposition. Acknowledging Senate support of Home Rule in 1905 and 1914, he hailed ‘the spectacle of Catholics and Protestants standing shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Empire’. Balancing this apparent optimism, the transgressive anthem ‘God Save Ireland’ featured on the return trip.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *Advocate*, 9 January 1915. This letter refers to a previously published item but illegibility of late 1914 *Advocate* pages prevented its location.

<sup>51</sup> *Advocate*, 16 January 1915. See Noone, *Hidden Ireland*, 110-2 for discussion of the Gaelic League founded in 1912 and Fodhla’s subsequent history; in 1916 she married Frank McKeown a republican activist, one of the 7 IRB members interned in 1918.

<sup>52</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 January 1914 for report of O’Donnell’s topic at a UIL meeting, ‘The Coming Irish Parliament’. See issue of 8 May 1915 for his letter from Brisbane, where his comments about the anniversary of Melbourne’s Home Rule Demonstration compared local Irishmen favourably with Brisbane counterparts.

<sup>53</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 October 1915 for report of Jageurs’ Celtic Club address, ‘The Irish Flag – Something of its History’.

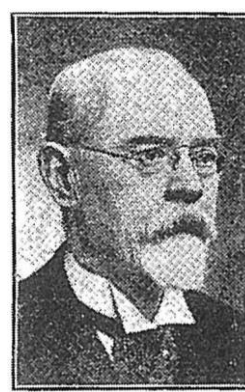
<sup>54</sup> *Advocate*, 6 February 1915. The excursion was held at Mornington, outside Melbourne and participants typically travelled by boat. See 142, 146, 168 and 169 above for references to ‘God Save Ireland’.



**Figure 27.** Nicholas O'Donnell (1862-1920), Victorian UIL President



**Figure 28.** M.P. Jageurs (1862-1932), Victorian UIL figure



**Figure 29.** Patrick Healy (1846-1920), South Australian UIL President

Redmond's achievements notwithstanding, the editors recognised opposition in Ireland. An *Advocate* editorial argued that 'the forces arrayed against [Home Rule] were unique in composition, formidable in power, and unscrupulous in method'.<sup>55</sup> When UIL branches communicated their 'satisfaction' with the Home Rule bill and supported Redmond's 'patriotic action in the war crisis', this demonstrated general Irish-Australian support.<sup>56</sup> Although Adelaide's resolution acknowledged harassment from 'Sinn Feiners and other factionist bodies', local UIL President, Patrick Healy, (Figure 29) back from visiting Ireland, confirmed 'all the prominent men and representative bodies' were behind Redmond.<sup>57</sup> In uncertain times, and at great distance from Ireland, personal testimony carried weight. Thus newspaper evidence of resistance to Redmond in Ireland and persistent War Office hurdles were largely dismissed amidst conviction about Home Rule.<sup>58</sup> For example, speeches at Adelaide's 1915 St Patrick's Day luncheon celebrated Home Rule (noting its war-related delay), and Ireland's wartime loyalty.<sup>59</sup> A photo of Australia's delegates to the Irish parliament and regular Subscription Lists for the O'Donnell Fund

<sup>55</sup> *Advocate*, 13 March 1915. The editorial was titled 'A Lesson for the Timid'.

<sup>56</sup> *Advocate*, 16 January 1915. The item referred to 'the Sinn Fein group of irreconcilables'.

<sup>57</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 January 1915.

<sup>58</sup> See *Advocate* of 10 April 1915 for cables headed 'Nationalist's Hope' giving Redmond and Dillon's views about Home Rule, probably confirming for most readers that all was well.

<sup>59</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1915.

implied unquestioning Victorian confidence.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile ‘exchanges’ regularly raised questions about Home Rule’s safety linked to English politics and ‘the chill about Ireland at the War Office’.<sup>61</sup> O’Farrell’s characterisation of ‘Nationalist Establishment figures like O’Donnell and Jageurs as ‘dismissive and abusive...[and demonstrating] simplistic orthodoxy’ seems appropriate,<sup>62</sup> and the latter applies more broadly. (Figures 27 and 28)

Figure 30 demonstrates that the diaspora was a deliberate focus of the large *Advocate* St Patrick’s Day issue in 1915, and its incorporation of Newman’s prophecy – ‘A Vision of Ireland’s Future’ – reflects persistent optimism about Ireland’s future.

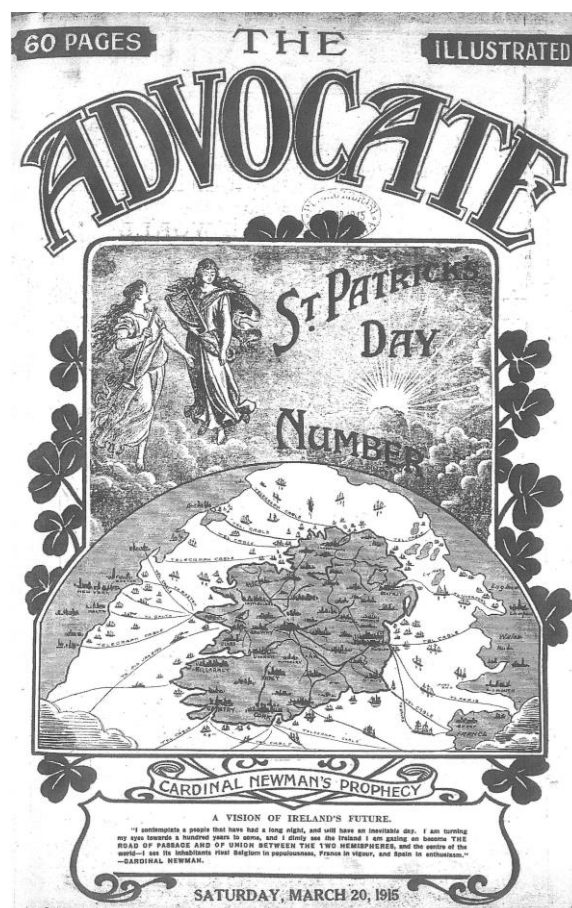


Figure 30. St Patrick’s Day Cover, *Advocate*, 20 March 1915

<sup>60</sup> *Advocate*, 20 March 1915. The others were F McDonnell (Queensland), JW Ryan (Victorian HACBS) and Dr CW McCarthy (NSW). The fund stood at £585.17.10 on 18 May.

<sup>61</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 April 1915, for *Catholic Times* reference to ‘Is Home Rule Safe?’.

<sup>62</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 250-1.

But by mid-1915 there were clear signals that Home Rule was in danger.<sup>63</sup> Despite their recognition that the May Coalition Cabinet included ‘venomous anti-Ireland politicians’,<sup>64</sup> the newspapers offered reassurance from the trusted Westminster MP, Joseph Devlin which carried more local weight.<sup>65</sup> Devlin’s description of Home Rule as a ‘solemn treaty’ and more binding than the ‘scrap of paper’ sending Britain to war, outweighed hazards from disloyal Unionists ‘who went within an ace of creating civil war in Ireland and mutiny in the Army’.<sup>66</sup> However by September Koerner’s editorial reflected both greater insight about the Irish situation and incorporated some implied criticism of IPP leadership; he cited disparaging and ‘alarmed’ comments about Redmond, but minimised their impact. The editorial titled ‘Ireland, Home Rule and the War’ twice referred to ‘uneasiness’ about implementation and wariness about Carson’s prominence, and explored critical and negative comments about Redmond.

[W]e don’t remember that we ever said a harsh word against [him]...it is not his fault that he is not a Parnell....The situation that the great war precipitated was too big for him....There is nothing but to grin and bear it and do the best we can.

Koerner’s conclusion attempted reassurance, emphasising Irish unity and strategically linking this to a local UIL appeal to the state’s Irishmen ‘for their sympathy and support’.<sup>67</sup> His level of pessimism was significant: although alert to leadership flaws six months before the Rising, waiting was the only course available to Irish-Australians.

A further speech from Devlin stressed Ireland was ‘always...on the side of the oppressed and struggling nationalities’, and opined her ‘attitude to the war has made Home Rule

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<sup>63</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 June 1915. Koerner’s editorial quoted the *Belfast Weekly*’s ‘profound distrust...of any government in which Carson and his supporters have a part’.

<sup>64</sup> *Advocate*, 24 July 1915. See also *Advocate* of 29 May, 3 June (Editorials), 19 June (‘Prominent Topics’) and 17 July 1915 (‘Our London Letter’ of 29 May) for earlier mention.

<sup>65</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 July 1915, when ‘Our old friend Joe Devlin’ was listed in an Irish delegation to the French President. See Appendices A for IPP visits and C for Devlin’s life..

<sup>66</sup> *Advocate*, 24 July 1915. This item was based on a Dublin *Freeman’s Journal* ‘exchange’.

<sup>67</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 September, 1915. Dublin’s *Leader* provided the negative assessment; referred to as ‘an Irish-Ireland paper [which] does not put much faith in politics and politicians,’ New York *World* and the Liverpool *Catholic Times* were also named.



doubly sure'.<sup>68</sup> This kind of ongoing optimism from known figures close to the action probably outweighed apprehension from most Irish-Australians. Editorial optimism in the *Advocate* about shared Irish war deaths changing 'opposition to Home Rule in Northern Ireland', neatly illustrated the way 'evidence' from the war could sustain Irish-Australian expectations.<sup>69</sup>

The outspoken Ulster opposition to Home Rule which intensified after Carson's October resignation from cabinet was reported in both newspapers. But his guarantees that Ulster's Covenant would be enacted to 'the very end' still failed to arouse local alarm.<sup>70</sup> In Melbourne where expressions of sadness from prominent Irish-Australians followed the death of Joseph Winter in December 1915, the tributes provided reminders about the longevity of local Home Rule support, doubtless reinforcing certainty.<sup>71</sup> Winter's fundraising and support for Irish delegates enshrined his educative role.<sup>72</sup> So the *Advocate's* publication of former envoys, Joseph Devlin and J.T. Donovan, presenting a 'Record of the Irish Party' to an October IPP gathering, helped reinforce the fiction of Home Rule security late in 1915.<sup>73</sup>

Even in mid-April 1916 O'Donnell remained convinced that Home Rule was 'absolutely safe', despite acknowledging 'what the irreconcilables may say to the contrary'.<sup>74</sup> The '*Cross*' discussion about its inevitability was largely confined to brief 'Irish News' items from 'exchanges'.<sup>75</sup> Lengthier exceptions to these small pieces also appeared: for example

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<sup>68</sup> *Advocate*, 16 October 1915.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, ('Prominent Topics').

<sup>70</sup> *Advocate*, 20 November 1915. See issue of 18 December for 'Our London Letter' of 29 October describing Carson's 'lame, halting and obviously insincere explanation of the reasons which prompted his resignation'.

<sup>71</sup> See *Advocate* of 11, 18 December 1915, 1, 8 and 15 January 1916.

<sup>72</sup> See above 186, fn.38 for reference to Winter's 3 articles about Home Rule in Australia.

<sup>73</sup> *Advocate*, 18 December 1915. See Appendix A for details of the visits. Donovan visited twice – 1906 and 1911-12. These tours raised over £40,000.

<sup>74</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 April 1916.

<sup>75</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 January (dated 1 December), 25 February (dated 30 December)

Dillon's 'Masterly Review of the Position'.<sup>76</sup> On St Patrick's Day the *Advocate* published 'The Magic of Freedom', contrasting 1916 with Gladstone's 1886 attempt.<sup>77</sup> Thus Home Rule as the assured prize for Irish participation continued to hearten and motivate many first and second generation Irish-Australians. In the face of contradictory evidence, the word of Irishmen, familiar through IPP visits, was generally accorded greatest weight.

### *'Small Nations'*

The third transnational theme, the 'small nation' issue, connected the invasion of Belgium to the outbreak of war. It relates closely to Irish participation and Irish-Australian attitudes to the war, and to the promise of Home Rule.

Irish-Australians were quickly presented with transnational issues of 'small nation' rights. An *Advocate* editorial ('Home Rule and Poland') focussed on the Czar's promise 'to restore the ancient Kingdom of Poland', thus presenting a transparent analogy for Ireland.<sup>78</sup> The '*Cross*' angle was explicit: how would the war affect Ireland's rights?<sup>79</sup> Both newspapers reported Archbishop Mannix's views: his linkage of war to British failure to deal more strongly with 'the trouble that had recently risen in Ireland', and suggestion that belligerent preparedness enabled action when 'there was danger of civil war at the heart of the Empire'. Thus the war's outbreak was instantly associated with English policy towards Ireland.<sup>80</sup> German aggression towards Catholic Belgium, and Australia's imperial allegiance both guaranteed support from most Irish-Australians for the war.

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<sup>76</sup> *Advocate*, 8 January, *Southern Cross*, 21 January 1916 (The speech was on 1 November at the UIL Armagh County Convention).

<sup>77</sup> *Advocate*, 18 March 1916.

<sup>78</sup> *Advocate*, 22 August 1914. Summarising Poland's history and various partitions but emphasising that the 'spirit of nationality in Polish hearts' was not extinguished made the link clear, Ireland was mentioned briefly. An editorial of 14 August 1915 returned to this, suggesting it was near for Poland but arguing for Ireland's stronger right given 'her constitution was conceded from a sense of justice and before the war'.

<sup>79</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 August 1914.

<sup>80</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 August, *Advocate*, 5 September 1914. Mannix spoke at Brisbane's Catholic Club.

The plight of Belgium and the presence in Adelaide of Fr Edward Le Maitre, a Belgian priest with army experience, yielded great newspaper copy. An early *Register* interview<sup>81</sup> guaranteed his consistent mention<sup>82</sup> as ‘the recognised representative in the State of ‘brave and heroic little Belgium’<sup>83</sup> until his 1915 departure as a military chaplain.<sup>84</sup> The phrase ‘Gallant Little Belgium’ began appearing by mid-September,<sup>85</sup> with pre-war photos of ‘Some Characteristic Scenes’ a week later.<sup>86</sup> The emerging details of the invasion – destruction of cathedrals (‘German vandalism’)<sup>87</sup> – provided Catholic newspapers with an angle sure to engage their readers. Both newspapers published similar accounts and at a comparable rate, although the *Advocate* incorporated more visual material. Within three weeks, the headline of ‘Alleged German Barbarity’ was positioned alongside an interview with Le Maitre in that paper.<sup>88</sup>

A more sober evaluation soon followed: ‘Previous experience of wars has convinced us that not half the things reported in the papers are true’. While recognising exaggeration, the writer also acknowledged ‘ample evidence of acts of vandalism’.<sup>89</sup> Further accounts of destruction,<sup>90</sup> savagery,<sup>91</sup> barbarism,<sup>92</sup> and violation (often unspecified) coloured war stories.

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<sup>81</sup> *Register*, 10 August 1914; titled ‘GERMANY IN BELGIUM. – Anticipated for Years! – Interview with Former Military Professor’, the article explained Le Maitre’s background as a Belgian officer and his views of German strategy and Belgium’s defence. The *Advocate* of 29 August headlined ‘Priest Who has been a Soldier’, included similar material.

<sup>82</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14, 21 August, 11, 18 September, 2, 9, 16, 25 October and 20 November 1914.

<sup>83</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 November 1914.

<sup>84</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 October 1915. At his farewell, mentioning being in Australia for 14 months, and learning to understand the country, he wanted to do something in return.

<sup>85</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 September 1914.

<sup>86</sup> *Advocate*, 22 August 1914.

<sup>87</sup> *Advocate*, 5, 12 September 1914. ‘Belgium’s Beautiful Churches’ provided an important photo montage.

<sup>88</sup> *Advocate*, 4 September 1914. This outlined allegations about Germans in Louvain; on 11 September ‘A Priest’s Story of Horror’ presented details of ‘German Atrocities’, destruction of Rheims Cathedral was described on 25 September.

<sup>89</sup> *Advocate*, 2 October 1914. The next issue contrasted good qualities of Germans alongside those of ‘sensational press correspondents’.

<sup>90</sup> See *Advocate* of 10 and 17 October for extensive coverage of bombardment of Antwerp including headings of ‘Terror-Stricken Fugitives’ and ‘Forced Marches to Ostend’.

<sup>91</sup> *Advocate*, 26 December 1914.

<sup>92</sup> *Advocate*, 19 December 1914. JF Hogan in ‘Our London Letter’ refers to ‘ruthless barbarity and senseless destructiveness’ of Germany in Belgium and France.

The persistence of this pattern reinforced support for the war.<sup>93</sup> Compared to daily papers, which provided a more substantial overview of the war from international, national and local perspectives (consistently using maps and large photographs of prominent military and political/national figures),<sup>94</sup> Church newspaper coverage, unsurprisingly, was preoccupied with the impact of the war on religious institutions, buildings and congregations. Both newspapers made explicit connections between Ireland and the Belgians, for example in early 1915: 'No people would do more to rectify the wrongs inflicted on poor little Belgium than the Irish'.<sup>95</sup>

Figure 31 confirms the range of appeals about Belgium, and the nature of the entreaties; the publication of donor letters (explaining their response) was common practice in many fund-raising campaigns.

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<sup>93</sup> John Horne and Alan Kramer's widely researched account, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2001, describes ferocity of German actions in the context of previous wars, and exaggerated notions of civilian resistance.

<sup>94</sup> See *Register* of 1 August ('The Theatre of Operations'), 3 August ('Is it Armageddon?' with photos of the Czar and Kaiser in opposite corners), 9 August ('Scene of the World Crisis' plus photos of leaders including Australia's Governor-General, filling a page.)

<sup>95</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 February 1915 for quote from Queensland Senator T Givens at Victoria's UIL Excursion.

# Will You Let Them Die?

## Pathetic Appeal of Brave Belgians.

### "The Advocate" SHILLING Fund.

In England the "Tablet" has joined with the "Daily Telegraph" in promoting a shilling fund for the relief of the suffering Belgians. The "Tablet" recognises that the British Empire owes much to Belgian bravery. But also it recognises that the appeal from Belgium should fall with special insistence on the ear of every Catholic.

Many of those who are starving, or are on the verge of starvation, are nuns. Many more are little children, over whom the nuns, true to their glorious calling, have thrown a protecting arm. But unless help comes soon those arms will be powerless to help. In a convent in Louvain sixty-five nuns had charge of 400 homeless children, whose parents are either lost or dead. The nuns bought food, for a time, from the neighbouring farms, but the food is all gone, and now the nuns and the little children are dependent on outside sources, not for comfort—that is out of the question—but for life itself!

#### WILL YOU LET THEM DIE?

And that is the story all over Belgium. Over 7,000,000 people must be fed, and there are 2,500,000 whose lives can only be saved by prompt help from outside. Remember, there is no such thing as rich and poor in Belgium to-day. There may be families that were wealthy before the war, and they may even be wealthy when the war is over. Their wealth avails them nothing to-day, for they are in Belgium and unable to get out, and

#### THERE IS NO FOOD LEFT IN BELGIUM.

All the Bishops in England have written to the "Tablet" commending the shilling fund to the people as a means of discharging our debt of honour to Belgium. The Archbishop of Melbourne, when he heard that "The Advocate" was opening a shilling fund, immediately sent 200 shillings to it. The appeal is now sent out broadcast, and especially, as far as "The Advocate" is concerned, to Catholics. Fr. Plater, S.J., in an appeal in the "Tablet," says:—We must give all it hurts us which is the proper way to give. But give at once. Do not say, "Poor dears, I must see what can be done." Give as Belgium has given to you—give with your eyes on the crucifix. Every day makes a difference. Children are crying for bread now. Can you eat and sleep complacently with their voices in your ears?

We know that Catholics have many calls on them at all times, and just now in particular. But the point about this call is that it must be answered promptly, or the lips of the Belgian mothers and children who send it forth may be sealed for ever in death. This is a shilling fund. Could not some active workers in each church centre get together a number of names of those who would contribute a shilling a week for a few months? Don't take the priest's shilling of the nun's shilling—let it be your own. Otherwise you will not be giving "until it hurts." You say each morning the

"Our Father," and pray for your "daily bread"—pray sometimes in a perfunctory way. But the prayer of the Belgians for their daily bread is being uttered from the heart's core, and you can assume, for the time, the God-like function of an answerer. Remember that, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto these the least of all My creatures ye did it unto Me."

So, send your shillings at once to swell "The Advocate" fund, and get your friends to send theirs. The very shilling that you send may save a life.

## The Advocate Shilling Fund.

	Shillings.
His Grace the Archbishop	200
Proprietors of "The Advocate"	200
Mr. Frank Brennan, M.H.R.	12
Mr. B. P. Mackey	12
Messrs. S. Walsh and Sons	40
Moonee Ponds	21
Mr. G. Gibbons, Warragul	21
T. C. Brennan	20
Mr. Dan White (monthly)	20
Mr. Thomas Delahanty, Moonee Ponds	20
Mr. John Gullivan, Albert Park	20
Mr. Matthew Cody, Kew	20
Mrs. P. O'Brien, Newport	20
Miss M. O'Brien, Newport	20
C. M. Ascot Vale (monthly)	20
St. Brendan's School Children, Flemington (weekly)	20
Miss Laura Brennan	10
R. A. D.	10
Mr. Herbert Cooney, East Melbourne	10
Miss Mary Cooney, East Melbourne	10
Mr. John Gullivan, Albert Park	10
T. W.	5
O. D.	5
Mrs. C. Goldie, Sale	5
W. B.	5
K. P. and M. B.	5
H. and K. K.	5
Miss Hamilton, Tourak	5
John O'Donnell, Lauriston	5
Mr. O'Sullivan, 207 Station-st.	5
Carlton	5
Mrs. O'Sullivan, 207 Station-st.	5
Carlton	5
Mrs. O'Sullivan, 207 Station-st.	5
Carlton	5
Frank and Joe Kevin	3
Mrs. Sullivan, Collingwood	3
Mrs. Sullivan, Collingwood	3
Mrs. Sullivan, Collingwood	3
Palace (monthly)	3
Mr. E. Forrestall, Hawthorn (monthly)	3
Emma O'Sullivan, 207 Station-st.	2 1/2
Carlton	2 1/2
Agnes O'Sullivan, 207 Station-st.	2 1/2
Carlton	2 1/2
Mr. J. McCabe	2
Mr. B. Riley	2
Mr. J. Smith	2
Miss S. O'Connor, Seymour	2
D. K.	2
D. W.	1
Mr. Lyons	1
"A Friend"	1
L. E.	1
"A Friend," Waitohia (monthly)	1
Per Aunt Patsy, Mrs. Manly, Middle Park, 2 1/2	1
South Melbourne, 2 1/2	1
Loughnan, East Melbourne, 2	1
Miss M. Bourke (first instalment), 2	1
Miss Larkins, Carlton	1
Miss Coghlan, Windsor, 1	1
Miss M. Kelleher, Malvern, 1	1
Total (shillings)	324

**SNELL BROS.**  
8007 EMPORIUM  
107 UNION ROAD, ASHLEY VALE  
A Large and Varied Stock of the Best Makes always on hand. Boots made to order. First-class Hand-sewn. Repairing done. Slippers made up.

The following letters have been received—

To the Editor of "The Advocate."  
Dear Sir—I have read in Saturday's issue of "The Advocate" every line of the sorrowful appeal of the chairman of the Belgian relief committee, and how they state that starvation stares them in the face unless the people of Australia and New Zealand make an extraordinary effort to save them from that dire calamity. I am old enough to recollect the horrors of starvation that a section of the poor Irish people went through in that terrible year, and I believe if the Australian people only look at it in that light they will make Herculean efforts to save a brave people from the horrors of famine. I enclose £1, and I will contribute £1 every month while this devastating war lasts, towards the support of this gallant little ill-treated nation. Every Catholic in Australia and New Zealand should contribute at once towards this fund.—Yours faithfully,  
DAN WHITE.  
86 Sturt-street, South Melbourne.  
1/3/1915.

3rd March, 1915.  
Dear Sir—Your special appeal on behalf of the Belgians deserves a hearty response, especially from Catholics. The splendid generosity of people of other denominations to a country distinctive alike in its Catholic piety and its historic institutions across some distance towards stifling the screaming pests who keep on shouting that the results started the war in Cardinal Mercier's pastoral too, we have the incentive of a most striking example of genuine patriotism and courage, evidenced by words that will live for ever. While many of us prefer not to be associated with those whose ideal of loyalty and valour is to systematically abuse those for the time being opposed to us (a fault not unknown in our local affairs) we can all join heartily in your most praiseworthy movement.—Yours truly,  
CHEQUE FOR £12/5.—HANK BRENNAN.

Dear Sir—Please accept enclosed £10 note for the Belgian Relief Fund.  
H. A. G.  
1/3/15.

Warragul, 1/3/15.  
Dear Sir—Please find enclosed cheque for £1/10 for "Advocate" shilling fund, and kindly acknowledge receipt of same, and oblige.—Yours truly,  
OWEN GIBBONS.

Reeves-street, Sale.  
Dear Sir—Please find enclosed postal note for £2 towards "The Advocate" list for the poor Belgians.—(Mrs.) CATHERINE GOLDIE.

"Range View," Mary-st. Kew.  
Dear Sir—Enclosed you will find £1 as a donation towards your shilling fund for the relief of the Belgians. Trusting that you will be successful in this well-deserving cause.—I remain, yours faithfully,  
MATTHEW CODY.

Dear Sir—Enclosed postal note for 3/- monthly donation for the Belgian relief fund.—From E. FORRESTALL.  
Hawthorn, 1/3/15.

Waitohia, February 28, 1915.  
Dear Sir—Please find enclosed one shilling, in stamps, for one week for the brave Belgians, which I will give monthly.—From "A FRIEND."

The sixty-five nuns at the Convent of the Sacred Oblates, about five miles from Louvain, have sheltered and fed for weeks 400 homeless children whose parents are either lost or dead. But at last food failed. Fortunately, delegates of the Commission for Relief were able to supply provisions and save the children and the nuns from starvation.

#### WHAT WILL YE GIVE?

(Belgium: 1915.)

By "Oriel," in the "Argus."

What will ye give to the Newton?—shattered and stricken and scarred?

Where the fields lie black in the terrible track where the path of the Hun was barred.

Bruised at the heel of the foeman, bleeding from out the strife—What will ye give to the nation who's given her very life?

What will ye give to the Women?—dark is the dawn of their day.

Where the empty shell of a tottering spire still points a hero's way.

Oh, the women are waiting and weeping for the men who have given their lives—

Then what will ye give to the women—the women who once were wives?

What will ye give to the Children?—poor little starving ones.

Can't you hear the cry of the children 'mid the pitiless roar of the guns?

Ruined the red-roofed cottage, bowed in their mother's hand.

So what will ye give to the children, who weep for a father dead?

Here in our sea-girt haven, with the oceans that lie between.

War is a ghastly nightmare—do we know what its horrors mean?

But ghastly what! Loosen our purse-strings, and gladly we'll pay our share.

Let them think, since we do not know them, that neither do we care.

For all she has given in flesh and blood we cannot repay in gold.

For the life of a man and the heat of a woman will never be bought and sold.

But the lonely ones are calling, would ye heed their piteous call?

Then give your mite to the Nation—the Nation who's given her all!

#### BELGIAN NUNS' FUND

His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Carr acknowledges the following sums:—  
Per Very Rev. F. Kennedy, Adm. Ballarat:  
Inglewood (per Fr. Howell) £12 0 0  
Casterton (per Fr. Lowham) 19 0 0  
Jarrow Concert (per Fr. Foley) 15 0 0  
Mortlake (per Fr. O'Brien) 7 12 0  
Watchen (per Fr. Barry) 12 14 0  
Fr. Walsh, Crawshaw 1 17 0  
Mrs. Morrison, Ballarat 0 10 0  
Mr. J. Fraser, Ballarat 0 5 0  
135 5 0

Mr. and Mrs. Cleary, North Melbourne 1 0 0  
Mrs. Cahill, East Melbourne 0 10 0  
Dick and Dan Howley (pocket money) 0 10 0  
S. H. V. Nurse 0 10 0  
Infants St. John's School, East Melbourne 0 10 0  
Mrs. M. Coleman 0 10 0  
"Friend," South Melbourne 0 5 0  
"A Friend" (per Fr. Barry, Ballacryva) 0 5 0  
192 10 0

"ADVOCATE" LIST.  
Previously acknowledged: £122 15 0  
Mr. J. H. McGrath, Ascot 1 10 0  
Mr. J. M. Gleason, Tennyson 1 0 0  
H. B. East Malvern 1 0 0  
£125 5 0

For the Liver, Kidneys, and Digestion, the medicine like ANN MACAULAY'S SYRUP. All Chemists, &c.

**Palace Hotel**  
LEONARD STREET, BALLARAT.  
1 minute from railway station.

First-class accommodation for visitors. Hot and Cold Baths. Comfortable Lounges. Moderate Tariffs.  
J. O'CONNOR, Proprietor.

**BROWN'S SHOE STORES** 200 BRIDGE ROAD, HUNTINGDON, and 400 CHAPEL STREET, SOUTH YARRA

Figure 31. Typical Belgian Appeal Page, *Advocate*, 8 March 1915

In response to Prime Minister Asquith's speech of 9 August, which justified British and imperial intervention, the *Advocate* presented a summary of the rationale for Irish-Australians:

We are fighting to vindicate that principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith at the arbitrary will of a strong overmastering power.<sup>96</sup>

'Exchanges' reporting Asquith's visit to Dublin (with Redmond), quoted him saying (with unconscious irony):

[H]e had come to summon Ireland to take her place in the defence of the common cause of the Empire against the tyrannising of weaker nations...How could Ireland with the cry of the smaller nations ringing in its ears, delay to help them in the struggle for freedom.<sup>97</sup>

Had the simplicity of this perspective been enshrined into all British policies towards Ireland, extremism might have been avoided. Herbert Moran, a second generation Irish-Australian doctor from Sydney, visited Dublin at Christmas 1915. Commenting on the impact of 'ravished' Belgium, he described 'the sympathy of parallel suffering', insisting that 'if someone in England had been large enough of vision and great enough of heart [he] could...have bound the Irish by the bond of common purpose.'<sup>98</sup> Reports of a Belgian cardinal joining Redmond in an 'Irish' demonstration in London emphasised the 'small nation' link when the crowd rephrased the powerful opening line from 'God Save Ireland' as 'God Save Belgium'.<sup>99</sup> In 1915 at the Australian Catholic Federation (ACF)<sup>100</sup> annual meeting, Mannix reminded his partisan audience that, as small nations, Belgium and Ireland were both facing opposition.<sup>101</sup> One of Redmond's many restatements<sup>102</sup> about Ireland

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<sup>96</sup> *Advocate*, 15 August 1914. See Appendix C for details about Asquith.

<sup>97</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 October 1914.

<sup>98</sup> Herbert Moran, *Viewless Winds. Being the Recollections and Digressions of an Australian Surgeon*, Peter Davies, London, 1939, 171. See Appendix C for Moran's details.

<sup>99</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 September 1914.

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix E for an overview of this organisation.

<sup>101</sup> *Advocate*, 20 February 1915.

<sup>102</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 April 1915 for Redmond's statement that 'The fate of every small nationality throughout the whole of Europe was at stake'.

‘waging war on behalf of smaller nationalities’, listed other deserving nationalities.<sup>103</sup> The continuing emphasis of this point worked in several ways for most Irish-Australians. For many retaining residual anti-British sentiments, Britain’s willingness to defend a (Catholic) small nation helped offset its history in Ireland. Additionally, when the Empire’s response was framed in the context of rewarding Irish participation with Home Rule, only wholehearted Irish-Australian responses would suffice.

And, alongside Belgium, the emerging plight of other small nations aroused Irish-Australian sympathies, reinforcing their war support. Serbia, the war’s precipitant, persisted as a focus – ‘there is no doubt that the Serbs are in a deplorable condition’<sup>104</sup> – through to 1916.<sup>105</sup> Catholic Poland was an ongoing source of comment.<sup>106</sup> For McMahon Glynn the connection was explicit: ‘Poland is about to come, with Ireland, into her old inheritance of legislative self-government’.<sup>107</sup> And during 1915, the situation faced by Armenians following Ottoman massacres was added to the agenda demanding rights for small nations.<sup>108</sup> Both newspapers reported on the Armenian situation;<sup>109</sup> Archbishop Spence’s (Figure 32) Papers reveal his subsequent sponsorship of fundraising campaigns aimed at alleviating Armenian suffering.<sup>110</sup> Both editors consistently integrated broader examples of ‘small nation’ disadvantage into their justification of Allied war prosecution. This explicitly reinforced Irish-Australian participation and support, while implicitly identifying Ireland’s

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<sup>103</sup> *Advocate*, 21 August 1915. (quoted in ‘Ireland and the War’) Serbia, Poland, Schleswig, Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and the Balkans were all ‘small nations’.

<sup>104</sup> *Advocate*, 27 November 1915.

<sup>105</sup> See *Advocate* of 1, 8, 15, 22 August 1914, 4 March 1916 and *Southern Cross*, 15, 30 May 1915, 31 March 1916.

<sup>106</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 October 1914, 19 March, 30 April, 28 May, 12 November 1915 and 21 April 1916, *Advocate*, 22 August, 5 September and 17 October 1914.

<sup>107</sup> *Advocate*, 28 November, See issue of 5 September 1914, *Southern Cross*, 10 March 1916.

<sup>108</sup> See *Advocate* of 11 September, 23 October and 4 December 1915, *Southern Cross*, 3 and 17 December 1915.

<sup>109</sup> See *Advocate* of 11 September and 23 October, *Southern Cross* of 3, 17 December 1915.

<sup>110</sup> See Vicken Babkenian, ‘A Humanitarian Journey: the Reverend James Edwin Cresswell and the Armenian Relief Fund’ in *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No 37, 2009, 61-75, and ‘An SOS from Beyond Gallipoli: Victoria and the Armenian Relief Movement’ in *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol.81, No 2, 2010, 250-76. See also Archbishop Robert William Spence, Correspondence and Papers, Letters of 10 August, 7 and 18 September 1922, Series 0038, Adelaide Catholic Diocesan Archives (hereafter ACDA).

opportunity to resolve its issues with England. The continual focus on Irish soldiers and Ireland's participation represented another crucial transnational theme for readers, one resonating with the former South Australian Irish Rifle Corps.<sup>111</sup>



**Figure 32.** Archbishop Spence of Adelaide (1860-1934) SLSA B3913

#### *Ireland: Soldier Bravery and Participation Issues*

For the '*Cross*' and *Advocate*, Ireland's war participation was underpinned by the rescue of Catholic countries (Belgium, then France<sup>112</sup> where stalemate soon featured).<sup>113</sup> For many Irish-Australians the role was further bolstered by reports of Irish bravery, an evocation of previous conflicts,<sup>114</sup> and a dominant feature of this fourth transnational thread.<sup>115</sup> Writing to his father, Private R. McGregor stated he had seen 'nothing to match the recklessness and daring of these [Connaught] Rangers'.<sup>116</sup> French and Belgian Catholicism facilitated the

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<sup>111</sup> See above 158-9 for account of 1901 Corps Social where Irish military prestige featured in addresses made by O'Loughlin and Denny. By 1914 the Corps had been disbanded.

<sup>112</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 February 1916 describing Auberive as 'destroyed by German shells'.

<sup>113</sup> *Advocate*, 4, 11, 18 March 1916. Items referred to the German attack at Verdun.

<sup>114</sup> See Chapter Three for references to Irish bravery as a feature of Anglo-Boer war coverage.

<sup>115</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 March 1916 for 'Thrilling Exploits' of 10<sup>th</sup> (Ulster) Division in Serbia.

<sup>116</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 April 1915. Troops arriving to support the Highland Regiment announced themselves by loud singing of 'God Save Ireland'.



focus on Irish bravery evident from early September.<sup>117</sup> Increasingly ‘Irish faith and valour’ were twinned leaving little doubt about Ireland’s unique contribution.<sup>118</sup> In 1915 and 1916 Irish bravery<sup>119</sup> and faith<sup>120</sup> were continually emphasised. Irish VC recipients were highlighted,<sup>121</sup> mirroring their recognition in Ireland, but also promulgating incontrovertible details about Irish imperial generosity.<sup>122</sup> The nature of the *Advocate*’s 1916 St Patrick’s Day edition is evident here.<sup>123</sup> Recognition of military honours was significant for most Irish-Australians within a community valorising its own recipients but where Irish imperial goodwill (especially given previous mistreatment), was not understood. These newspapers’ consistent focus on Irish participation<sup>124</sup> and their refutation of contradictory sources indicated the contestation.<sup>125</sup>

Irish-Australians received early signals that British officials mistrusted Irish soldiers. In November 1914 a lengthy report from Redmond cited ‘official [enlistment] figures’ of 89,000 from Ireland (52,000 Catholic), claiming the addition of diaspora numbers would bring the total near to 140,000.<sup>126</sup> Such emphasis on high enlistment rates,<sup>127</sup> and War

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<sup>117</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 September 1914. See *Advocate* of 5 September for ‘Independent Cable Message’ testifying ‘The Bravery and Self-Sacrifice of Irish Soldiers’.

<sup>118</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 23 October and 18 December, *Advocate* of 17, 24 October, 14, 21 November and 4 December 1914 for a few of many examples.

<sup>119</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 February, 5, 26 March, 1 April 1915, 3 March, 7, 14, 21 April 1916. *Advocate*, 27 March, 3 April, 15 May, 3, 31 July, 7, 28 August, 4 September, 18 December 1915, 26 February, 29 April 1916.

<sup>120</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March, 17, 24 April, 1 May 1915. See *Advocate* of 6 February, 28 August and 4 September 1915 for examples of ‘The European War’ focus on Irish faith.

<sup>121</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 February, 16, 23, 30 April, 7 May 1915 and *Advocate* of 17 (2 pages re royal decoration), 24 April, 1 May, 24 July, 4 September 1915, 5, 19 and 26 February 1916.

<sup>122</sup> See *Advocate* of 30 October 1915 for report of 17 VCs having been awarded to Irishmen.

<sup>123</sup> *Advocate*, 18 March 1916.

<sup>124</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5, 12 February 1915.

<sup>125</sup> *Advocate*, 15 January 1916. ‘Cable News’ quoted Chief Secretary, Augustine Birrell on enlistment figures at Westminster. *Southern Cross* of 7 January 1916 (‘Irish News’ of 10 November) quoted Redmond on figures and anti-conscription. *Southern Cross* of 14 January (quoted Dillon), 31 March of 1916 (Lord Wimbourne to Kitchener in a White Paper).

<sup>126</sup> *Advocate* 23 January 1915. This was a *Freeman’s Journal* ‘exchange’.

<sup>127</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20, 27 November, 11 and 18 December 1914, and *Advocate*, 6 February, 13 March, 29 May, 5 June, and 11 December 1915.

Office barriers<sup>128</sup> contributed to understanding mistrust, albeit from different angles. An early 1915 'exchange' informed '*Cross*' readers that T.P. O'Connor (IPP member),<sup>129</sup> had telegraphed the King about 'a steady campaign ... [aimed at] undermining what Ireland has been doing since the commencement of the war'.<sup>130</sup> Hints that Ulster troops received different treatment<sup>131</sup> added to fears that Irish loyalty, tied to Home Rule, was not being reciprocated. Discovery that an Irish soldier's letter home was altered for publication (key words removed to connect war service to Home Rule), and later, that an Irish bishop's mail had been opened, provoked concerns that such tampering (unofficial and official) showed unacceptable attitudes towards Ireland.<sup>132</sup> Such accounts increasingly accompanied references to the necessity of conscription.<sup>133</sup> Positive reports about Irish leaders at recruiting meetings,<sup>134</sup> deliberate undermining of the voluntary system,<sup>135</sup> and John Dillon's statement about the unacceptability of compulsion in Ireland, found resonance in Australia.<sup>136</sup>

To enforce conscription in this country would lead to a state of things which no respectable man would like to contemplate.... If any such attempt were made...it would be resisted by all the means in [the IPP's] power.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *Advocate*, 7, 14 November, and 'Our London Letter' of 19, 26 December 1914, 27 March 1915, *Southern Cross*, 15, 22 January 1915.

<sup>129</sup> See Appendix C for details about TP O'Connor.

<sup>130</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 January 1915 ('Irish News' of 12 November).

<sup>131</sup> *Advocate*, 23 January, 3, 17 July, 23, 30 October, *Southern Cross*, 1, 16 April 1915.

<sup>132</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 October 1914, and *Advocate* of 18 and 25 March 1916. ('Our London Letter' and 'European Intelligence' of 25 January). See also *Southern Cross* of 3 and 10 March 1916.

<sup>133</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 July, 25 September, and 27 November 1915.

<sup>134</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 September, 20 November 1915, 5 February, 1, 22 April 1916. *Southern Cross*, 5 February, 5, 26 March 1915

<sup>135</sup> *Advocate*, 25 September 1915, *Southern Cross*, 7 January 1916. Redmond claimed the voluntary system had not had 'fair play'.

<sup>136</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 June 1915 for an editorial about the possibility of conscription. On 26 June 1915 previous constitutional attempts over compulsion were criticised; on 24 July, 25 September 1915 and 1 April 1916, all editorials were titled 'Is Conscription Necessary?' See also *Southern Cross* of 15 October 1915, 10 March and 28 April 1916 for editorials titled 'National Service', 'Conscription' and 'The Crisis on Conscription' arguing it was not needed in Australia.

<sup>137</sup> *Advocate*, 18 September 1915, 8 January 1916. The focus was English conscription and reasons for Irish exclusion, suggesting the same reasons applied in Australia.

In early 1916 Jageurs penned three articles on 'Ireland and Conscription', disputing its necessity and appropriateness. His opposition was pointed. In combination with his prestige and leadership in the Irish-Australian community, his arguments could be seen as not only applied directly to Ireland, but also easily transferable to the emerging conscription debate within Australia<sup>138</sup>

From January 1915, both newspapers presented evidence about War Office tactics – such as the prohibition of the Irish regimental use of 'flags or colours',<sup>139</sup> and 'difficulties and delays' about forming 'an Irish division within the British army'.<sup>140</sup> While official explanations for inaction highlighted 'cooling of martial ardour in Ireland', Koerner quoted the expectation expressed in the *Catholic Times* that 'the War Office would have ignored politics and practiced patriotism'.<sup>141</sup> By October, the *Advocate* critique was stronger: 'the War Office [attitude]...towards Nationalist Ireland has ever been either actively hostile or passively antagonistic'.<sup>142</sup> Historian Diarmid Ferriter describes Redmond as humiliated by the War Office's refusal 'to allow use of the National Volunteers for home defence'.<sup>143</sup>

'Exchanges' typically linked recruitment to Home Rule: rewarding Ireland for supporting the threatened Empire would be inevitable.<sup>144</sup> Reports of a former Adelaide priest's recruiting style and explanation of his battlefield response to queries about Home Rule, Irish participation and an Irish parliament probably encouraged some Irish-Australians.

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<sup>138</sup> *Advocate*, 5, 12 and 19 February 1916.

<sup>139</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 January 1915.

<sup>140</sup> Diarmid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000*, Profile Books, London, 2005, 129.

<sup>141</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 January 1915.

<sup>142</sup> *Advocate*, 23 October 1915. ('London Letter' of 9 September).

<sup>143</sup> Ferriter, *The Transformation*, 129.

<sup>144</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 January, 19 February, 9 April. *Advocate*, 30 January, 20 March ('Their blood has made Home Rule safe'), 10 April 1915.

‘This was Ireland’s war and Ireland’s fight’.<sup>145</sup> The simplicity of his formula more than a year into the war enabled some in both generations to dismiss emerging contradictions between British policies and statements, and the experience of Irish participants.

Ireland’s war contribution was increasingly contested, and in 1915 differently constituted recruiting figures featured strongly in both papers.<sup>146</sup> For example Irish enlistments in English and Scottish regiments,<sup>147</sup> Catholic numbers from Ulster.<sup>148</sup> ‘Exchanges’ suggested increasing distrust of Ulster Unionist policies,<sup>149</sup> and uncertainty about official plans for any military role for Ulster’s Volunteers.<sup>150</sup> These were recurring themes.<sup>151</sup> At the same time, reports of rumours about conscription in Ireland appeared, all were officially denied of course.<sup>152</sup> Plugging into a named Australian concern, and looming unofficially over Ireland, that toxic issue developed latently in both countries with delayed impacts on imperial loyalty.

As English anxiety about recruitment numbers positioned itself as a national issue,<sup>153</sup> the alarming possibility of immediate implications for Ireland (and potentially Australia)<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 October 1915. Fr John McMullan, previously superior at Adelaide’s Passionist Monastery (home to Fr Le Maitre), was at a recruiting meeting to mark the war’s anniversary. Another participant was WHK Redmond, an IPP envoy to Australia in 1911-12.

<sup>146</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 5 February 1915. ‘Currente Calamo’ column referred to Tory press hints about small numbers of Irish recruits, these were disputed by ‘reliable statistics’. See also 29 January, 12 February, 23 April and *Advocate* of 2, 16, 23 January, 6 February, 13 March 1915.

<sup>147</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 February for letter from UIL Organiser for Scotland quoting 15,559 Irishmen, but anticipating a total of 30,000 when another 130 Irish centres sent returns. See *Southern Cross* of 5 February 1915.

<sup>148</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 April 1915. Figures of 3,513 Catholic Nationalists (enlisting in greater proportion than population) were quoted in relation to 10,112 Carsonite Volunteers.

<sup>149</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1914 (‘Irish News’, 4 February). The item referred to James Craig’s description of Ulster Volunteers’ two tasks – beating Germany *and* protecting civil and religious liberty by ignoring Home Rule. See Appendix C for details about Craig.

<sup>150</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 March (‘Irish News’, 20 January), *Advocate*, 23 January, 3 April 1915.

<sup>151</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 January (2 items), and 1 April 1915. The latter was specifically linked to the role of the Ulster Volunteers. See *Advocate*, 2, 16 January 1915.

<sup>152</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 January 1915. (‘Irish News’ of late November).

<sup>153</sup> Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War*, 167, describes August 1915’s National Register ‘not as a prelude to conscription [but providing] the necessary information if the need...did arise’. Both newspapers linked conscription to its promotion by the Northcliffe press.

received comment in both newspapers. Dillon's already quoted July statement about the dangers of enforcing conscription increased Irish-Australian certainty that (Southern) Ireland was already meeting its imperial obligation in terms of recruitment.<sup>155</sup> As the war intensified in 1915, recruiting received even more focus.<sup>156</sup> Comment about Irish participation rates was ongoing in both the *Advocate* and the '*Cross*'<sup>157</sup> (some referred to bigoted Belfast reporting of Catholic recruiting figures),<sup>158</sup> and claims of Irishmen leaving Britain to avoid enlistment received consistent coverage.<sup>159</sup>

Ireland's partial exemption from August 1915's National Register Bill produced a disturbing asymmetrical statement from Chief Secretary, Augustine Birrell.<sup>160</sup> Explaining there was no urgency to include Ireland in the national inventory of males, he revealed the scope of government control within the Union, in particular the extent of monitoring.

There was the political register of all households, kept up to date, which enabled them to tell at once, with no expense whatever, what the population of Ireland was, and the ages of persons occupying houses.<sup>161</sup>

Had Irish-Australians needed any reminder of reasons for previous Irish hostility, and continuing distrust of Britain, here it was, neatly packaged and presented as a wartime bonus.

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<sup>154</sup> *Advocate*, 10 July – 'We would like Australians, and particularly Irish and Catholic Australians, to take their part where possible in this great issue' in 'The Recruiting Campaign' (editorial). See *Southern Cross* of 16, 23 July 1915 for items relating to registration of all Australian males, interpreted as an enabler for conscription. See *Advocate* editorial of 24 July, 'Is Conscription Necessary?' which firmly refuted the need. Another identically titled on 25 September reached the same conclusion, while *Southern Cross* comment of 24 September and 1 October suggested British agitation was doomed, any local discussion was premature and that necessary constitutional change was unlikely.

<sup>155</sup> *Advocate*, 18 September 1915. ('Our London Letter' of 29 July). 'European Intelligence' of 31 July had published Dillon's condemnation (to the IPP) of a 'scandalous and treacherous attempt ... both in Great Britain and in Ireland, to defeat...the Voluntary System...and any attempt to bring in...Compulsory Military Service will meet with our vigorous resistance'.

<sup>156</sup> Wilson, *The Myriad Faces*, 167-8. October 1915's Derby Scheme contacted all eligible males from the National Register, asking them 'to affirm [their] willingness to accept military service when called upon to do so'. See his argument (213) that its failure was obvious by December 1915.

<sup>157</sup> *Advocate*, 29 May, 19 June, and 25 September 1915. The last described the welcome to the Irish Brigade in Dublin, followed by the Recruiting Committee holding 'placards with 'incentives [for] recruiting'.

<sup>158</sup> *Advocate*, 3 June 1915.

<sup>159</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 3 September, 26 November, *Advocate*, 7 August, 9 October 1915.

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix C for details about Birrell's life.

<sup>161</sup> *Advocate*, 2 October 1915.

Irish-Australians not only encountered details of Ireland's wartime struggles in the *Advocate* and the '*Cross*', but also endured local attacks about low rates of Irish war participation. Jageurs protested about daily papers using bigoted (and incorrect) cables to criticise Irishmen leaving Britain to avoid war service and received some counterbalancing publicity.<sup>162</sup> A Legislative Council protest from an Irish-Australian about insulting parliamentary comments ignoring the contribution of Irishmen, and repeating unproven assertions about those leaving England, did extract an apology. But such attacks demonstrated the strength, persistence and easy activation of anti-Irish prejudice.<sup>163</sup> For many Irish-Australians, it seemed Australia and Ireland faced similar assaults – imperial loyalty, despite tangible evidence, was consistently disputed by anti-Irish interests. The Irish-Catholic press struggled to have its perspective heard.

Press focus on British conscription,<sup>164</sup> Ireland's exclusion and Australian possibilities, sharpened in 1916. Between January and mid-April, four *Advocate* editorials dismissed any necessity for local conscription.<sup>165</sup> This forceful opposition coincided with Prime Minister Hughes' much publicised visit to London, facilitating detractor's identification of Irish-Australian 'disloyalty' in the newspaper.<sup>166</sup> In March, editorial comment seemed directed at Hughes:

There is a danger that some of our Australian statesmen, in proclaiming the evangelism of Imperialism, may go too far, and make promises that it will be difficult to keep.<sup>167</sup>

Such deprecatory references to both Hughes and the Imperial gospel, betrayed an Irish-Australian perspective that distanced them from other Australians, a distance which subsequently moved towards a chasm as 1916 progressed.

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<sup>162</sup> *Advocate*, 13 November 1915.

<sup>163</sup> *Advocate*, 18 December 1915.

<sup>164</sup> Wilson, *The Myriad Faces*, 396-407. This was partial in January and complete in April.

<sup>165</sup> *Advocate*, 8 January, 11 March, 1 and 15 April 1916.

<sup>166</sup> *Advocate*, 8, 15, 22 April, *Southern Cross*, 17, 24, 31 March, 7, 14, 21, 28 April 1916.

<sup>167</sup> *Advocate*, 25 March 1916. ('Easy Chair Jottings').

*Advocate and Southern Cross: Adjustments to War.*

Both publications responded quickly to war. By mid-August the *Advocate* published 'The European War' alongside 'Latest War News', cables that were only four days old.<sup>168</sup> 'War' became a permanent feature of 'Cross' 'Topics'; from mid-September greater cable access was evident.<sup>169</sup> Such reliance on imperial sources of news was unparalleled. Previously, the risks of news distortion due to cable transmission processes dominated editorial comment; the unanticipated imperative of war required the editors to provide readers with immediate details, even if their veracity was questionable.

Based on regular and designated columns, the *Advocate* seemed to provide more detailed and systematic war coverage.<sup>170</sup> However close analysis of more random placement of 'Cross' articles shows this perception was inaccurate.<sup>171</sup> As a more sizeable paper, catering for greater reader numbers, the *Advocate* could juggle larger economies of scale, regularly publishing 44 pages. In 1914 and 1915, the 'Cross' continued to advertise its recent enlargement to 20 pages, expanded irregularly by a four page supplement. In January 1915 the *Advocate* included a new column, 'Ireland and the War'.<sup>172</sup> Its appearance reflected views encapsulated by Archbishop Carr who now understood the war would be long, and that 'far greater evils would be inflicted than there had been'.<sup>173</sup> A similar segment appeared later in the 'Cross'.<sup>174</sup> In general, the 'war packaging' pattern continued along previous lines,

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<sup>168</sup> *Advocate*, 15 August 1914 – the cable item was dated 11 August.

<sup>169</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 September ('Latest War News – By Cable'), 18 September 1914, ('The War News – By Mail').

<sup>170</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 January 1915 for a typical range of war-related items: 'European Intelligence', 'Our London Letter', 'The European War' (Items by the Mail), 'Ireland and the War', 'Latest War News' (From Daily Papers), the editorial and 5 items in 'Prominent Topics.'

<sup>171</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 January 1915 for war coverage. 'A Woman's Letter...', 'Irish News', 'The European War', 'Topics' (both items), 3 paragraphs in 'General News', Cablegrams, many small items in 'Purely Personal', and 3 half-column items on Redmond and chaplains, A German View of the War, recruiting discussion and concerns re Ulster.

<sup>172</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 January 1915.

<sup>173</sup> *Southern*, 2 January 1915. See Appendix C for details of Carr's life.

<sup>174</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 February 1915.

with both detailed news and feature items incorporating war impact in Australia and Ireland. However both newspapers attempted to further engage local readers within this conflict. For example, J.F. Hogan's weekly 'Our London Letter' often focussed on material relating to Victoria amidst war details.<sup>175</sup> Local author, Alice Grant-Rosman, facilitated the connection between Adelaide readers and the largely unimaginable war in articles titled 'Pictures from the Front',<sup>176</sup> 'Dodging Submarines – An Irish Trip in Wartime'<sup>177</sup> and later, 'Wounded Heroes at Anzac'.<sup>178</sup>

Although the '*Cross*' children's column questioned whether children should read about the war, it included war stories.<sup>179</sup> As local military obituary numbers increased after May, and fathers and brothers were among casualties, young Irish-Australians could hardly be protected from wartime realities.<sup>180</sup> From 7 and 8 May 1915, like the nation, these newspapers were propelled into a different experience and understanding of the war. Tragic news from the Dardanelles reshaped the lives of many Irish-Australians. By mid-October the regular '*Cross*' war headline became 'The Balkans and the Dardanelles – Australians in Action',<sup>181</sup> coinciding with initial, hinted suggestions that 'the Allies should withdraw'.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> See Appendix C for details of Hogan's life.

<sup>176</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 October, 20 November 1914 ('A War of Sacrilege').

<sup>177</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 June 1915.

<sup>178</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 December 1915. Others included 19 March ('Sewing Shirts for Soldiers – Our London Working Party'), 3 September ('Somewhere in France') and 26 November ('Among Australians in London').

<sup>179</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1915. See issue of 25 June for page positioning: a story of 'German Barbarity in Belgium' alongside children's content.

<sup>180</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 May, 4, 11 June and 10 December 1915.

<sup>181</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 October 1915.

<sup>182</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 October 1915.



*Gallipoli – Australia and Ireland*

For both Australia and Ireland, the performance of local troops, especially if they demonstrated bravery, became a feature of reports about the war. Only recently federated, Australia's war history as a nation was confined to the latter South African years, so the events of 1914 presented an opportunity to gain a reputation. Ahead of the Gallipoli landing, local accounts of Australian soldiers were replaced by Egyptian stories,<sup>183</sup> and predictions about future war plans involving the Ottoman Empire.<sup>184</sup> But none of this prepared readers; thus scrambled landing details, an assault on impenetrable cliffs, and extraordinarily high casualty rates totally disrupted the semi-relaxed attitude to Australia's war participation.

The *Advocate's* response to news of Gallipoli was a huge, bold, upper-case headline on Page 27: **'AUSTRALIANS IN ACTION – FORCING THE DARDANELLES – HEAVY CASUALTIES.'** Its emphasis was then on the human cost, presenting numbers of 'Killed', 'Severely Wounded', 'Slightly Wounded' and 'Died of Wounds'. Some were named with a few life details.<sup>185</sup> In Adelaide, the focus differed markedly: while a new headline appeared – 'The 'Australians in Action – Fighting in the Dardanelles' – the low-key unembellished presentation was retained, names of known local dead and wounded were published.<sup>186</sup> Both newspapers included a range of reports, sourced from various cables. Initial responses to the campaign established the coverage pattern.

The '*Cross*' of 14 May published a comprehensive single page survey of the campaign, naming its sources. In a suburban report of 'Prayers for Our Soldiers,' ex-chaplain Fr Fahey

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<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 27 February and *Southern Cross*, 1 April 1915.

<sup>184</sup> *Advocate*, 6, 20 March and *Southern Cross*, 29 January, 5 February, 12 March 1915.

<sup>185</sup> *Advocate*, 8 May 1915.

<sup>186</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 May 1915.

praised the gallantry of those ‘fighting for freedom and civilisation, and for the Empire’.<sup>187</sup>

By contrast, the *Advocate* presentation used headlines of various sizes extensively in its half page (without acknowledging sources), displaying more of a cornucopia of items.<sup>188</sup>

‘Australia’s Part in the War – Our Boys at the Dardanelles – Roll of Honour’ soon became the segment’s overarching headline; detailed casualty figures, paragraphs about the dead (bordered for emphasis and often with photos) and occasionally information about the wounded, sat alongside military reports.<sup>189</sup> Editors clearly struggled to impart distressing personal details amidst horrific general war information. Victoria’s larger Catholic and Irish-Australian population, as indicated previously, resulted in greater visibility and confidence. One consequence of this demography in 1915 was more deaths than in South Australia. The nature of the presentation – prominent and noticeable rather than muted and detailed – may have reflected the greater confidence of Victoria’s Irish-Catholics. For Koerner the more subtle presentation of Irish-Catholic casualties may have been protective.

‘Letters from the Front’ included *Advocate* readers in some local boys’ Gallipoli experiences.<sup>190</sup> When the ‘*Cross*’ alerted families sending soldier’s photos that ‘a minimum charge of 4/-[would be made] for the insertion. This merely covers the cost of preparing a small block’, this suggested budgetary restraints.<sup>191</sup> No similar suggestion appeared in the *Advocate*.

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<sup>187</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 May 1915. This summary quoted Reuter’s Cairo Agency, Havas News Agency (Athens), Ashmead Bartlett in the *Daily Telegraph*, a *Daily Chronicle* war correspondent, and *The Times*. ‘Topics’ also discussed ‘Australians in Action’.

<sup>188</sup> *Advocate*, 15 May 1915.

<sup>189</sup> *Advocate*, 22 May 1915. By 29 May the paper noted the 23<sup>rd</sup> Casualty List, on 6 June it provided state death/wounded figures (separating officers/men), the total was 5,218.

<sup>190</sup> See *Advocate* of 19 June for the first; see edition of 3 July for headline and 10, 17 and 24 July for further letters. See 24 July 1915 for report of CYMS starting an Honour Roll.

<sup>191</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 June 1915.

The Gallipoli campaign had a nightmarish impact on Australia allowing little recognition of other countries' involvement. Although painful evidence of military blunders emerged before rumours, then certainty, of withdrawal, by early 1916 Irish-Australians were confronted by news that Gallipoli represented additional underrating of Ireland's contribution. Preoccupation with Gallipoli was totally consistent with Australian realities, but delayed mention of Irish participation and heroism there added to Irish-Australian perceptions of official discrimination from the War Office.<sup>192</sup> By November there was greater understanding of Irish valour. An Adelaide soldier wounded there wrote that he would 'never forget the bravery displayed by those dear Irish boys'.<sup>193</sup> Then in the same issue:

Irish regiments were ignored in the official reports of the fighting at the Dardanelles, of which as usual they were given the most deadly and dangerous part, and the whole of the achievements credited to British and Australian troops.<sup>194</sup>

Challenging accusations of 'Irish Shirkers', Koerner commented that discrediting the Irish was over-ridden by their being overlooked.<sup>195</sup> By 1916 multiple *Advocate* references showed how widely these accounts were circulating.<sup>196</sup> Imperial concentration on Anzac Gallipoli performance while ignoring Irish participation reflected badly on the War Office. In tandem with the increasing clamour of these newspapers' complaints about Ireland's wartime treatment, discovering that Irish soldiers had been ignored at Gallipoli must have confronted many Irish-Australians, especially those whose imperial loyalty was fraying.

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<sup>192</sup> See Keith Jeffrey, 'Gallipoli and Ireland' in Jenny Macleod (ed.), *Gallipoli: Making History*, Frank Cass, New York, 2004, 98-109 for comment that 'the 'memory' of any Irish engagement with Gallipoli has been virtually airbrushed from history'. *Southern Cross*, 16 July, 13, 27 August 1915. ('Ireland and the War').

<sup>193</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 November 1915. ('Topics').

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* Additional references were located in 'A Woman's Letter from England' (dated 29 September) and another in 'Topics'.

<sup>195</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 November 1915.

<sup>196</sup> *Advocate*, 15, 22 January, 29 April 1916.

From October, increasing references to a Gallipoli ‘mess’<sup>197</sup> incorporated disagreements: these included Cabinet dissension,<sup>198</sup> Kitchener’s attempt at resolution,<sup>199</sup> finally Churchill’s resignation and explanation.<sup>200</sup> That theatre of war had been the primary newspaper focus; in August the first heroes returned.<sup>201</sup> ‘*Cross*’ Managing Director O’Loghlin (having enlisted) hoped to get there; the Christmas edition included photos of warships in the Dardanelles Straits.<sup>202</sup> Huge loss of life reflected Australian investment in Gallipoli, thus announcement of its abandonment – ‘the most momentous war news’ – represented a major setback.<sup>203</sup> Summing up 1915 for Irish-Australians and inferring something of 1916, Koerner commented that: ‘We will only have to console ourselves by reflecting on ‘how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low successes’.<sup>204</sup> Neither editor drew any specifically anti-imperial message from the Gallipoli debacle. The power of censorship to excise such comment may have been a corrective, or perhaps the devastating local impact of casualties overwhelmed any possibility of broader understanding.

The ‘*Cross*’ acquired great personal copy (and reflected glory) from the visible military performance of imperial loyalty embodied by two Irish-Australian directors and former editors, O’Loghlin and Denny. Their participation repeated the pattern that was evident in the Anglo-Boer War when the ‘*Cross*’ exhibited clearer imperial loyalty than the *Advocate*. In July, J.V. O’Loghlin aged 63, volunteered to go to the Front;

I beg to offer myself for service at the front, or on transport duty, or in any other capacity that my experience and training may render me useful during the war.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 October 1915.

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 November 1915.

<sup>199</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 November 1915.

<sup>200</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 November 1915.

<sup>201</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 August 1915.

<sup>202</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 December 1915.

<sup>203</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 December 1915.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 30 July 1915 for a report of his letter of 21 July to the Minister of Defence, outlining his 25 years of defence experience, signing as Lieutenant-Colonel.

As the only serving Senator, he was celebrated (photographed as ‘A Soldier Senator’) at a parliamentary farewell before accompanying a troop ship overseas.<sup>206</sup>

W.J. Denny MP enlisted in August 1915.<sup>207</sup> In 1914 he had been close enough to W.M. Hughes for the latter to be his guest while in Adelaide. The friendship suggests the possibility of a different perspective on Denny’s later position of being ‘strongly in favour of conscription’.<sup>208</sup> Congratulated on his enlistment decision by parliamentary colleagues,<sup>209</sup> and endorsed by Archbishop Spence,<sup>210</sup> he described camp life (positively) at a parliamentary social,<sup>211</sup> and his electorate farewell attracted full page coverage.<sup>212</sup> He participated in December’s National Recruiting Campaign (intended to raise 50,000 men) promoting the benefits of Army life.<sup>213</sup> Meanwhile, O’Loghlin’s time in Egypt,<sup>214</sup> and his return to Adelaide,<sup>215</sup> all demonstrated loyalty, reminding Irish-Australians (and others) how the cause could be served, even by an elderly retired militia man. *Advocate* coverage of O’Loghlin and Denny’s actions suggests Brennan understood their propaganda value in countering claims of Irish-Australian imperial disloyalty.<sup>216</sup> Denny’s farewell speculations appeared in both newspapers: he wondered whether it was ‘his Irish blood...but he had been desirous of going [to war] and felt ashamed of remaining behind’ when many of his friends had gone.<sup>217</sup> When such prominent individuals, identifying as second generation Irish-Australian, strongly demonstrated the integration of Australian and imperial loyalty, –

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<sup>206</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 August, *Advocate*, 28 August, 9 September 1915. In the Government Gazette of 13 November 1909, O’Loghlin had been placed on the retired Militia list with the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, this related to the age clauses of the regulations.

<sup>207</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 August 1915.

<sup>208</sup> See *Daily Herald* of 16 July 1914, and *Southern Cross* of 1 October 1915. At a Hibernian Breakfast, Private Denny also said ‘Men...ought not be dragooned into the military life. It should be based on the same lines as taxes...and men should be sent to the war according to their ability to serve their country’.

<sup>209</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 August 1915.

<sup>210</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 October 1915 for Spence’s hope ‘that other Hibernians would follow Denny’s example’.

<sup>211</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1915.

<sup>212</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 October 1915, this edition included his ‘Farewell’ and presentation from the Labor Party.

<sup>213</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 December 1915.

<sup>214</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 October 1915.

<sup>215</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 December 1915.

<sup>216</sup> See *Advocate* of 21, 28 August 1915.

<sup>217</sup> *Advocate*, 16 October 1915.

‘there was no more dogged or braver fighter than the Australian, and especially the Irish-Australian’<sup>218</sup> – the impact was powerful far beyond their own community.

*Prominent Individuals, the War and Ireland*

Among the public figures whose position and background authorised them as speakers (and ensured publicity), included McMahon Glynn, Brisbane’s Archbishop Duhig, and Victoria’s bishops, Carr, Mannix and Phelan. Glynn’s ambiguous role during the Anglo-Boer War has already been noted.<sup>219</sup> As Federal Minister for External Affairs from 1913 to 1914, both newspapers published his toast at the Adelaide UIL meeting in November 1914 – ‘Home Rule – Ireland a Nation’.<sup>220</sup> He bracketed Ireland’s struggle with that of Poland and Belgium, emphasised Australia’s willing imperial contribution, appealing for ‘a new and milder Empire...[to] arise from the errors of the old’.<sup>221</sup> His 1915 speeches were published regularly: ‘Loyalty and Unity: Ireland and Irish Ideas’,<sup>222</sup> ‘The British Empire’,<sup>223</sup> and ‘Some Aspects of the War’.<sup>224</sup> Discussing causes of the war, he emphasised problems of ‘reconciling empire and nationhood’, outlined the moral issues, and explained the need ‘to embrac[e] all the energies of the Empire to the success of the cause of ourselves and the Allies’. His conclusion declared that those ‘virtues of Imperial prestige and integrity [at Gallipoli] enable us to make light of every personal and national sacrifice’. First generation Irishman Glynn’s largely unqualified endorsement of Empire, hinted at during the Anglo-Boer War, increasingly differentiated him from many second generation Irish-Australians

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<sup>218</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1915. The quote was from Denny.

<sup>219</sup> See 141-2 above.

<sup>220</sup> *Advocate*, 28 November, *Southern Cross*, 27 November 1914.

<sup>221</sup> See *Advocate* of 28 November 1914 for report of Glynn’s response to the national toast given by WJ Denny at the UIL social welcoming Patrick Healy home from Ireland.

<sup>222</sup> *Advocate*, 10 April 1915.

<sup>223</sup> *Advocate*, 8 May, *Southern Cross*, 30 April 1915. Speaking at St George’s Day banquet, Glynn avoided mentioning Ireland, but in tracing Imperial development back to Rome, his argument of ‘sentiment and power’ as the imperial basis, being ‘seasoned by mercy’ and justice, made the point.

<sup>224</sup> *Advocate*, 28 August 1915. Lecturing for Melbourne’s Christian Brothers ‘Old Paradians Association’, his remarks constituted a semi-recruiting call.

Glynn's address to Adelaide's Hibernian 1915 October Breakfast criticised Gallipoli planners. In a lengthy speech he juxtaposed soldier qualities with 'the defective imagination of the statesmen'. Conscription attracted his attention (positively) as did the 'unselfish devotion, self-sacrifice and Celtic delicacy on points of honour [shown] by the Irish regiments...on the battlefields of Europe'.<sup>225</sup> In an era when newspapers represented the singular source of community information, Irish-Catholic newspapers played a central role in disseminating lengthy addresses to wider audiences, thus reinforcing Biagini's point about the crucial role of the press.<sup>226</sup> Although Glynn consistently promoted reasons for Irish-Australian wartime loyalty and imperial support, his perspective was becoming less inclusive.

Prelates' comments received prominence in the Irish-Catholic press, often for different reasons.<sup>227</sup> Archbishop Duhig used a Hibernian Sydney Communion Breakfast in late 1915 to explore loyalty questions. Again, publication further disseminated his views. Emphasising his own Hibernian membership, he complimented the group's patriotism with 'between 600 and 700 Hibernians [having] taken up arms to fight for the Empire'. And he congratulated the District Board for communicating with the Prime Minister about 'the recent cables in the daily press casting aspersions on the loyalty of the Irish race'. Duhig insisted that the Irish have 'given abundant proof of...loyalty to the British Empire, and no man would acknowledge that fact more readily than the King of England'.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1915. The account of the speech filled more than two pages.

<sup>226</sup> See 46, 48 and 49 above for discussion of Biagini's use of newspaper sources.

<sup>227</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 January 1915 for Archbishop O'Reily's pessimistic military time frame. See *Advocate* of 1 May 1915 for his views about the war, and edition of 5 June (just before his death) for description of him as 'thoroughly permeated with military ardour... [shown] during the Boer War, and he has manifested the fact also now'.

<sup>228</sup> *Advocate*, 18 December 1915.

Returning from a year overseas (including Ireland),<sup>229</sup> Bishop Phelan of Sale was questioned by Adelaide reporters about Home Rule. He argued that ‘big effect upon the war’ of having the Bill on the Statute Book was ‘not fully realised on this side of the world’, and provided three reasons for this. Firstly, the Empire’s war rationale would be undermined if Ireland did not receive justice. He explained the importance of getting America’s ‘strong Irish feeling’ onside before it ‘swell[ed] the German camp’. Thirdly, he predicted the final ‘effect of ... the British Government [failing] ... to fulfil its promise would be that arising in Ireland itself’.<sup>230</sup> He spoke later at the St Patrick’s Day Dinner in Sale about ‘Ireland and the War’. Integrating discussion of the impact of the Home Rule victory and altered Irish perceptions of Empire and patriotism, he reminded the audience about recent and historic offences against Ireland, but emphasised the need for total war support.<sup>231</sup> Phelan’s time in Ireland magnified his importance as a speaker. In Melbourne, Archbishop Carr (Figure 33) presented a ‘Fine Patriotic Oration’ for St Patrick’s Day in 1915,<sup>232</sup> and also spoke to a CYMS Communion Breakfast about the ‘Church and War’.<sup>233</sup> The theme of his address at Melbourne’s 1916 Grand Irish National Concert (in front of the Governor-General and 25,000 others) was ‘Ireland’s Share in the War’. While endorsing the unity associated with the war and Irish imperial support, Carr nevertheless centralised the threat of Irish conscription, and the promise of Home Rule.<sup>234</sup> Carr and Phelan had sufficient standing and skill to promote loyalty while ensuring their public addresses included prompts, positive about Home Rule but negative about history and conscription.

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<sup>229</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 August 1914 for report of Phelan’s visit to his ‘Native [Irish] parish’, and Irish press tributes.

<sup>230</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March and *Register*, 15 March 1915. Landing in Adelaide, he spoke to a local journalist about his year overseas.

<sup>231</sup> *Advocate*, 27 March, 1915; on 3 July, a further sermon on the duty owed to our war dead appeared, and on 31 July 1915, ‘War’s Greatest Sacrifice – The Mother’s Share’.

<sup>232</sup> *Advocate*, 20 March 1915; the issue of 3 July featured further Carr comment on the war.

<sup>233</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 November 1915.

<sup>234</sup> *Advocate*, 25 March 1916.





**Figure 33.** Archbishop Carr (1839-1917)

Archbishop Mannix's earlier, provocative war-related statements have already been mentioned.<sup>235</sup> In 1915 his remarks about 'Catholics and the War' attracted significant publicity.<sup>236</sup> Again in 1916, discussing an article titled 'Humility in War', Mannix found none, but located the opposite: 'It flaunted the old arrogant spirit of the British which we had thought this war was whipping out of the people'.<sup>237</sup> His early 1916 comments about Freemasons (to be discussed below), were widely reported and greatly resented, preparing a receptive environment for subsequent publicity about his attitude towards conscription.

#### *Irish-Australian Loyalty: Responses and Challenges*

In 1915 a range of evidence demonstrated that the war had particular, and divergent, meanings for Irish-Australians, and that community members faced immense difficulties in terms of the loyalty continuum, about appropriate personal and/or group demonstrations of imperial loyalty. Freemasonry's emergence as a potent issue in 1916 combined a number of combustible elements, but these hinged on questions of Irish-Australian loyalty and identity. Surprisingly, in view of other evidence of latent suspicion, there was some official sensitivity about the Irish-Australian situation. In late December, censors and the press

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<sup>235</sup> See 190 and 193 above.

<sup>236</sup> *Advocate*, 4 September 1915.

<sup>237</sup> *Advocate*, 12 February ('Prominent Topics') and *Southern Cross* of 11 February 1916.

were requested not to comment or publish material which could reflect on the loyalty of our fellow Irish subjects'.<sup>238</sup> Such official recognition of the potential for 'harmful agitation and resentment' proved short-lived.

War taxed Irish-Australians severely; its impact was often personal, combining loyalty and identity issues. In May Jageurs was confronted by his son's determination to enlist. Despite initial opposition, he claimed his son 'would never forget that he was of Irish descent, and that would be sufficient to remind him of his duty as a soldier'.<sup>239</sup> In Adelaide, first generation Irish MP Thomas Ryan fervently opposed closure of German schools.<sup>240</sup> He argued the measure would not kill German sentiment:

It is the story of the Irishman over again. You closed his country against him, you closed his Parliament against him; but you did not kill his aspirations. You only embittered the people, and the story of the wrong descended from the grandfathers to the sons.<sup>241</sup>

Ryan's summation neatly connects with Anne Liddy's recall of her grandparents' 'deep green loathing' for England, demonstrating the persistence of such sentiments (and the continuum of dissent), despite their infrequent public airing.<sup>242</sup>

Other accounts demonstrated the continuing importance of diaspora links, emphasising the transnational ties. For example, both newspapers reported a Dublin banquet where John Redmond dined with Australian clergy, speaking of Catholic and Protestant enlistment ratios, and the impact of Irish blood at Gallipoli.<sup>243</sup> Similarly when Devlin

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<sup>238</sup> LF Fitzhardinge, *William Morris Hughes: A Political Biography*, Volume Two, *The Little Digger 1914-1962*, Angus and Robertson, Publishers, Sydney, 1979, 60-1.

<sup>239</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 May 1915. Jageur's son, John Davitt, was named after his godfather Michael Davitt. He died at Pozieres on 29 July 1916. See Pamela O'Neill, 'Michael Davitt and John Davitt Jageurs (1895-1916)' in *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. VI, 2006-7, 43-56.

<sup>240</sup> See Appendix C for details about Ryan.

<sup>241</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 November 1915.

<sup>242</sup> See 2-3 above for explanation of the continuum of dissent.

<sup>243</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 July for cable message, and 28 August 1915 for detail on 'The European War' page. See issue of 21 August ('Irish News') for report of Australian clerics visit to All Hallows Seminary where many Irishmen trained as priests for Australia.

addressed a dinner in July, he attributed the strength of Ireland's cause as 'due to a large extent to the generosity of the Australian people'.<sup>244</sup> In Melbourne Jageurs explained Ireland's new flag at the Celtic Club; as O'Donnell unfurled it, Redmond's portrait was unveiled, testifying to his continued support among prominent first and second generation Irish-Australians.<sup>245</sup>

Irish-Australians recognised their vulnerability within a war-focussed community, and attempted proof of imperial loyalty. Prominent individuals could face censure for their opinions. In early July 1914 the President of Melbourne's Celtic Club, Major McInerney CMG, was expelled from the Naval and Military Club 'because he had associated himself with Home Rule for Ireland'.<sup>246</sup> After war's outbreak at a Home Rule Ball, O'Donnell proposed McInerney's health:

All their feelings ...were set aside at the present [war] crisis, and they felt that they were all Britishers and desired to stand by the Empire in its hour of need.<sup>247</sup>

O'Donnell articulated the perspective of most Irish-Australians of both generations.

Occasional letters revealed the existence of wider community antagonism. *Advocate* correspondence in 1915 and 1916 promoted the formation of local

exclusively Irish regiment[s]...to show the people of Britain and the traducers of Ireland that the Irishmen overseas are ready, like the Irishmen at home to do their duty to the Empire in its hour of trial.<sup>248</sup>

The *Advocate's* 1915 St Patrick's Day editorial rebutted all accusations of 'the Irish people as disloyal' except in relation 'to the English connection'. In fact, the writer claimed that the Empire benefitted from 'the spirit of intense patriotism' shown at the city's

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<sup>244</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 August 1915.

<sup>245</sup> *Advocate*, 16 October 1915. O'Donnell was complimentary about Redmond's leadership. See also *Southern Cross* of 22 October 1915.

<sup>246</sup> *Advocate*, 11 July 1914.

<sup>247</sup> *Advocate*, 8 August 1914.

<sup>248</sup> *Advocate*, 1 January 1916. The first letter was on 9 January 1915, both were signed 'Irish-Australian'.

demonstration.<sup>249</sup> In 1915 the '*Cross*' advertised the sale of flag sets representing all the Allies.<sup>250</sup> That loyalty challenges were random was evident from 1916 when the Bendigo Agricultural Society insisted that the St Patrick's Day Committee donate its proceeds to the Red Cross. The demand implied inadequate Catholic support of the war,<sup>251</sup> because judgement of Irish-Australian disloyalty was typically implicit, adequate refutation was impossible.

In parallel – or because early disloyalty insinuations were more subtle, they became more explicit as the war extended and expanded in territory – both newspapers loudly celebrated local Irish-Australian responses. Some examples demonstrate the point: Melbourne's Lord Mayor's pride in seeing 'the sons of the Irish pioneers taking their places in the forefront of the battle for freedom, liberty and justice', repeated pleas for the formation of an Irish Regiment, the significance of a roll of honour at a Melbourne Catholic College, photos of Irish-Australian soldiers visiting Blarney Castle, and the anniversary of noted Irishman and pioneer Victorian, Charles Gavan Duffy. All these reminded readers (and critics) of present (and past) contributions of Irish-Australians.<sup>252</sup> Additionally, when speakers promoted Ireland's gifts to either European culture or to other countries, these newspapers circulated the message.<sup>253</sup> Reports of O'Loughlin's return to the Front, Denny's donation of his parliamentary salary to the war fund, items welcoming returning soldiers, and farewelling of others, represented examples of a similar emphasis in the '*Cross*'.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> *Advocate*, 20 March 1915.

<sup>250</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 July 1915. £3.3.0 bought a complete set.

<sup>251</sup> *Advocate*, 19 February 1916. The item was titled 'An Impudent Suggestion'.

<sup>252</sup> *Advocate*, 1 January, 26 February, 8, 22 April 1916.

<sup>253</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6, 13 and 20 August 1915 for Fr S Hogan's lecture on 'Europe's Literary Debt to Ireland' at Adelaide's Catholic Club, and *Advocate* of 27 November 1915 for WM Keane's lecture on 'The Irishman in Other Lands' at the Celtic Club.

<sup>254</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10, 24, 31 March, 14 April 1916.

But there were other obstacles for Irish-Australians. Negative Catholic perceptions of Freemasonry predated the war in Ireland and Australia.<sup>255</sup> There were dual concerns: one related to Church and official Freemason confrontation, the more serious was conviction that Masonic influences disadvantaged Catholics. Of the many examples from the *'Cross'* and *Advocate*, Gunson's 1901 editorial, 'Secret Societies in the Civil Service', epitomises the apprehension. Discussing discrimination in the post office and police force, Gunson claimed civil servants outside secret societies who were 'Irish and Catholic, live in constant dread of evil but undeserved report'.<sup>256</sup> As mentioned previously, applying the term *shoneen* to Irish-Catholics betraying background and religion by becoming Masons, revealed intra-communal divisions and judgements.<sup>257</sup> O'Farrell quotes a Victorian Irishman in 1909 describing Masons (and Orangemen) as 'the only curse here', and extolling the protection of 'Archbishop Carr and Dean Phelan.' Evidence suggests a strong and combative pre-war context.<sup>258</sup>

Masons 'formally emerged in London in 1717' but had older roots.<sup>259</sup> During Queen Victoria's reign, it was clear that 'Freemasonry... [had been] fostered [and] the brotherhood had strengthened [her] empire'.<sup>260</sup> While historian Jessica Harland-Jacob's account of freemasonry's multiple contributions to empire largely derives from Canadian and South African sources,<sup>261</sup> her discussion of their role in the Empire-preserving aspects of both the Anglo-Boer and Great War, also incorporates Australia<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> See Ben Novick, 'Propaganda 1: Advanced Nationalist Propaganda and Moralistic Revolution, 1914-18' in Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The Irish Revolution, 1913-1923*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2002, 39-40, 46-8 for discussion of pre-war 'agitation' and its use by Arthur Griffith to connect 'directly with the Allied war effort'.

<sup>256</sup> See *Advocate* of 23 March 1901.

<sup>257</sup> See 161 above for discussion of this process.

<sup>258</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 121.

<sup>259</sup> Jessica L Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2007, 2.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 240-281.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 279. She documents the Masonic involvement of some prominent Imperial military commanders including, Kitchener, Roberts and Baden-Powell.

Early wartime incidents heightened Australian Irish-Catholic sensitivities. A 1914 court case in Sydney involved a Hibernian successfully challenging Masonic claims that secret oaths were part of the Hibernian structure; this intensified hostility between the groups.<sup>263</sup> With further flammable elements piling up across the local and imperial environment – enlistment rates, fears and threats of conscription, incompatible interpretations of patriotism and the war, for example – the materials were already primed. When senior chaplain Archbishop Kelly protested about the ‘Military Masonic Club, Liverpool’, producing a signed circular, he exposed the operation of a supposedly secret group.<sup>264</sup> His remarks carefully emphasised freemasonry’s damaging role in the French Army, and avoided accusation of local discrimination against Catholic soldiers. Within weeks Irish-Australians read about exactly this issue.

Both newspapers provided extensive coverage of the experiences of Michael O’Donnell. O’Donnell was from Melbourne, he was a nephew of Nicholas O’Donnell with a long militia record. He was charged, twice court martialled, in 1915 and January 1916,<sup>265</sup> and finally exonerated over his attempts to get to the Front.<sup>266</sup> In Perth, his military progress was blocked by apparent prejudice.<sup>267</sup> O’Donnell’s immediate promotion after enlisting in South Australia under the name of McPherson reflected circumstantial evidence of bigotry. Public meetings in Perth and Melbourne demonstrated community outrage. In the shadow of national pride over Gallipoli, Irish-Australians were confronted by suggestions of military discrimination. The circumstances surrounding the O’Donnell case provoked hints

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<sup>263</sup> *Advocate*, 24 October 1914.

<sup>264</sup> *Advocate*, 1 January 1916. (The report was attributed to the Sydney *Freeman’s Journal*.) See also *Southern Cross* of 14 January 1916.

<sup>265</sup> On 12 February the Governor-General, through the Minister of Defence, ordered a Court of Inquiry into the conduct of Lt Col Charles Battye (who allowed private feelings to sway his conduct as an officer in regard to treatment of O’Donnell), the method of 5<sup>th</sup> Military District carrying out HQ’s instructions re competitive exams of enlisted men for AIF commissions, and such other matters in relation to O’Donnell’s service as the Minister may authorise enquiries into. See (Australian) Military Orders No 89/1916, 20-2.

<sup>266</sup> See *Advocate* of 22, 29 January (2 items), 5, 12, 26 February, 18, 25 March, *Southern Cross*, 28 January, 4, 18, 25 February, 3, 17 March, 7 April 1916.

<sup>267</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 January 1916 (quoting Perth *Daily News*).

(sometimes stronger) that the evils of freemasonry were fostered at higher army levels.<sup>268</sup>

Uncovering the validity of the accusation lies beyond the boundaries of the present research, and given the organisation's secretive *raison d'être*, possibly unattainable. However, clues contained in a 2002 biography of AIF officer, Pompey Elliott, not only confirm the existence of a Masonic structure in the Army, but also the value of membership. Historian Ross McMullin describes Elliott going to Cairo for his initiation in March 1916, sharing Masonic membership with most officers in his battalion, and writing to his father, that 'I found it an 'open sesame' on the Peninsular'.<sup>269</sup>

While Archbishops Kelly and Mannix both linked O'Donnell's case to 'Masons in the Army',<sup>270</sup> the latter, more belligerently, seemingly relished opportunities to publicise the possibility.<sup>271</sup> In Melbourne, at the annual ACF meeting in 1916, he proclaimed to a Town Hall audience of 3,000 amidst this controversy that 'There is no Masonic secrecy about [ACF] aims. Its motto is 'God and country'. He lamented that the ACF had not so far 'met, unmasked and overthrown the most insidious enemy of God and country, the Freemason Brotherhood'. Mannix adroitly mentioned assurances from better informed Catholics 'that the sinister influence of that body is felt at every turn – in politics, in trade, in commerce, in the professions'. He suggested the ACF 'might make a list of the Freemasons who sit as Federal or State members'. This, he claimed, would explain 'many of those things which appeared to have no explanation, and which had been done behind the backs of the people and against their will'.<sup>272</sup> Applauding the war contributions of Irishmen and their descendants in Australia, and focussing on O'Donnell, he postulated that many

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<sup>268</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 14 January 1916 for Archbishop Kelly on 'Freemasonry and Our Forces'.

<sup>269</sup> Ross McMullin, *Pompey Elliott*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2002, 190. McMullin comments (190-1) on masonry's sectarian overtones; he judged that in the prevalent sectarian atmosphere, Elliott 'had been infected by latent anti-Catholic prejudice'.

<sup>270</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 February 1916, Mannix and Kelly linked this case to 'Masons in the Army'. See also *Advocate*, 11 March 1916.

<sup>271</sup> See *Austral Light*, No 17, 1916 for item 'The Coadjutor Archbishop and the Freemasons'.

<sup>272</sup> *Advocate*, 19 February, *Southern Cross*, 18 February 1916.

might have had ...reason to fear...that the Australian Army was already feeling the sinister, stealthy grip of Freemasonry, and that an Irishman and a Catholic had little chance of fair play, unless he changed his name and his creed.<sup>273</sup>

Senator Pearce (Acting Prime Minister and Minister of Defence) repeated Mannix's accusations in full, giving them more oxygen.<sup>274</sup> His rebuttal cited 'a very casual study of the lists of promotion and appointment of officers' with one Catholic officer's rapid promotion offered as proof. He twice requested verification from Mannix so that his charges could be fully investigated.<sup>275</sup> A prominent (unnamed) mason, quoted in Adelaide's *Register* was dismissive; he denied 'there was any harm in Freemasonry,' which despite Mannix's assertions, 'did not interfere with religion or politics'.<sup>276</sup>

At the ACF meeting, Mannix broadened the Masonic agenda to include overseas cables and Ireland. He referred to 'the lying ... anti-Irish cablegrams that the Masonic press constantly sent from London, and that the Melbourne press seemed always delighted to publish under flaring headlines'. When the *Advocate* published an 'exchange' item from Perth's *Catholic Record* incorporating both Pearce's rebuttal of Mannix and the reported promotion to brigadier-general of a Freemason (lacking experience), this was seized on as evidence.<sup>277</sup> As the war unfolded, and the extent of Ireland's official mistreatment was recognised, the War Office complicity in such policies became an explicit charge.<sup>278</sup>

Greater Irish-Australian insight into Masonic forces emerged from Prime Minister Hughes three month European visit in 1916.<sup>279</sup> Late in his trip, the '*Cross*' extrapolated from a

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<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.* Remarks from Mannix about the army were widely reproduced; see for example, *Launceston Examiner*, *Advertiser*, *Register*, *West Australian*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February, *Hobart Mercury*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 17 February, *Western Mail*, 18 February, *WA Sunday Times*, 20 February 1916.

<sup>274</sup> See *Register* of 16 February 1916. Pearce was responding to Mannix's interpretation of the O'Donnell case.

<sup>275</sup> *Register*, 16 February, *Southern Cross*, 18 February 1916.

<sup>276</sup> *Register*, 16 February 1916.

<sup>277</sup> *Advocate*, 11 March 1916. The *Catholic Record* quoted a Perth Sunday paper.

<sup>278</sup> See *Advocate* of 21 August, 23 October 1915, *Southern Cross*, 26 November 1915, 18 February 1916.

<sup>279</sup> Hughes left Australia on 20 January 1916, visiting New Zealand, Canada, New York, (briefly) landing in Liverpool on 7 March. He embarked on June 29, reaching Melbourne on 8 August 1916.



*Catholic Times* article. This commented on Northcliffe press support of Hughes, suggesting the difficulty of challenging the proprietor's dictatorial behaviour because of the size of his press empire. Koerner's questions were clever, resonating strongly with many Irish-Australians:

Was [t]here some mysterious influence which protects [Northcliffe]... Possibly this mysterious influence which has also protected Carson and others, is Freemasonry, which the Australian press pretended to regard as a myth, when Archbishop Mannix recently referred to its workings in military and official circles.<sup>280</sup>

The issue of Freemason influence and its impact on Irish-Australians dominated the newspapers in the early months of 1916. Not only did masonry threaten Irish-Australian Catholicism, but its apparent capacity to circumscribe equal military treatment, threatened to undermine their wartime loyalty. The national prominence achieved by Archbishop Mannix in commentary on this issue prefigured his subsequent role in the conscription campaigns.

Programming 'God Save Ireland' at Irish-focussed events early in the war can be seen as replicating the subtle Irish-Australian transgression evident in the Anglo-Boer War.<sup>281</sup>

There were examples in both cities. An Adelaide Christian Brother's school dinner toasted the 'King and the Pope', ending the evening with 'God Save Ireland'.<sup>282</sup> This anthem's final line – 'Whether on the scaffold high or on the battle-field we die, Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall' – made a statement about Irish identity, if not ambiguous loyalty.<sup>283</sup> It was always programmed at St Patrick's Day gatherings and Hibernian events such as Adelaide's 1915 Annual District Meeting: 'Home Rule Speeches' were followed by a

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<sup>280</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 March 1916. The original article was dated 4 February 1916.

<sup>281</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 March, *Advocate*, 29 March 1901 and 142, 146, and 168-9 above for reference to public singing of this anthem during the Anglo-Boer War.

<sup>282</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 January 1915.

<sup>283</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 August 1914. This issue published the lines after the civilian shootings accompanying the July Dublin gun-running. 'Prominent Topics – The Dublin Tragedy' included a prescient description of 'a badly-bungled piece of business, the end of which no man can yet see'.

‘rousing rendering of ‘God Save Ireland’...’.<sup>284</sup> At the 1915 St Patrick’s Day concert, ‘God Save Ireland’ followed one verse of ‘God Save the King’.<sup>285</sup> In 1916 a musical trinity intoned all three strands of Irish-Australian identity when ‘Song of Australia’ was also added.<sup>286</sup>

Singing ‘God Save Ireland’ in Gaelic at Melbourne’s 1915 Gaelic League concert closed ‘a fine Irish night.’<sup>287</sup> Mannix attended the Irish National Concert in 1916 where audience participation in Ireland’s ‘national anthem’ was part of the finale.<sup>288</sup> But reports in April 1916 that the St Vincent’s Hospital fund-raising dinner came to a ‘successful close [by] singing ‘A Nation Once Again’<sup>289</sup> and ‘God Save Ireland’, suggested broader further subtle wartime transgression, since this group fell outside Irish-Australian association.<sup>290</sup>

Persistently including a historically provocative Irish anthem at diverse events suggests Irish-Australian willingness to withstand criticism at moments when honouring Ireland’s history and difficult relationship with England was more important than Empire.

### *The State of Ireland*

In both newspapers there were consistent, and, in retrospect, alarming allusions to Irish dissension. At the time, few Irish-Australians could discern from contradictory sources what was really happening in Ireland. The ‘promise’ of Home Rule had a powerful capacity to limit distant criticism. Returning from Ireland, Bishop Phelan acknowledged that delaying the measure would have created ‘a seething mass of discontent’, but failed to

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<sup>284</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 May 1915.

<sup>285</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19, 26 March 1915. At Farrell Flat, a small SA Mid-North hamlet where Irish colonists had settled in higher proportions than elsewhere, verses of the Belgian and British anthems were sung before ‘God Save Ireland’.

<sup>286</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1916.

<sup>287</sup> *Advocate*, 15 May 1915.

<sup>288</sup> *Advocate*, 25 March 1916.

<sup>289</sup> Thomas Davis wrote the words; see Appendix D for words and C for his details.

<sup>290</sup> *Advocate*, 8 April 1916.

either see the promise came without guarantees, or the strength of Irish dissatisfaction.<sup>291</sup> Mention of ‘factionists’ or ‘irreconcilables’ from late 1914 hinted at Irish hesitation over Redmond’s war policies.<sup>292</sup> In Australia, traditional IPP supporters seemed unable to grapple with evidence of Irish unrest. In January 1915 a cable to Redmond from second generation O’Donnell and Dr Charles McCarthy (his first generation Sydney UIL counterpart),<sup>293</sup> acknowledged opposition ‘encouraged by a small, but active section of Irish-American extremists’. Local supporters understood these were annoying the IPP, affecting ‘acceptance of the Home Rule Bill ... [and] the very practical support it has given the War Office’.<sup>294</sup> In December, the *Advocate* published an item claiming that Sinn Fein, having ‘kept the lamp of nationality alive ... in Dublin’, was now ‘on the rocks [and] can’t pay rent or taxes ...’. No doubt this reassured some. Arguing that Sinn Fein success was Dublin-based only, it came from ‘the more youthful and irresponsible of the community, who are generally susceptible to the will-o-the wisp politics’.<sup>295</sup> Thus many Irish-Australians knew of this group, had concerns, but received inconclusive reports from their newspapers.

Ireland’s unique war contribution became a feature of greater significance in early 1916.<sup>296</sup> However, increasing references to the existence of ‘an Irish spirit’, although not widespread, quite resolute and ‘unreconciled to the British Army’, indicated increasing Irish anxiety. ‘Exchanges’ in early 1916 brought both reassurance<sup>297</sup> and anxieties about Home

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<sup>291</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19 March 1915 for report of Bishop Phelan’s return from Ireland.

<sup>292</sup> See *Advocate* of 12, 19, December 1914, 3, 10 April, 14 August, 18 September, 16 October, 6 November 1915, *Southern Cross*, 29 January, 30 April, 13 August 1915.

<sup>293</sup> See Appendix C for details of McCarthy’s life.

<sup>294</sup> *Advocate*, 16 January 1915. See 190 fn.60 above for mention of McCarthy’s nomination in 1914 to represent NSW at the Home Rule parliament.

<sup>295</sup> *Advocate*, 18 December 1915. The ‘European Intelligence’ column had no date and rarely included attribution; the named speaker was Dublin Alderman, Thomas Kelly.

<sup>296</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 January, 18 March (St Patrick’s Day issue focussed on this), 29 April (‘Our London Letter’ of 8 March), *Southern Cross*, 14 January (this lists Irish Jesuit College numbers on active service, dead and wounded, mentioned in dispatches), 28 January, 18 February, 3 (‘Irish Heroism in the Balkans’), 17 March 1916.

<sup>297</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 February, 10 March, 7, 14 April, *Advocate*, 8, 22 January, 5, 19 February 1916.

Rule.<sup>298</sup> From this distance, and with the acknowledged bias of cables, *all* Irish-Australians faced insuperable difficulties in deciphering what was or was not happening. Louder mutterings and inklings of growing Irish distrust of England were visible in both newspapers.<sup>299</sup> But from Ireland came reassurance that the influence of this ‘ugly group of malcontents who desire to maintain or revive animosities...is at the present time very small’.<sup>300</sup> Just as most Irish citizens, and many British authorities (including Dublin residents), were astonished and appalled by the events of Easter Monday, Irish-Australians struggled with the news and how to make sense of it.

This chapter has focussed on the opening years of World War One, that section of the war when the connectedness between the three strands of Irish-Australian identity and loyalty – imperial, Irish and Australian – seemed absolute and guaranteed. Given Home Rule’s certainty – negotiating the parliamentary gauntlet from 1912 and, on the Statute Book against Ulster’s best efforts – most residual antagonism against England was suspended. In the new Commonwealth structure, support for Australia’s war participation was general among most Irish-Australians. Similarly, approval of Britain’s motives for engaging in warfare, particularly the symbolic importance of ‘small nations’, validated imperial support. Early months witnessed collective outrage about German behaviour. The uncomplicated demonstration of patriotic responses suggested a population unified by outlook and understanding. However as the war ‘progressed’, there were consistently noted factors in detailed Irish ‘exchanges’ which rarely synchronised with London ‘news’. For many Irish-Australians, the discrepancies sowed seeds of doubt, particularly about guarantees of Home Rule. The nature of Redmond’s bargain was possibly clearer in Dublin than London, but

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<sup>298</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 January, *Advocate*, 11, 18 March 1916.

<sup>299</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 January, 11 February, 7, 21 April, *Advocate*, 5 February, 29 April 1916.

<sup>300</sup> *Advocate*, 5 February 1916. The material was quoted in ‘At the Crossroads’ and came from the *Church of Ireland Gazette*.

much less explicit than many Irish demanded. He promised Irish support for the war in return for the delayed promise of Home Rule, with the delay offset by unconditional British recognition of Ireland's wartime generosity.

Thus, when Irish-Australians were being both affirmed and confronted by the Gallipoli narrative, for the Irish, neither the calibre of their military contribution, nor their bravery and losses were sufficiently acknowledged beyond Ireland. And, as casualties in Belgium and France raised the spectre of conscription in Britain, the fragility of Redmond's bargain showed cracks.

All of these facets of war were reflected in the *Advocate* and the '*Cross*', both papers made huge adjustments to the demands of war coverage, former editors became military participants. The role of both newspapers in providing detailed discussion about the multifarious aspects of the conflict was critical; views from Church and Irish-Australian leaders represented perspectives often divergent from the daily press. Reminders too that Irish-Australians occupied a peripheral position were reflected in accounts of prejudice. By early 1916, partly because of war weariness alongside official apprehension about the war's outcome, Australian society's more critical and marginalising temperature was raised, precipitated on one hand by accusations about Freemasonry, and on the other by suspicion that Irish-Australian contribution was inadequate. The nature of this dissension affirmed the Irish-Australian position of difference, a position personified by Archbishop Mannix.

However throughout the later months of the first phase of the war, there were important signifiers of limited compliance within the Irish-Australian community. One overt symbol was the prominence of 'God Save Ireland' on public occasions. Often performed alongside 'God Save the King', it nevertheless became more of a flaunted statement of Irish identity

and determination. Its performance could also be interpreted as a reflection of increasing Irish-Australian disappointment with the war's impact, and Ireland's efforts, on the prospects for Home Rule. And while news of the Easter Rising in 1916 was totally outside any Australian expectations or understanding, in retrospect, embedded in the columns of both newspapers, there were frequent hints about the intensity of Irish dissatisfaction with Redmond's English bargain: Irish disloyalty in April 1916 was to have major short, medium and long-term implications for Irish-Australian's loyalty, and for the identity issues they faced. Figure 34 illustrates the ongoing integration of Irish and Australian symbols within the Irish-Catholic press, a naive amalgam to be gravely disrupted in 1916.

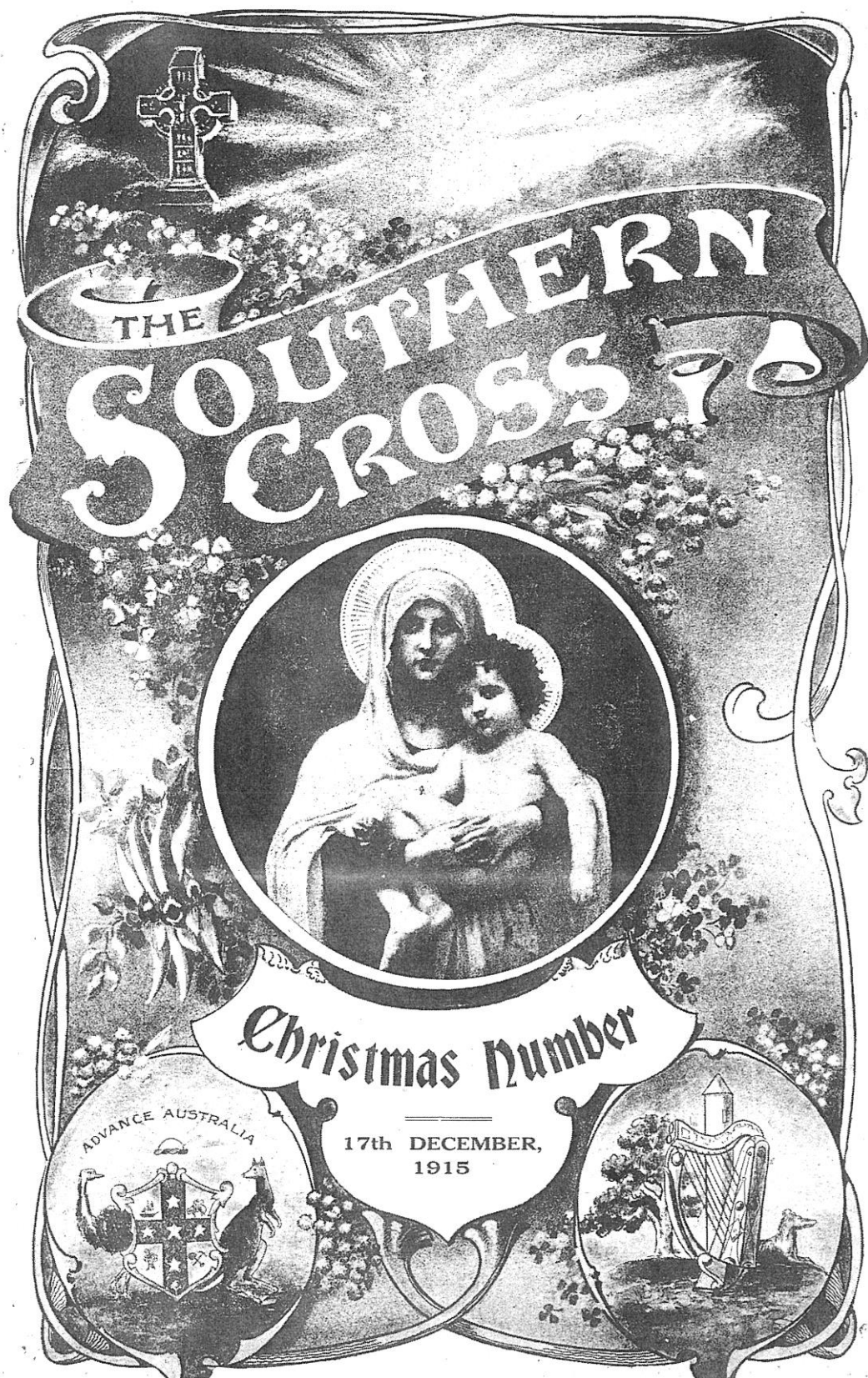


Figure 34. Front Cover, *Southern Cross*, 17 December 1915

## Shifting Loyalty? Challenges to Irish-Australians from the Easter Rising to the End of World War One.

*The war, and paradoxically enough even conscription, became secondary to the voicing of hatreds that sprang from divisions in society that no one had suspected were so deep, or if they suspected, shrank from acknowledging.<sup>1</sup>*

Reading Limerick Bishop O'Dwyer's September 1916 judgement of Sinn Féin as 'the true principle, and alliance with the English politicians [as] the alliance of the lamb with the wolf...';<sup>2</sup> presented Irish-Australians with a semi-religious context for reversing their pre-Easter 1916 certainties. Analysis of *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* coverage in the following chapters will show how the Rising became a turning point for Irish-Australian imperial loyalty. In an atmosphere where anti-Irish hostility erupted with such volatility (and as Mandle indicates, with unrecognised or acknowledged intensity), where the daily press reflected prejudice, often distortion, the Irish-Catholic press became more central for most Irish-Australians. This chapter will focus on specifically Australian dimensions while Chapter Six will explore transnational threads, some that have been previously noted, but others that reflect a new post-Rising environment.

*Advocate* and *Southern Cross* editors, T.C. Brennan and F.M. Koerner shared confusion about the Easter Rising. But there were expectations that they provide an explanation, especially

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<sup>1</sup> WF Mandle, *Going it Alone: Australia's National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, Allen Lane (The Penguin Press), London, 1978, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 November 1916. The bishop was presented with the 'Freedom of Limerick' on 14 September. See Sheridan Gilley, 'The Catholic Church and Revolution' in DG Boyce (ed.), *The Revolution in Ireland 1879-1923*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1988, 170 for description of O'Dwyer as 'a long-term right-wing opponent of the Parliamentary Party...[who] blossomed in 1915 into a ferocious public critic of the assumption that Ireland should fight for England'. Gilley describes him as 'the only bishop to come out with what read perilously like a condonation of the Rising...'. See Appendix C for O'Dwyer's details.



in an atmosphere in which newspapers condemned the rebellion as treachery.<sup>3</sup> Most Irish-Australians, committed to the Empire, were outraged, horrified and disappointed by the Rising. But the critical perspective shifted in response to British actions in Ireland. Editorials attempted to offer guidance; after the Rising, the *Advocate* provided thirteen in 1916 and in 1917, but twenty-one in 1918. In 1916 Koerner published twelve in the '*Cross*', seven in 1917 and twelve in 1918.<sup>4</sup>

Following Archbishop Carr's death in May 1917, Mannix became Melbourne's Archbishop, significant for both Catholics and the wider community. Differences over conscription led to editorial change at the *Advocate*, and Thomas Shorthill, previously assistant, became editor from April 1917.<sup>5</sup> This study's detailed engagement with both newspapers in the critical post-Rising months provides insights into the ways some ordinary Irish-Australians responded to the event. And while it is important to acknowledge that newspapers and their readers share a complex relationship, and that published material does not in itself reflect growing popular support among either generation of Irish-Australians, nevertheless the tone and extent of this newspaper evidence suggests attitudes were changing. What it reveals then, casts some doubt on O'Farrell's judgement about how 'Irish Australians viewed Ireland and its rebels'. Far from 'enthusiasm' according to his account (which critiques 'the thesis of Irish importance' in wartime Australia), the evidence 'suggests ... that the rebellion turned out to be a barely tolerated last straw'.<sup>6</sup> This chapter will demonstrate that, by contrast, evidence from these newspapers identifies growing acceptance of Sinn Féin among many first and second generation Irish-Australians, and concomitant doubts about the possibilities of constitutional change.

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<sup>3</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 July 1916 for one example among hundreds, a reprinted series of letters from the *Argus* about LOL attacks on 12 July.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendices H-1 and 2 which includes a list of '*Cross*' Topics; Koerner wrote these.

<sup>5</sup> See *Advocate* of 17 April 1917 for announcement of TC Brennan's resignation.

<sup>6</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 270.

*Early Reactions to the Easter Rising.*

Both newspapers reflected horror and negativity in their initial responses to the Easter Rising.<sup>7</sup> Senior churchmen and prominent Irish-Australians denounced the action; Appendix G shows that most linked the rebellion to earlier events.<sup>8</sup> Both editors quickly acknowledged consequences for the Home Rule process,<sup>9</sup> Koerner insisting ‘the vast majority of Irish Australians’ rejected rebellion.<sup>10</sup> Both invoked British responses to precedents – Carson’s defiance between 1912 and 1914, and the Boer rebellion of 1914.<sup>11</sup> Brennan emphasised the role of Irish-Australia in the long struggle for Home Rule,<sup>12</sup> Koerner’s analysis was broader. His comments included the delay to Home Rule, conflict between National and Irish Volunteers, Birrell’s inadequate response to ‘seditious elements’, Ireland’s military record – and martial law.<sup>13</sup> As Irish-Australians read condemnation of the Dublin events; they were thus also reminded of reasons and precedent.

In subsequent more detailed accounts of the Rising, shock gave way to alarm as cables relayed news of executions. From Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) leader, John Redmond, came outbursts about ‘rapidly increasing bitterness and exasperation’ among groups without ‘the slightest sympathy with the insurrection’. He used ‘Botha’s precedent in the South African rebellion’ to demand the immediate end to executions.<sup>14</sup> Nicholas

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<sup>7</sup> See Michael Wheatley, ‘Irreconcilable Enemies’ or ‘Flesh and Blood’? The Irish Party and the Easter Rebels, 1914-16’ in Gabriel Doherty and Dermot Keogh (eds.), *1916: The Long Revolution*, Mercier Press, Cork, 2007, 63, for discussion of comparable responses of Irish provincial press being ‘formed in a climate of profound shock and confusion’.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix G for details. See also *Southern Cross* of 28 April 1916 for copy of the cable of support (and extreme condemnation) sent to John Redmond.

<sup>9</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May, *Advocate*, 6 May 1916. In the text, the paper will be known as the ‘*Cross*’ – as described by its staff and readers.

<sup>10</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916.

<sup>11</sup> See Wheatley, ‘Irreconcilable Enemies’ 72-3 for mention of Irish pro-IPP newspapers focus on Carson and the ‘South African precedent for leniency...’.

<sup>12</sup> *Advocate*, 6 May 1916.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix C for details about Casement’s life.

<sup>14</sup> *Advocate*, 6 May 1916.

O'Donnell's cable from Melbourne to Redmond described Australian UIL relief at the outbreak's 'speedy end', but continued:

We favour clemency...rather than tactless executions which only revive the horrors of the past and may engender future troubles.<sup>15</sup>

These implicit criticisms from Irish-Australian leaders, and items from 'leading English papers' which warned about transforming rebels into martyrs,<sup>16</sup> both enabled a more confident editorial position, and guided readers towards greater balance.

By 19 and 20 May Irish-Australians had full details of executions, martial law and deportations. IPP deputy, John Dillon, a witness to Dublin's violence, was reported in the '*Cross*' as having declared pride in the rebels in a powerful Westminster diatribe. Its impact was forceful in London, and made powerful reading for Irish-Australians. Admitting 'misdirected [rebel] enthusiasm', he protested that 'stories of executions were embittering [Ireland] ... transforming the loyal into the disloyal'.<sup>17</sup> The *Advocate* reported Mannix's address to Hibernian delegates in Melbourne. Emphasising he had not 'concealed [his] opinion of the criminal folly of the uprising ... [and recognising it has] thrown back considerably ... [the cause of Ireland, Mannix argued that] ... these advocates of merciless punishment must have misread Irish history'. He linked the 1867 execution of the Manchester Martyrs to the growth of that 'bitter spirit of hostility to British law [in Ireland] which easily leads to open rebellion'. Editor Brennan claimed the rebels were an unrepresentative minority, but, accepting inevitable penalties for their actions, queried these as 'vindictive policy'. Reminding readers that 'irreconcilable South African burghers' received clemency, and that the 'first suggestion of armed insurrection' in Ireland came

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<sup>15</sup> *Advocate*, 13 May 1916.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, ('Prominent Topics').

<sup>17</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 May 1916. See Wheatley, 'Irreconcilable Enemies', 75 for Irish impact of Dillon's parliamentary condemnation, suggesting it hardened 'local party rhetoric'.

from Carson, he neatly encapsulated British inconsistency and alternative reactions.<sup>18</sup> In the ‘*Cross*’, Koerner rejected ‘foolish and criminal rebellion’, but compared James Connolly’s execution to ‘German methods in Belgium’.<sup>19</sup> Again South Africa and Ulster were contrasted. He urged the immediate introduction of Home Rule, applauding cable suggestions about ending ‘the bad old system of ‘Castle’ government’.<sup>20</sup> Both editors maintained support for Redmond, criticising rebel defiance of IPP policy. These early editorial positions accord with Michael Wheatley’s study of the Irish provincial press. He described the appearance of ‘a distinctive party-political narrative’ which claimed the Rising ‘endangered home rule – by alienating British opinion ...’.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout July correspondence involving five Victorian Irishmen displayed opposing (but well-informed) views about the Rising.<sup>22</sup> Three letters abraded Britain’s response: one contrasted local UIL support for Redmond with its ‘tardy’ protest against executions, two castigated the original writer and those ‘impugning the heroes’ as ‘*shoneens*’, supporters of John Bull.<sup>23</sup> Those who interpreted the Rising as ‘a black crime’, arguing that Ireland’s cause ‘is safe in the hands of Redmond’ supported by Britain, accused other correspondents of wanting German victory.<sup>24</sup> These letters were threaded with references to atrocity propaganda (about Germany), the danger of conscription, a son at the front, local educational injustice, and contrasting responses to Carson and Boer treachery. Such an interplay of domestic and transnational issues reveals how some ‘ordinary Irish-Australians’ were thinking, with little evidence of O’Farrell’s ‘last straw’. Significantly,

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<sup>18</sup> *Advocate*, 20 May 1916.

<sup>19</sup> Connolly was the final rebel executed, he was brought (probably dying) from hospital, his wounds prevented his standing so he was shot while tied to a chair.

<sup>20</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 May 1916. (‘Topics: The Aftermath of Rebellion’). Connolly was shot just before Asquith’s arrival in Dublin.

<sup>21</sup> Wheatley, ‘Irreconcilable Enemies’, 64.

<sup>22</sup> See *Advocate* of 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 July 1916 Individuals recommended texts for their misguided opponents to read, and generally displayed informed opinions.

<sup>23</sup> See *Advocate* of 8, 15 and 29 July 1916 for letters from HA Meagher, TR Ryan and Patrick O’Connell.

<sup>24</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 and 22 for letters from ‘Commonsense’ and 29 July for CJ Mealy.

Brennan explained letters had been shortened: some for space reasons and another (suggesting the dissent continuum mentioned previously) ‘because we would certainly have been visited by the censor had we published it in full’.<sup>25</sup>

Thus evaluation of these newspapers reveals a transition by late May.<sup>26</sup> From outright, unqualified condemnation, both papers moved to disavowal of rebel actions, tempered by clarity about causes, recognition of alternative precedents for retribution and, apprehension about the consequences of an embittered Irish population. Differences in coverage and content were already evident: the *Cross* explored issues in greater depth, while the *Advocate* presented a broader range of material, and, naturally, demonstrated more aggressive support of Mannix. That this transition is evident in newspapers suggests only the nature of what all Irish-Australian readers could access soon after the Rising. Whether many reader attitudes were modified by such input in mid-1916 is unclear.

#### *Irish-Australian Loyalty: Responses and Challenges*

From mid-1916 these newspapers depict an Irish-Australian community generally determined to display the breadth and depth of its loyalty, despite accusations of imperial disloyalty.<sup>27</sup> Thus when minority sections of this community, like Melbourne’s Dr Leeper criticised clerical inaction or passivity about recruiting,<sup>28</sup> both newspapers published comments/addresses from priests, reports of parish services for soldiers, unveiling of honour boards and Catholic enlistment numbers to underline loyalty and war support. Within this amalgam, the early capacity of Archbishops Mannix and Spence to even

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<sup>25</sup> *Advocate*, 29 July 1916. See 2-3 above for explanation of the continuum of dissent.

<sup>26</sup> See Robert Schmuhl, ‘Peering through the Fog: American Newspapers and the Easter Rising’ in *Irish Communications Review*, Vol XII, 2000, 41-3 for reference to ‘shifting of opinion’ in American newspapers such as the *New York Times* by 12 May, and view that American political opinion was transformed by the rebels becoming martyrs.

<sup>27</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 June 1917 for Perth’s Archbishop Clune’s remarks about £1000 raised for Belgian relief.

<sup>28</sup> *Advocate*, 2 June 1916.

marginally transgress against the broader community's loyalty momentum represented important harbingers of subsequent sedition accusations. This section identifies and outlines a small sample of illustrative items published after Easter 1916.

At St Patrick's, one of Adelaide's most Irish parishes, Fr Morrison held a 'memorial and intercession' service 'for fallen, wounded or departing soldiers' in May 1916. He spoke about loyalty as 'written on the slopes of Gallipoli ... and France', hoping the Empire would recognise its 'value'.<sup>29</sup> And when his parish marked the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its Hibernian branch, the 29 combatant members were celebrated, and the national total of 3,000. Koerner published Fr Morrison's address, 'Loyalty and Irish Characteristics' over two weeks, disseminating his arguments more widely.<sup>30</sup> Responding directly to Leeper's accusation about clerics and recruiting, a Melbourne priest outlined his weekly prayer references to Belgian or Polish suffering, soldier or chaplain actions, arguing these were 'most effectual ... in recruiting Catholics'.<sup>31</sup> Mannix wickedly employed Protestant framing of the war as God's retribution for wrong-doing<sup>32</sup> to suggest the over-proud Empire deserved further chastisement.<sup>33</sup> Koerner reminded Leeper that all Irish and local bishops encouraged recruitment, singling out Fr Le Maitre's contribution. He pondered provocative intent, asking why Leeper would do his 'utmost' to make Catholics disloyal, and 'abuse them because they are not sufficiently loyal'.<sup>34</sup> The ease with which detractors moved into explicit allegations after Easter 1916 suggests levels of pre-existing, latent prejudice against Irish-Australians.

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<sup>29</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1916.

<sup>30</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 and 14 July 1916.

<sup>31</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 June, *Advocate*, 3 June 1916.

<sup>32</sup> See McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, 32 and 39.

<sup>33</sup> *Advocate*, 3 June, *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1916.

<sup>34</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1916.

From 1917 both newspapers presented accounts of honour rolls, tangible evidence of both participation and death rates, marking either school or parish imperial loyalty.<sup>35</sup> Such conspicuous displays of loyalty matched the wider community momentum, showing Irish-Australian similarity rather than difference. But their unveiling facilitated important platforms for displaying their similarity to the loyalist community.. Typically unveiled by archbishops<sup>36</sup> and dignitaries,<sup>37</sup> these events represented unrivalled publicity opportunities, especially within the sectarian chasm after the 1916 referendum defeat. After Adelaide's first Catholic school unveiled an honour roll in September 1917, Koerner noted the addition of a further 100 names to the original 300.<sup>38</sup> A second school's board was displayed in a major city thoroughfare – involving the Governor in the official ceremony demonstrated explicit engagement with imperial loyalty.<sup>39</sup>



**Figure 35.** Views of Honour Board at St Patrick's Church, Adelaide

<sup>35</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 July 1915 for early report of a CYMS Honour Roll in Melbourne.

<sup>36</sup> See *Advocate* of 12 April 1918 for report of Mannix unveiling a board at Bendigo Marist Brother's school where he specifically linked these objects with loyalty.

<sup>37</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 February 1918 for role of RP Blundell (SA MP from 1907 to 1918) in unveiling the St Patrick's ACF honour roll listing 180 participants and 32 deaths.

<sup>38</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 September 1917 and 19 April 1918 when CBC Old Collegians met, 40 deaths were noted.

<sup>39</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 September for the city display and 28 September for the unveiling and list of names continued in edition of 5 October. See also edition of 16 November 1917 for details of a further unveiling at the Marist Brothers' Adelaide school.

Archbishop Spence's role at ACF-sponsored parish unveilings – Brompton in 1917<sup>40</sup> and St Patrick's in 1918<sup>41</sup> – identified more specifically with Irish-Australian loyalty and identity. The 1918 board (see Figure 35) was made of blackwood, incorporating the three flags, supported by wattle, Sturt pea and shamrock.<sup>42</sup> Spence was unusually outspoken, foreshadowing subsequent security concerns about imperial loyalty. Having divulged he wanted to remain in Australia, he described the war as just, and despite claiming he would avoid going into details, emphasised Ireland's early high enlistment levels. He argued such statistics should be revealed to 'those who are accustomed to dub Ireland as disloyal'. Then his unexpected intervention: 'There were Irishmen today who would say, with perhaps a good deal of truth that England did not deserve that assistance'. Spence made fewer public statements than Mannix, and was always circumspect, so this statement represents his extreme distress. While the event preceded official Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) monitoring of Irish-Australians, its reporting in the '*Cross*' reveals the importance of newspapers for surveillance activities, and emerging gradations within the continuum of dissent.

Imperial loyalty was displayed in other Irish-Catholic activities. For example, in 1917 Koerner reported '*Cross*' directors had decided to 'invest the surplus funds in the bank in the Liberty War Loan...being offered by the Commonwealth'.<sup>43</sup> A farewell to volunteers mentioned one fifth of Hibernians who had enlisted 'were dead in France'.<sup>44</sup> Both Denny's promotion to Captain, and details of his accumulated parliamentary salary allocation between the Mitcham Soldier's Hut, the SA Soldier's Fund and the Red Cross, were

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<sup>40</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 September 1917 for report of 1000 Brompton district enlistments, including 131 ACF members, 12 of whom were 'laid in foreign graves'.

<sup>41</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 September 1917 for report of a St Patrick's ACF committee to investigate how to honour members who fought for their 'King and country'.

<sup>42</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 February 1918 for details of unveiling and about the ACF-sponsored board.

<sup>43</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 October 1917.

<sup>44</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 September 1918 for item 'Hibernian Heroes of the War' in which this branch listed its dead and seriously wounded members. See issue of 11 October for INF claim that 30% of its members had enlisted.



presented as showing the truth about loyalty.<sup>45</sup> When UIL members lost sons in the war, expressions of sympathy featured prominently at meetings,<sup>46</sup> and regular Red Cross reports listed fund-raising efforts from city and country schools.<sup>47</sup>

Towards the end of the war, the demand for more overt expressions of loyal support became stronger. But in an atmosphere where more explicit accusations of imperial disloyalty were combined with increasing despair about Ireland, it seems many Irish-Australians tacitly recognised their loyalty could never be proved to the satisfaction of the dominant Anglo majority.

#### *Prominent Individuals, the War and Ireland*

This section will look briefly at some key spokesmen whose addresses and/or published material helped inform Irish-Australians about Ireland and the war after 1916. Some maintained earlier prominence – Bishops Phelan and Kelly<sup>48</sup> – while others occupied slightly different positions. For example, Mannix (Figure 39) became the dominant Church and public figure for Irish-Australia from May 1917.<sup>49</sup> Other Church figures were influential: Bishop Hayden, newly appointed to Broken Hill, and Brothers Purton and Sebastian.<sup>50</sup> Both Purton and Sebastian spoke frequently in Victoria and South Australia,

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<sup>45</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 July and 23 August 1918.

<sup>46</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 September 1918 for FB Keogh and JC Healy's sons' deaths.

<sup>47</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 4 October 1918 for report of school events at North Adelaide, Prospect, Mt Barker, Mt Gambier and Christian Brothers' schools.

<sup>48</sup> See 215 and 225 above for reference to Bishop Phelan, and *Advocate* of 1 July 1916 for secular press criticism of Archbishop Kelly.

<sup>49</sup> See *Advocate*, 27 May 1916 where his article 'German Complicity in the Sinn Fein Revolt' provided the issue's front cover feature.

<sup>50</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 8 November (Bishop Hayden on 'Small Nations, Ireland and the Peace Conference'), 4 October and 15 November 1918. Purton's October address in Adelaide on 'The Sources of a National Spirit' did not mention Ireland or Australia, but hoped that the nationally growing spirit 'would not be vitiated by false ideas of Imperialism and Jingoism'. His November address, 'The Cross and the Crescent', included peace conference references. See *Advocate* of 13 July for Sebastian's Kilmore lecture on 'The Irish Situation', *Southern Cross* of 20 September for his address contrasting O'Connell and Redmond and issue of 18 October 1918 for his toast to 'Ireland a Nation' at Adelaide's INF Installation.

later attracting SIB attention for the tone if not the content of their addresses.<sup>51</sup> Figures 36 and 37 show Bros Purton and Sebastian; Figure 38 illustrates something of Archbishop Mannix's promotion by the *Advocate*.

Parliamentarians, McMahon Glynn<sup>52</sup> and W.J. Denny remained noteworthy.<sup>53</sup> While military participation continued to enhance J.V. O'Loughlin and Denny, both Denny and Glynn, faced Irish-Australian criticism over support for conscription. As first and second generation Irish-Australians, these two held positions seemingly at odds with many others in this community. In the light of Denny's pro-conscription statements in 1915, and his subsequent enlistment and military achievements, when he explained in January 1917 that two 'different sources' had approached him re a conscription manifesto but that distance had prevented any campaign involvement, his apparent prevarication was noted.<sup>54</sup> After the second referendum, early in 1918, he insisted there had been no approach from the pro-conscription side.<sup>55</sup> McMahon Glynn promoted the Yes vote in 1917,<sup>56</sup> and in 1918 attracted a very critical series of letters in the '*Cross*'; some correspondents objected strongly to Koerner's defence of his position.<sup>57</sup> Significantly, it seemed that for Irish-South Australians, conscription represented the most divisive issue. As a perceived component of imperial loyalty, conscription was not one where generation membership was the defining factor..

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<sup>51</sup> See 257, 258-9, 261 and 268 below for SIB focus, and Appendix C for details of these Brothers.

<sup>52</sup> See *Advocate*, 13 May 1916 for lengthy interview headed 'The Loyalty of Ireland: Mr Glynn on the Sinn Féin'. See *Advocate*, 31 August and *Southern Cross*, 13 September 1918 reporting his Celtic Club address 'An Historical View of the Irish Question'.

<sup>53</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 18 October 1918 for account of his Australian, French and American war experiences, and issues of 20 September and 1 November for reprints of his *New York Times* Magazine articles, 'Causes of Delay in Transmitting casualties' and 'Unified America – As Seen by an Australian'. See also issue of 8 November 1918 for explanation of his US war work in a letter to his brother, Fr RP Denny.

<sup>54</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19 January 1917.

<sup>55</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 February 1918.

<sup>56</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 November 1917.

<sup>57</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 29 March, 3, 17 and 24 May 1918.



Figure 36. Brother D.G. Purton (1883-1948), c.1920



Figure 37. Brother Sebastian (Michael) Hayden (1873-1948), nd

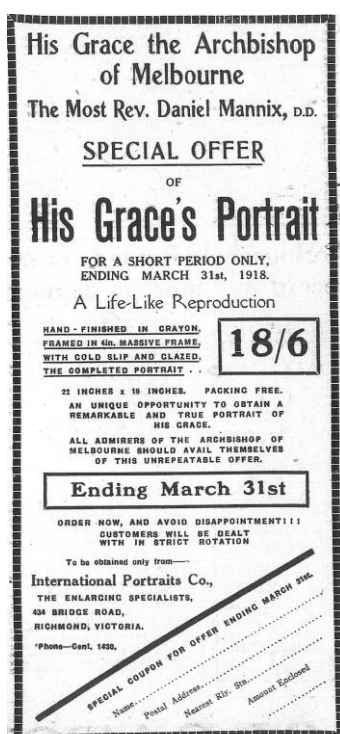


Figure 38. Advertisement from *Advocate*, 9 March 1918



Figure 39. Archbishop Daniel Mannix (1864-1963), c.1919 (AWM P01383-001)

When J.V. O’Loghlin visited London and Ireland in 1916, Koerner published his letters. He was at Westminster for Lloyd George’s first speech as Prime Minister, and noted Redmond’s concern (from official ‘vague and indefinite’ references), that Irish policy ‘was being allowed to drift’.<sup>58</sup> He described conversations with soldiers who planned to vote

<sup>58</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 February 1917. The letter was dated 21 December 1916.

against conscription; he looked forward to visiting Ireland,<sup>59</sup> ‘the Cinderella of the Empire’.<sup>60</sup> O’Loughlin was in Europe as a military volunteer, this associated him with imperial loyalty, but visiting Ireland indicated the centrality of his Irish identification. In the 1917 conscription campaign, he described Hughes as having ‘a new bogey which he labelled Sinn Fein, with Dr Mannix as a figurehead’. Responding to attacks on Mannix for expressing his views ‘on a public question’, O’Loughlin criticised other churchmen using their ‘ecclesiastical capacity on the subject of conscription’.<sup>61</sup> O’Loughlin was targeted by imperial loyalists rather than Irish-Australians. In mid-1918, accusations of disloyalty came from Censor monitoring of his public speeches<sup>62</sup> and from his parliamentary comments about peace by negotiation.<sup>63</sup> Thus as a leading Irish-Australian, O’Loughlin was also vulnerable (but not for the same reasons as McMahon Glynn and Denny) – supporting Ireland was synonymous with imperial disloyalty.

Former MHR, Protestant Irishman Justice Higgins<sup>64</sup> avoided the disloyal taint when his address to Melbourne University’s Newman Society, ‘In Europe 1914-15’, included aspects of the Irish question.<sup>65</sup> Publication of his lecture provided a succinct summary for *Advocate* readers. But the death of his only son in France had demonstrated the family’s imperial loyalty.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> He was meeting his cousin Dan from Lisdoonvarna in Co Clare. O’Loughlin’s parents had left Ireland in 1840; that family contact was maintained for nearly 80 years is astonishing. This was O’Loughlin’s first visit to Ireland, but see John O’Loughlin (sic) to JV O’Loughlin, Letter, nd (but c.1891), O’Loughlin Papers, NLA, MS4520/2/5 demonstrating family connection, mentioning receipt of copies of the ‘*Cross*.’

<sup>60</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 January 1917. Despite promising details after his visit, no further letters were published.

<sup>61</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 December 1917. O’Loughlin cited Sydney’s Anglican Primate and Bishop Wright of Willochra, and Dr Rentoul as ‘preaching conscription in their pulpits and conferences’.

<sup>62</sup> See NAA: A8911/219. ‘Sinn Fein South Australia: General Reports on Organisation’. The first, an intercepted letter of 30 April from UIL President Patrick Healy to his Victorian counterpart, Morgan Jageurs mentioned O’Loughlin as ‘one of our [UIL] leading members’ and was sent to the Acting Prime Minister because he was a Senator. The item dated 30 May 1918 used a number code to refer to his chairing the Irish National Society’s (INS) founding meeting.

<sup>63</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21, 28 June and 5 July 1918.

<sup>64</sup> See above 146, 151, 164, 167 and 169 above for reference to Higgins’ attitude to Anglo-Boer War. By 1917 he was a member of the Arbitration Commission.

<sup>65</sup> See *Advocate*, 11, 18 and 25 August 1917.

<sup>66</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 January 1917 for his son’s obituary and a photograph.

These respected Irish-Australians made important contributions to various loyalty-connected debates after 1916. Importantly, their interventions received extensive coverage in both newspapers; this ensured the reading community accessed their Irish experiences, as well as educative input at public events. As stressed previously, this material was of unrivalled significance when news about Ireland was under-reported and/or distorted within the daily press.

#### *Transition from Irish Parliamentary Party to Sinn Fein*

This section will show that despite publishing Irish ‘exchanges’ which showed greater Sinn Fein popularity and IPP decline, both Koerner and Shorthill only grasped their significance slowly. For most Irish-Australians transition from affirmed IPP links to Sinn Fein involved huge challenges.<sup>67</sup> Jettisoning the security of a four decade IPP association required significant and confronting shifts. This relationship was central to the shape of Irish-Australian identity, cemented by Irish delegations and visitors, and expanded by transnational friendships. The IPP had nailed all its colours to the Home Rule mast. As Home Rule certainties faded, although Sinn Fein was an unknown for most Irish-Australians, its by-election victories in 1917 compounded faltering belief in the IPP. Some Irish-Australians of both generations found the Irish National Association (INA) established in Sydney during 1915,<sup>68</sup> and in Melbourne during July 1917,<sup>69</sup> an attractive haven. Adelaide was slower; its Irish National Society (INS) emerged just before the arrest in three states of seven Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) suspects in June 1918. Moving beyond parliamentary solutions proved painful for many Irish-Australians – discarding old

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<sup>67</sup> Emerging in 1905 (founded by Arthur Griffith and Bulmer Hobson) after the Anglo-Boer War, Sinn Fein focussed on cultural and economic independence. Policies aimed for passive resistance – no Westminster attendance, citizen rejection of government bodies in favour of Irish ones. Without success until WW1, its opposition to recruiting gave it an anti-British reputation; it was wrongly blamed for the Easter Rising.

<sup>68</sup> See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 254.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* O’Farrell states it was September but the July reference in the *Southern Cross* of 28 June 1918, quotes one founder, Frank McKeown, and by then, membership of 3-400.

optimism about Ireland and acknowledging British betrayal took the community into unknown loyalty terrain.

Koerner's mid-1916 doubts about IPP policy were triggered by Lloyd George's Home Rule scheme;<sup>70</sup> by September he queried whether the party 'retains the confidence of the country'.<sup>71</sup> June 'exchanges' described martial law activities – searching convents and presbyteries – as moving 'the whole [population] into Sinn Feinism'.<sup>72</sup> Sinn Fein's first by-election victory in February 1917 was acknowledged as punishing the '[irrational] constitutional movement' and protesting against 'Government... responses to the Rising'.<sup>73</sup> But admission from Adelaide's UIL President, Patrick Healy (after four more by-election clues) that 'the outlook did not look too bright', represented a huge shift.<sup>74</sup> 'Exchanges' and their detailed news slowly added layers to understanding a changed Ireland – a September item (published in November) revealed growing Sinn Fein popularity, describing its 750 clubs.<sup>75</sup>

But Irish-Australian access to comprehensive, realistic news about Ireland was both delayed and somewhat random; both dimensions challenged local understanding. Reports of 'Castle' optimism about the 1917 Home Rule Convention (and authorities' proclaimed determination to avoid provocation),<sup>76</sup> in conjunction with official recognition that conscription would 'cause an immediate collision and further embitter the population',

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<sup>70</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1916.

<sup>71</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1916. See 14 July for 'exchange' from *Catholic Record* which described Sinn Fein benefitting from Britain's policies alienating 'genuine sympathy.'

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 April 1917. The item of 8 February referred to Count Plunkett's victory in North Roscommon; his son was one of the rebels executed in 1916.

<sup>74</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 October 1917. See 18 May for 'Currente Calamo' column comment re damage to IPP and boost to Sinn Fein when Lloyd George's scheme disintegrated.

<sup>75</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 September 1917.

<sup>76</sup> See 279-8 below for further details about this nominated convention which met from July 1917 to May 1918.

probably made reassuring reading.<sup>77</sup> But news of the November 1917 death of Thomas Ashe, a Sinn Fein hunger-striker, prompted Koerner's editorial which revisited atrocities prior to the Rising.<sup>78</sup> Subsequent '*Cross*' comment that this 'official murder' will 'help Sinn Feinism [more] than all the harangues of de Valera and his followers', reflected some Irish-Australian awareness that Ireland was moving beyond IPP influence.<sup>79</sup>

In 1918 Irish-Australians not only read more about the surge in Irish identification with Sinn Fein at IPP expense, but there was also stronger evidence of local rapport with Sinn Fein ideals. Many examples support this trend. Lecturing in Melbourne about Irish autonomy in January, Irishman Fr J.J. Malone swept through Irish history, positioning Sinn Fein's genesis, direction, and inevitable victory.<sup>80</sup> The IPP, he said, was dead from 'heart failure'. He disputed Britain's interest in justice, dismissed any possibility that the Home Rule Convention could meet Ireland's needs, arguing the anticipated Peace Conference represented its best hope. He insisted that 75 percent of the Irish supported Sinn Fein, attacked English cables and information, Australia's press, and PM Hughes' machinations which constructed 'a sinister and sectarian meaning' for Sinn Fein.<sup>81</sup> *Advocate* transmission of his views broadened their impact. Similarly when IPP figure John Dillon predicted that Convention failure would probably lead to IPP 'disappearance at the next election ... [and] recourse to revolutionary measures', local UIL confidence must have faltered.<sup>82</sup> Examples of explicit local support for Sinn Fein – reference at an INF Smoke Social to a 'Sinn Feiner ... as a patriot in the truest sense of the word', and the INF Convention of March 1918 (attended by Mannix) passing a resolution supporting Sinn Fein – showed the Irish-

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<sup>77</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 November 1917.

<sup>78</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1917, 'British Barbarity in Ireland'. In the issue of 7 December an item (from mail of 1 October) headed 'Indictment of Official Barbarity' reinforced the manner of Ashe's death.

<sup>79</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 December 1917. (Currente Calamo column)

<sup>80</sup> See Noone, *Hidden Ireland*, 113 for more details about this Irish speaker, president of Clifton Hill's William Rooney Gaelic Society; from 1894 he was a key figure in Melbourne's *Austral Light* magazine (which had CYMS roots) published from 1892.

<sup>81</sup> *Advocate*, 26 January 1918.

<sup>82</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1918. ('Our London Letter' of 11 December 1917).

Australian drift from IPP certainty.<sup>83</sup> When John Redmond died in March 1918, sustained commitment to Ireland was noted in discussions of his life; however comments on his mistakes were more dominant.<sup>84</sup> At Adelaide's initial INS meeting, Irishman Fr M.V. Prendergast claimed that because Redmond had no knowledge of Gaelic, he 'could not understand or legislate for the Irish people or be their leader'.<sup>85</sup> Victoria's Bishop Phelan compared Redmond to Daniel O'Connell in terms of leadership, commitment to constitutional change, English betrayal, and loss of touch with 'the younger spirits of the rising generation'.<sup>86</sup>

Both editors were sceptical about May 1918 cables which announced a German 'plot' involving Sinn Fein. Arrests and deportations of Sinn Fein figures followed within a British propaganda blitz repeating 'treachery', 'sedition', 'conspiracy', and demanding loyal support.<sup>87</sup> Koerner's headline of 'Alleged German Plot Opportunely Discovered', suggested a 'psychological moment' following unified Irish opposition to conscription.<sup>88</sup> Editorial comment was emphatic but careful:

The censorship prevents us from dealing with Irish material as fully and frankly as we would wish, but we may say that this plot has a rather suspicious appearance about it.<sup>89</sup>

By late August, a June exchange – 'The Real Plot' – reported the former Viceroy, Lord Wimbourne's Westminster accusation that the alleged plot was unknown to any of his executive colleagues.<sup>90</sup> The context of the 'plot' was totally destructive even for those Irish-

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<sup>83</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1918. *Advocate* readers received a lengthy explanation.

<sup>84</sup> See *Advocate*, 16 March (editorial), *Southern Cross*, 15, 22, 29 March, 31 May, 7 June 1918.

<sup>85</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 31 May 1918.

<sup>86</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1918. He also quoted Cardinal Logue's comment on 1914's Round Table Conference on Home Rule (involving the King): 'that Ireland was again betrayed into the hands of her enemies'.

<sup>87</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 May, 1 June 1918.

<sup>88</sup> See 294-309 below for discussion of the transnational conscription issue.

<sup>89</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 May 1918. The editorial was 'The Latest Irish 'Plot''. Inverted commas were retained, reminding readers of scepticism. See issue of 2 August 1918.

<sup>90</sup> *Advocate*, 31 August 1918. The item was written by the editor of the *Daily Mail* and used Lord Wimbourne's speech in addition to other evidence refuting Sinn Fein treachery.



Australians with some remnant of faith in Britain by 1918. The IPP became more of a casualty as Sinn Fein's force of appeal became clearer.

The approach of Britain's post-war election really crystallised different understandings of Sinn Fein and the IPP in Melbourne. Second generation Irish-Australian Shorthill linked his analysis of Nationalist policy failure to earlier Irish-Australian confusion about Irish 'political feeling', reiterating his complaint that 'so little reliable news is allowed to reach the Antipodes'. He clearly anticipated opposition to suggesting that Sinn Fein could 'lift the Irish question out of the rut into which it had fallen'.<sup>91</sup> It came from Jageurs, a first generation Irish-Australian, who expressed 'surprise and regret' about the implicit endorsement of Sinn Fein. He wanted IPP success recognised as much as the 'unholy combination of forces' it faces – Carsonism, the British Cabinet and 'the misdirected energies' of Sinn Fein'. Although he acknowledged that 'the flag ... we hoisted forty years ago' might be lowered, he remained optimistic about the election.<sup>92</sup> Shorthill outlined his information sources below Jageurs' letter, but the veteran remained unconvinced. His next letter reiterated IPP progress, decrying Sinn Fein tactics and policies.<sup>93</sup> Two further editorials reminded Irish-Australians that Britain's election would set new directions for Ireland.<sup>94</sup>

The nature of this controversial exchange between a personification of constitutionalism and *Advocate* editor (a long time Home Rule supporter) encapsulates the dilemma of many Irish-Australians after Easter 1916 and the resulting English policy vortex. Past IPP practices and solutions were hollow, had outlived their usefulness, and Sinn Fein

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<sup>91</sup> *Advocate*, 9 November 1918.

<sup>92</sup> *Advocate*, 16 November 1918.

<sup>93</sup> *Advocate*, 23 November 1918. Shorthill again commented, this time stating that 'those who had studied the Irish question' could deal with issues raised by Jageurs, and maintaining 'we have no desire to open a controversy, from which no good can result'.

<sup>94</sup> *Advocate*, 30 November and 7 December 1918.

increasingly resonated with the population. But adopting that framework involved loss, grieving and risk for many Irish-Australians, and for prominent first-generation leaders like Jageurs and Healy, so identified with constitutionalism, the challenge was insuperable. Australia's distance from the immediacy of Ireland imposed a factor akin to a time warp. Thus Dillon's mid-1918 statement revealed his sense of Ireland slipping away from the anticipated Home Rule future:

The Government appears to be entirely blind to the fact that you cannot secure the support of a people unless you convince them that you respect and trust them.<sup>95</sup>

But the implications of his statement for Australia's UIL went unrecognised. Equally, Irish Bishop Fogarty's claim about Sinn Fein: 'This movement is a national growth in the national heart, and no power can kill it', was incompletely understood by Irish-Australians clinging to Britain's promise of Home Rule, convinced that Irish bravery would triumph,<sup>96</sup> and that Irish-Australian valour (Figure 40) and imperial loyalty would be acknowledged.



Figure 40. Items from *Advocate*, 5 May 1917

<sup>95</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 June 1918. Quoted in the Currente Calamo column.

<sup>96</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 April 1918. Quoted in an Irish item without any details.

Historians have argued that Irish immigrants in Australia were always tolerated rather than accepted, but that this was unrecognised ‘except at times of abnormal crisis’.<sup>97</sup> From the outbreak of the ‘abnormal crisis’ in August 1914, Kildea claims while doubts about Irish-Catholic loyalty ‘were never expressed publicly’,<sup>98</sup> ACF members ‘felt compelled to protest publicly their patriotism to counter the slurs’.<sup>99</sup> From 1916 the continuum of loyalty was no longer relevant as unqualified public allegations of Irish-Australian disloyalty multiplied – in the press and across layers of wartime security structures.<sup>100</sup> Surviving evidence of censorship and SIB surveillance provides spectacular insights into implicit official understanding of loyalty, whilst demonstrating the extent of under-cover activities, and the subsidised operation of prejudice.<sup>101</sup> Official information about specific individuals, often in conjunction with the June 1918 arrest of seven IRB suspects, documents formerly unknown links between interstate individuals. National Archive (NAA) records also highlight Irish-Australians accused of disloyalty, but whose potential sedition has not been acknowledged. The security-based evidence of disloyalty suggests a more textured history of Irish Catholics – and press – than has previously been available.<sup>102</sup> This section will focus on samples of evidence for disloyalty from 1916,<sup>103</sup> and show how an overlay of suspicion about Irish-Australian loyalty gradually justified their more universal surveillance by late 1917.<sup>104</sup> However the full scope of the disloyalty continuum awaits further investigation.

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<sup>97</sup> See Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 381, O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, passim. (231)

<sup>98</sup> Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 136.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-8.

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix J ‘Timeline of Australian Political Surveillance 1914-1922.’.

<sup>101</sup> See Fewster, *Expression and Suppression*, passim.

<sup>102</sup> See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 273-8 for his coverage of the fate of the 7 IRB members, there is minimal reference to any other Irish targets of surveillance.

<sup>103</sup> NAA files covering Sinn Féin in Australia contain many more examples of ‘disloyalty’ than can be examined here.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix J for details of Australian Political Surveillance.

Early responses to the Rising demonstrated Irish-Australian recognition that loyalty would become a renewed target. As discussed earlier, public statements typically emphasised wider Irish loyalty while emphasising local outrage.<sup>105</sup> The Commonwealth cable to London: 'Representative Irishmen here, as well as Roman Catholic Bishops all Irish born denounce and repudiate the criminality of the Dublin fanatics'.<sup>106</sup> Such official linking of Irish and Catholic anticipated the public debate. O'Donnell's early disclosure of 'a nest of Sinn Fein men in Melbourne', and 'a few of the fraternity... [elsewhere] including South Australia', disrupted notions of universal Irish-Australian imperial loyalty. His 'conviction' based on remarks which 'had come to his knowledge' demonstrating individual's 'interests...in common with ... Sinn Fein', was presented without evidence.<sup>107</sup> The shape of the Irish-Australian loyalty polemic was thus established within days of the Rising. An increasingly besieged minority (but with dissenters) proclaimed its loyalty (and that of Ireland), while local assailants targeted 'unpatriotic' actions, clerical attitudes, enlistment figures, attitudes to conscription, and Irish treachery.

Publishing evidence (Figure 41) demonstrating one family's extraordinary imperial loyalty also allowed reference to their relative, Bishop O'Dwyer's patriotism. Because readers also knew he had condemned British responses to the Rising, this photo had multiple meanings.

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<sup>105</sup> See Appendix G for responses to Rising and *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916.

<sup>106</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 and *Advocate* 6 May 1916.

<sup>107</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916.

## An Irish-Australian Catholic Family Gives Seven Sons for the Front.

### RELATIVES OF THE LATE BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

We hear from time to time the cry that Catholics are not doing their share in the war. As a matter of fact, they are doing more than their share. Here is one case amongst many.

Mr. and Mrs. Michael O'Dwyer, formerly of Northcote, now of North

made the supreme sacrifice of his life. He has left two fine children, Jacky and Marguerite. These have been taken care of by their grandmother, Mrs. Michael O'Dwyer, who is also saving the allowance for the children, which will stand them in good stead later on. The wife of the young soldier who was killed succumbed at hearing of his death,

late Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, the patriotic and cultured Bishop of Limerick. The young soldiers are nephews of the deceased Bishop. Four more of the sons volunteered, but were not accepted, as their seven brothers had already gone to the front. Mr. O'Dwyer is a relative of the late Michael O'Dwyer, of Ennis. On Wednesday, Mrs. O'Dwyer met



THE SEVEN SOLDIER SONS OF MR. AND MRS. MICHAEL O'DWYER.

Fitzroy, have given seven sons to the fighting line. They were the first to leave for the front, and took part in the Gallipoli campaign. There are six of the sons fighting today in France, and one of these has been wounded, while the seventh

and it is fortunate for the two little orphans that they have their kind grandmother to look after them. The little ones are attending Our Lady's School, North Fitzroy. It is of interest to learn that Mrs. O'Dwyer is the sister-in-law of the

two returned soldiers from the front, Messrs. O'Reilly and Dowyle. The former is a nephew and the latter a cousin. Mrs. O'Dwyer is 69 years of age, and her husband 70 years. Her late mother reached the ripe old age of 103 years.

Figure 41. Item from *Advocate*, 1 September 1917

Melbourne's daily papers measured and evaluated early utterances of Archbishops Carr and Mannix,<sup>108</sup> and objected to any mention of Carson's pre-war sedition, criticism of British policy, or calls for clemency.<sup>109</sup> *Advocate* readers were soon treated to a series of lengthy and detailed letters/verbal attacks about aspects of Irish loyalty. Exchanges involved Jageurs,

<sup>108</sup> *Advocate*, 13 May 1916. In 'Prominent Topics: A Word for the Wicked' a range of daily paper thrusts against Mannix were listed, including the fact that he said more than Carr.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* Other items in 'Prominent Topics' were 'A Bold, Bad Archbishop' and 'That Awkward Past'.

Leeper,<sup>110</sup> occasionally Rentoul,<sup>111</sup> and the ACF versus the LOL. Disputed issues included a toast to ‘The Pope and the King’,<sup>112</sup> recruiting figures,<sup>113</sup> and September’s Irish Distress meeting.<sup>114</sup> For Irish-Australians, these loyalty debates presented something of a gladiatorial spectacle: individuals were publicly challenged, responded vigorously, or (like Jageurs), wrote provocative letters, inviting combative responses.<sup>115</sup> An implicit sense of satisfaction was evident. The pattern continued in 1917.<sup>116</sup> The *Advocate* devoted a page to three-way verbal jousting over Irish statistics<sup>117</sup> between Jageurs, Rentoul and Professor Osborne.<sup>118</sup> And when Anglican Archdeacon Hindley’s sermon invented a disloyal Irish-Australian address to the Kaiser (following supposed victory), and used Irish names, decried recruiting, and blamed the Irish for ‘racial and sectarian strife’, there were outraged letters.<sup>119</sup> Arguing that Ireland’s only oppression was clerical, Leeper drew protests from Irish-Australians, but his attacks ensured issues of Ireland and Irish-Australian loyalty remained prominent in the conscription-besieged community.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See Appendix C for details of Dr Leeper’s background.

<sup>111</sup> See 145, 160, 169 and 172 above for Rentoul’s opposition to Anglo-Boer War. Overt support for WW1 and conscription provoked comment about his consistency. See *Advocate*, 26 May 1917 for responses to his claims re Irish war participation at Protestant Alliance meeting.

<sup>112</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 June 1916. The toast issue became ‘a diatribe against the...clergy and Irishmen generally.’ Jageurs called for censor protection of Irish-Catholic families from ‘the pain...and insult[s] directed at sons, like his own ‘fighting for his country’.

<sup>113</sup> See *Advocate* 22 July 1916 which included 3 ACF letters and one from Oswald Snowball of the LOL. At a 12 July meeting, Ulsterman, Snowball discussed Queensland Irish recruiting figures, raising issues about Catholic loyalty. See Appendix C for Snowball’s biographical details.

<sup>114</sup> See *Advocate* of 30 September 1916 for reprinted letters originally published in the *Argus*.

<sup>115</sup> See *Advocate* of 4 November 1916 for his lengthy (unpublished) letter to the *Argus*, this responded to an article, ‘The Sinn Fein Revolt’ from the London *Spectator*. See also *Southern Cross* of 16 February 1917 for report of a sermon by Mannix, ‘Loyalty of Irish Catholics.’ His pronouncements always attracted attention.

<sup>116</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 March 1917 for Jageurs complaint of *Argus* refusal of his item as either correspondence or advertisement.

<sup>117</sup> *Advocate*, 9 June 1917. A partisan headline introduced ‘The Ulsterman’s Association: Three Professors Juggle with Facts and Figures. Mr Jageurs ...Exposes their Fallacies’. The original exchange was in the *Argus*. The *Advocate*’s negative scrutiny of Osborne’s 1918 publication, *What We Owe to Ireland*, was in 6 parts from 25 May to 29 June 1918. See *Southern Cross* of 9 and 16 August 1918 for review by JV O’Loghlin.

<sup>118</sup> See *Advocate*, 16 June 1917. Further bias: ‘Mr Jageurs Exposes the Sophistries of Professors Leeper and Rentoul: Crushing Statistics in Disproof of Their Wild Statements.’

<sup>119</sup> *Advocate*, 1 and 8 September 1917.

<sup>120</sup> *Advocate*, 27 October 1917.

Irish-Australian generosity to post-Rising Ireland was easily equated with disloyalty. Other Australians were not interested in Irish suffering; there would be no distress without the rebellion.<sup>121</sup> In Melbourne, a ‘Great Irish Demonstration’ (first in a series of huge, provocative wartime public meetings) on 18 September 1916, focussed on Irish distress<sup>122</sup> and collected £4000.<sup>123</sup> Adelaide’s pattern differed: seven, mostly first generation Irish priests established a fundraising committee in response to an appeal from Dublin.<sup>124</sup> Archbishop Spence’s circular to the clergy asked for ‘a worthy contribution from the Irish people’, and UIL, Hibernian and INF leaders jointly urged donations.<sup>125</sup> Both methods of fundraising were interpreted as Church support for rebels, and amounts raised suggested wartime disloyalty alongside other appeals. Mannix sponsored one fund, the *Advocate* another, donations to both totalled £8000.<sup>126</sup> South Australians contributed £1,035 by March 1917, the Hibernians (nationally) another £840.<sup>127</sup> Because the general community totally rejected the Irish cause, all Irish-Australian associations with the cause reinforced questioning of their imperial loyalty.

Vitriolic correspondence between Jageurs and Leeper persisted to 1918. In March they debated a cable to Carson attacking the Home Rule Convention.<sup>128</sup> Leeper moved his Irish-Australian assault offshore; London *Spectator* publication of his letter headed ‘Sinn Fein in

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<sup>121</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 July 1916 for early ‘exchange’ mention of distress in Dublin.

<sup>122</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 August and 2 September for appeals by the Irish National Aid Association, and issue of 9 September for report of £1700 subscribed at a Sydney meeting.

<sup>123</sup> See *Advocate* of 23 September 1916 for 3 page account of the meeting, speeches from Carr and Mannix, Dr Kenny, Fr Lockington and TC Brennan. ‘God Save Ireland’ closed the proceedings.

<sup>124</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1916. The Irish priests were Frs Hourigan, Delahunty, Brady, Morrison, O’Sullivan and O’Connell; Fr Gatzmeyer was local, of German descent.

<sup>125</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 November 1916.

<sup>126</sup> *Advocate*, 17 September 1917. The YIS president claimed their funds raised the amount.

<sup>127</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 October 1917.

<sup>128</sup> See *Advocate* of 18 May 1918 for the 5 letters, the original correspondence was in the *Argus*. The Convention unanimously endorsed cabling resolutions to overseas figures – Lloyd George, President Wilson, John Dillon, William O’Brien, and de Valera. Jageurs objected to disrespectful reference to Mannix (Archbishop was not used!) Leeper advised cables be sent secretly ‘because the loyal Irishmen of Melbourne have plenty of money at their disposal and are always ready to use it in the defence of truth and right’.

Australia' represented an important shift in this transnational loyalty altercation. Adroitly acknowledging Mannix's skills, Leeper painted him as:

the idol of [Australian] Irish Roman Catholics, [surrounded by] large numbers of socialists and trade unionists...and [displaying] openly-avowed sympathy with Sinn Fein [which] has won him the support of every disloyal faction in the community.

Leeper named 'disloyalty, ignorance, selfishness, cowardice and sentimentalism' in blaming the Irish-Catholic vote as 'the strongest factor' in defeating conscription.<sup>129</sup> For Shorthill, Leeper was 'thoroughly discredited [on] Catholic and Irish questions [in Australia]', and deliberately arousing bigotry because conscription had failed in Australia and Ireland.<sup>130</sup> The role and importance of such public contesting of Irish-Australian wartime loyalty – consistent and duplicated in Melbourne due to the *Advocate's* strategy of republishing the hostile letter interchanges – cannot be underestimated in terms of its impact. O'Farrell insisted that conflicts and personalities centring on World War One psychologically elevated Irish-Australians beyond their accustomed position of underdog.<sup>131</sup> And in this context, as McKernan highlights, it was difficult to censure, much less remove Mannix.<sup>132</sup>

Alongside the public dissection of imperial loyalty in these newspapers, security officials were targeting identical issues. Jageurs' assessment of Melbourne's 'Sinn Fein opposition' in September 1916 was to dismiss its significance. Members were 'largely... a few irresponsible youths' not long residents, and, equally ignorant of Ireland and Australia.<sup>133</sup> He estimated that less than 10 percent of Irish-Australians 'favoured the Sinn Fein policy'.<sup>134</sup> But surveillance authorities exhibited increasing alarm:<sup>135</sup> a mid-November 1917 SIB communication stated that:

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<sup>129</sup> *Advocate*, 27 July 1918.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 271.

<sup>132</sup> McKernan, 'Catholics, Conscription', 310-13.

<sup>133</sup> *Advocate*, 7 October 1916. The claim was at the annual UIL meeting.

<sup>134</sup> *Advocate*, 9 June 1917. Jageurs provided no evidence for this in a letter to Leeper.

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix J for construction of the surveillance framework in Australia..



Sinn Fein...is known to exist in a serious form in this country [and judging from Ireland and America] with information...received [about] the nature of the activities of this organisation within this country, it will be well to watch closely all persons known to be connected to the organisation'.

Urging vigilance, the circular claimed 'the possibilities of the situation...are more serious than during any period of the war'.<sup>136</sup> By January 1918 agents were advised to immediately compile 'a card (or dossier) of any person (without distinction) who may come unfavourably under the notice of the Bureau'.<sup>137</sup> When Melbourne's 1918 INF Convention passed a unanimous resolution in favour of Sinn Fein,<sup>138</sup> authorities were heeding. Combined with alarm about deterioration in Ireland – and galvanised by Melbourne's St Patrick's Day<sup>139</sup> – on 28 March, the Hughes government gazetted drastic controls under the War Precautions Act (WPA).<sup>140</sup> Basically disloyalty was prohibited:<sup>141</sup> regulations were 'directed against...Sinn Fein, and any advocacy of the independence of Ireland'.<sup>142</sup> Fr M.V. Prendergast protested in the '*Cross*', he decried the loss of freedom of speech 'on the subject dearest to the hearts of some of us', predicting imminent loss of the vote.<sup>143</sup> Report of a ministerial response to questions about suppression measures and their efficacy stated Sinn Fein would be more dangerous if 'measures had not been taken'.<sup>144</sup> Irish-Australians

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<sup>136</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. Circular 15 of 17 November 1917 (Underlining in original).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, Circular dated 4 January 1918. (Underlining in original).

<sup>138</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1918. The resolution read: 'That this meeting of the INF...expresses its sincere hope that the Sinn Fein movement will continue to expand throughout the countries wherein Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen are settled, and trusts that the traditional claim and inalienable rights of the Irish people – namely, complete independence from the control of any other nation – will be acknowledged in the near future.'

<sup>139</sup> Patrick O'Farrell, 'The Irish Republican Brotherhood in Australia: The 1918 Internments,' in MacDonagh, *Irish Culture and Nationalism*, 183.

<sup>140</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 April 1918. The WPA was introduced on 28 October 1914, modelled on Britain's Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). Regulations did not have to go to parliament and covered wartime areas of censorship and security. See Appendix J for details.

<sup>141</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 March 1918. Written before the Sinn Fein regulations, the editorial comment is nevertheless interesting: 'In fact we doubt if there is a Sinn Fein organisation or society in Australia.' The 'Currente Calamo' column of 5 April reiterated the point: '[We] do not believe that there is a Sinn Fein club or society in Australia...'

<sup>142</sup> O'Farrell, 'The Irish Republican Brotherhood', 182. Hostility towards the Empire or its dismemberment, wearing or displaying badges, flags, banners or symbols associated with Sinn Fein became offences; ministerial powers allowed entering, searching and closure of any premises associated with such activities.

<sup>143</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 April 1918. See Appendix C for details about Fr Prendergast.

<sup>144</sup> *Advocate*, 8 June 1918. The item consisted of two brief paragraphs.

struggled with these controls – their Irish identity was publicly compromised, while their Australian and imperial loyalty were continually assaulted.<sup>145</sup>

Three days before these expanded WPA regulations, the official existence of Adelaide's 'Sinn Fein movement' was notified.<sup>146</sup> Seven security communications were exchanged<sup>147</sup> before the '*Cross*' item, 'Irishmen and Irish-Australians', decried the local absence of 'a large general organisation based on broad national lines', and called for the urgent formation of 'an Association of a virile national character'.<sup>148</sup> An inaugural meeting on 27 May was announced.<sup>149</sup> Creating 'strong Irish national sentiment' in 1918 alarmed authorities sufficiently to send an unknown operative to the meeting,<sup>150</sup> and for names of the chief speakers – Bro Purton, J.J. Travers, and Fr Prendergast – to reach the censor.<sup>151</sup> Access to '*Cross*' files at the printers was organised 'through the kind offices of a friend'<sup>152</sup> – presumably the same contact ready to inform about any additional printing.<sup>153</sup> Subsequently, there were attempts to insert a spy.<sup>154</sup> Concerns about membership forms and correspondence not being posted,<sup>155</sup> about material exchanged through Hamley Bridge

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<sup>145</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 August 1918 for announced details of contributions for the 'Interned Irishmen Comforts Fund', not an appeal easily linked to Irish-Australian loyalty.

<sup>146</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt 1. 25 March 1918.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 15, 22, 29 April, 17, 20 May 1918.

<sup>148</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 May 1918. Readers were advised a meeting date would follow in the next week's '*Cross*'. In the issue of 17 May, 2 correspondents welcomed the new body; 'Irish-Protestant' reminded readers that many Irishmen could not join some existing organisations, and needed a non-partisan body.

<sup>149</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1918. In the issue of 24 May a long (contributed) article clarified the value of such a body 'in propagating the truth on Irish affairs, and dealing with slanders, caricatures, etc, which during the past three or four years, have been let loose on the partly unprotected Irish communities'. Affirming gains from interstate groups, and referring to greater knowledge of Irish history, language, music and dance, the writer argued that Ireland desperately needed 'whole-hearted sympathy and support'.

<sup>150</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. Item dated 27 May 1918 stated that 'someone not long here from Sydney [and] not well known here is organised to go to the meeting'.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* 29 May 1918. Chairman JV O'Loughlin was not listed. See Appendix C for details of these individuals.

<sup>152</sup> NAA: A8911/219. 22 April 1918.

<sup>153</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. 27 May 1918.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 June, 1 (2 items, one naming Arthur Francis Augustine Lynch of AMF, leave and payment of £300 pa discussed), 28 June (2 items, one ending process), and 8 July 1918.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* Items dated 19 August and 3 September

station,<sup>156</sup> and mail interception details, all demonstrated the intensity of local surveillance.<sup>157</sup>

The '*Cross*' devoted five columns to the first meeting of the unnamed organisation.<sup>158</sup>

Attendance was 'large', including many women, six priests (four clerical apologies plus the Glynn brothers), prominent Catholic figures and the Irish Pipers. Chairman J.V. O'Loughlin reminded his audience that the state had a long history of expressing 'Irish sentiment, mentioning activities 'in advance of the other states'. He raised disloyalty accusations, tied Irish rebellion to 'Castle' despotism, and insisted that 'official returns [in Australia] showed that the Catholic people, mostly Irish, had contributed their full share to the Empire's call'. Seconding a motion, Gaelic-speaking Fr Prendergast's contribution was political and historical. He reminded listeners of Irish soldiers' fight for 'small nations' while pursuing their own rights to self-determination. From Bro Purton (following audience calls), came clever use of a Westminster speech claiming that 'nations and peoples' settled issues not 'Courts or Cabinets', to proclaim the association's immunity from WPA interference; it was neither political nor sectarian. Alderman J.G. Murphy's motion to form a provisional committee explicitly repudiated accusations of Irish disloyalty, referring both to recent slander from Professor Osborne,<sup>159</sup> and to 'the greatest man in Australia, Dr Mannix'. Two elements of Irish-Australian loyalty – 'God Save Ireland' and 'God Save the King' were reflected in meeting closure.<sup>160</sup>

The effectiveness of censorship was revealed when Bro Purton's letter to Sydney's A.T.

Dryer mentioned Fr Prendergast. Purton anticipated 'several douches of cold water from

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* Items dated 18 November and 9 December, 17, 23, 30 December (employee names with suspects highlighted), some names to censor in January 1919.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 June, 8, 15 July, 10 September, 11 November 1918.

<sup>158</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 May, *Advocate*, 22 June 1918 for account of 'Successful Launch'.

<sup>159</sup> See 253 and fn.117 above for reference to Professor Osborne's book.

<sup>160</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 May 1918. A committee of 17 was appointed.

certain quarters in the city' about the meeting, urging his name not be mentioned as founder or organiser 'for certain reasons which it were better to leave unexpressed'.<sup>161</sup> This correspondence not only identified Purton's founding role,<sup>162</sup> but also his relationship with Dryer, the second generation Irish-Australian founder of Sydney's INA. Dryer was already under surveillance, about to be arrested as a suspect, and later classified as IRB leader.<sup>163</sup>

Further intercepted correspondence implicated Purton – information that banned publications could be left at Christian Brothers' College (CBC) in the city<sup>164</sup> – soon after the provisional committee elected him as chairman of the now named Irish National Society (INS).<sup>165</sup> Cryptic file reference to the possible closure of CBC reveals disturbing evidence of SIB preoccupation with schools as sites of Irish-Australian disloyalty.<sup>166</sup> (Figure 42) Bro Purton made enquiries about rumours of closure thus alerting authorities to information leakage; this was investigated without success and the school remained open.<sup>167</sup> However, the incident demonstrates the potential extent of SIB power, and some dimensions of Irish-Australian loyalty monitoring.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. 30 May 1918. Frustratingly there are no clues to his oblique references here.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 May 1918.

<sup>163</sup> O'Farrell, 'The IRB in Australia', 183-5 describes the time sequence, and Dryer as 'the central figure in the INA'. See Appendix J and L for details of surveillance and proceedings against IRB internees in 1918.

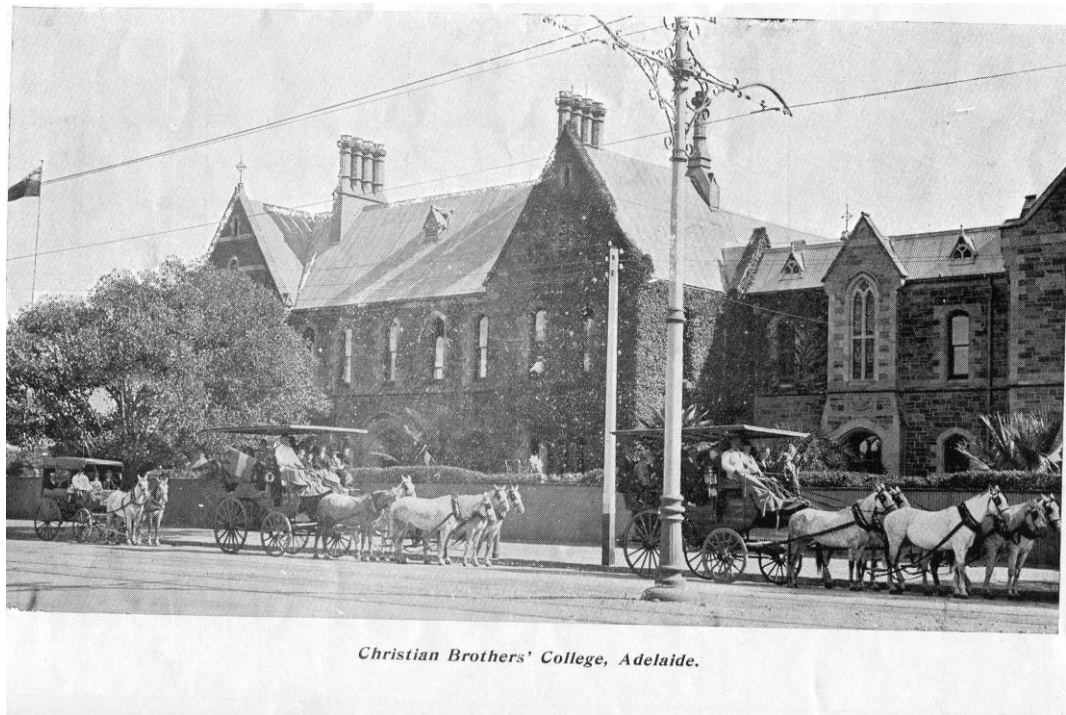
<sup>164</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. 18 June 1918. This was Melbourne material, intended for Fr Prendergast at Kooronga. He provided the messenger with Adelaide names and places for a safe drop off. See item of 11 November 1918 noting a Melbourne request from a Christian Brother colleague for Purton to contribute to the magazine, *Australia*; the censor described both as sharing 'a common interest in the Irish question on its extreme side' and interested in making the magazine 'a medium for Irish propaganda in Australia'. See report of 23 December 1918 for Br Purton's travel plans.

<sup>165</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 June 1918. See NAA: A8911/219, 17 June 1918.

<sup>166</sup> See Barry M Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland. The Christian Brothers and the Development of Irish Nationalism 1838-1921*, Gill and MacMillan, Dublin, 1988, passim for details of Christian Brother involvement in teaching and support of Irish nationalism. Many of the Easter rebels had been educated in Christian Brothers' schools.

<sup>167</sup> See NAA: D1915 SA29, Pt. 1. Reports of 24 June, 1 and 15 July 1918. The individual suspected as leaking information was Dr AF Lynch, a CBC old scholar. Letters from 27 June to 8 July report his interest in providing the SIB with information; rejection of his offer and simultaneous leakage about CBC suggests he was found unreliable.

<sup>168</sup> See NAA: 8911/219 for reports of 10 June and 19 August 1918 which document concerns about and strategies for identifying 'all members of the Church of Rome in the mail branch' and dealing with INS members who are 'PMG employees'. See Appendix K for one employee's intercepted letter.



**Figure 42.** Christian Brothers' College, Adelaide c.1916  
(Christian Brothers College Adelaide Collection)

The '*Cross*' reported briefly about INS progress ahead of its formal inauguration:<sup>169</sup> a committee member's contribution suggested some local opposition. The writer outlined INS intentions to keep 'alive the traditions of the race' (especially literature and education), suggesting that doubters join the 'All-British League...where Irish aims and aspirations are held up to ridicule and contempt'.<sup>170</sup> But any further evidence of dissension about this new association among Irish-Australians remained hidden.

The founding meeting (in August) attracted a 'large and enthusiastic' crowd, and SIB attention.<sup>171</sup> Queensland MLA Michael Kirwan, closely involved in supporting the arrested IRB suspects, spoke.<sup>172</sup> As chairman, O'Loghlin connected recent

<sup>169</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14, 28 June, 19 July 1918. See *Advocate* of 15 June 1918 for report of JJ Daly's visit to YIS in Melbourne re establishing an Adelaide branch, the SIB noted his visit, see NAA: A8911/219, 23 May and 4 June 1918.

<sup>170</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 August 1918.

<sup>171</sup> See NAA: A8911/219. A report of 29 July stated 4,000 handbills had been printed.

<sup>172</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. 22 August 1918. An intercepted letter from Purton to Kirwan, re the Hansard material (from Brisbane), referred to inept official replies in IRB internment trial. He informs Kirwan that the

important events...on both sides of the water. In imitation of the despotic methods of the British Government in Ireland, Australian citizens had been imprisoned on the charge of being concerned in some alleged republican conspiracy.

Expanding his theme of loyalty 'where [Irish]... received justice and fair play', O'Loughlin emphasised INS compatibility 'with ... Australian citizenship'. He and Kirwan both eulogised Irish-Australian and Irish military contributions. Kirwan was contemptuous of *shoneen* Irishmen 'apologising for being of Irish descent', and referred optimistically to the peace conference catering for all small nations, claiming 'a cruel libel' in describing 'the Irish...[as] disloyal'. There was 'loud and prolonged applause'; donations of £73 were collected. Purton reminded the audience of the society's loyal objects. The evening closed with 'God Save the King' and O'Loughlin's strategic call for cheers for the boys at the front.<sup>173</sup>

Government reaffirmation of stringent anti-Sinn Fein regulations appeared in the 'Cross' of 21 June.<sup>174</sup> IRB arrests in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane were greeted with cautious alarm, both editors urged the necessity of immediate investigation to clear or punish suspects.<sup>175</sup> The episode associated all Irish-Australians with 'proven' disloyalty, so an *Advocate* 'Comforts Fund for Families of the Interned Irishmen' doubtless reinforced community perceptions.<sup>176</sup> Both newspapers provided weekly updates of the judicial enquiry, publishing transcripts. Disloyalty allegations thus dominated the Catholic press throughout 1918.<sup>177</sup> By June, the SIB judged 'Cross' directors as having 'changed the policy... deserted the Nationalist cause ...and... prepared to expound Sinn Fein party views'.<sup>178</sup>

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INS is progressing, and his hopes it might eventually enkindle 'a warm spirit of nationality'; to a colleague on the same day, he says the attempt 'to put some life into the state' is hopeless.

<sup>173</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 August 1918. The item covered 5 columns.

<sup>174</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 June 1918.

<sup>175</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 June, *Advocate*, 29 June 1918.

<sup>176</sup> *Advocate*, 13 July 1918.

<sup>177</sup> See for example, *Southern Cross*, 5, 12, 19, 26, July, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 August, 4 October (Justice Harvey's Report), *Advocate*, 6, 13, 20, 27 July, 3, 10, 17, 24 August, 5 October 1918 (Report).

<sup>178</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. ? June 1918. the item date is illegible

COPIES OF LETTER ADDRESSED TO

MR. M. DALTON  
117 Alfred Crescent  
North Fitzroy

17 Evelyn Street,  
St. Kilda.  
30th April 1918

Dear Mr. Dalton.

In last Saturday's issue of the "Advocate" and also in the "Tribune" at a meeting of the Hibernians Socy. in Geelong it is stated that J. P. Walsh, Geelong, wants to have a meeting of the Irish Societies of Melbourne. etc. etc. You must have read it.

It is a move of Jagers, he wants to come to the lime light again, and represent himself as a leader of the Irish Societies of Melbourne, by sending a cable to Ireland to that effect.

Jagers is a fine specimen of the artful dodger, one of the Dickens characters in his novels.

What do you think of the following resolution to move at the next meeting of the I.M.A. Society.

We repudiate the leadership of Jagers and will have no connection with him in the present crisis of Irish affairs. In consequence of the cable which he sent to Dublin from the Celtic Club, Melbourne, Easter week 1918 maligning Ireland's bravest and patriotic sons the noble Sinn Feiners and calling them fanatics and barbarians (??) etc. Who gave their lives for Irish liberty. It is not in the same words, words of a man similar to Jagers. It would be a loss.

Yours faithfully  
John Ryan

Figure 43. Letter from John Ryan to Maurice Dalton, 30 April 1918

Figure 43 shows an intercepted and typed letter, while Figure 44 shows the nature of censor comments on that letter.

V.854	30.4.18	John Ryan	17 Evelyn St W. Dalton St. Kilda.	117 Alfred Cres. Wth. Pitaroy.	1. Notices have appeared in the "Advocate" and "Tribune" that J.F. Walsh desires to have a meeting of the Irish Societies of Melbourne etc. 2. "It is a move of Jaggers".
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INTELLIGENCE REPORT—continued.						Military District.		Week ended 29th Apr 18 191	
SERIAL No.	DATE	FROM—		TO—		D.O.C. OFFICE No.	SUBJECT-MATTER.		
		NAME	ADDRESS	NAME	ADDRESS				
V.F.854		continued.					3. "He wants to come to the limelight again and represent himself as a leader of the Irish societies of Melbourne, by sending a cable to Ireland to that effect." 4. "Jaggers is a fine specimen of the artful dodger." 5. Suggests the following resolutions be moved at the next meeting of the I.R.S. Society. 6. "We repudiate the leadership of Jaggers and will have no connection with him in the present crisis of Irish affairs. In consequence of the cable which he sent to Dublin from the Celtic Club Melbourne, Easter week, 1918, maligning Ireland's bravest and patriotic sons the noble Sirs Weirers and calling them fanatics and paranoids (?) etc., who gave their lives for Irish liberty." 7. "How would the members of the Irish Nat Association take it?" 8. "It would be a test." 9. <u>Memor's notes.</u> 1. Jaggers has appeared formerly in the Press, and elsewhere, as their mouthpiece. 11. Original released. Copies herewith.		

Figure 44. Intelligence Report on Ryan Dalton Letter, 29 April 1918

The ease with which both newspapers could be identified with disloyalty can be understood in multiple ways. Their content was typically derived from officially unreliable 'exchanges' compared to sound cable and syndicated English material,<sup>179</sup> but additionally choice of special features suggested disloyal deviation. Among the numerous examples, several will suffice. Between September 1917 and December 1918, the *Advocate* published a 12 part series on 'Ireland's Constitutional Movement'. Written by Geelong's T.P. Walsh, this both traced the history and ensured the issue remained prominent.<sup>180</sup> Then from August to December 1918, the *Advocate* published the history, words and (sometimes) the music of significant Irish songs, often on its cover. Its opening choice (following the IRB

<sup>179</sup> See Putnis and McCallum, 'Reuters,' 290-99, for explanation about the operation of the secret British Government-subsidised propaganda services to dominions.

<sup>180</sup> *Advocate*, 15 September 1917 to 14 December 1918. See below 287, 414, 419-21 and 440 below for discussion of TP Walsh's role in Melbourne.



arrests and enquiry) was the already mentioned as transgressive, 'God Save Ireland'.<sup>181</sup>

(Figure 45) As can be seen from Table Seven, the frequency of this anthem's public performance greatly increased in 1918.<sup>182</sup> As Irish-Australian concern about Ireland increased, the number of ways they could be judged as disloyal grew.



Figure 45. Article, *Advocate*, 10 August 1918

#### *Newspaper Changes in Response to War and Events in Ireland*

Australia's Irish-Catholic press was without competition in its presentation of information or filtering of perceptions about imperial loyalty and Irish identity. The secular press was always considered unreliable, especially about Ireland, and during war, more so.<sup>183</sup> Thus the ways these newspapers responded to the war, and especially to Ireland, were of singular significance for Irish-Australians. Importantly, did these newspapers present, extend or limit recognition and understanding of Irish-Australians' transnational roots? And as Ireland descended into conflict, how did the Irish-Australian press negotiate coverage, especially given increasing wartime constraints?

<sup>181</sup> *Advocate*, 10 August 1918. See Appendix E. Others were 'The Penal Days' (17 August), 'She is Far From the Land' (7 September), 'Song of the Backwoods' (14 September), 'Eileen Aroon' (21 September), 'Soggarth Aroon' (19 October) and 'Clare's Dragoons' (7 December).

<sup>182</sup> Compared to 1 report in 1917, there were 30 in 1918, 16 in 1919 and 10 and 14 in 1920 and 1921.

<sup>183</sup> See Putnis and McCallum, 'Reuters', 284-304 for account of wartime shift to deliberate propaganda focus in newspaper material. Although unknown to both editors, the policy's intention supported their dismissal of the daily press.

Australia's Catholic press was disadvantaged in its reporting capacity after the Rising because of shipping delays and imperial censorship.<sup>184</sup> London's general news filtering – more specific with Irish news – and reliance on British cables after Easter 1916, limited the possibilities of balance. Both editors exhibited frustration – about discrepancies between cables and 'exchanges', overseas newspaper delays, censorship, and various wartime restrictions. Editors acknowledged the responsibility of the 'Catholic and Irish' press to provide comprehensive coverage of events to both instruct and reassure Irish-Australians. Occasionally Koerner described the production challenges to readers, providing a real sense of wartime issues.

From August 1916, he discussed implications of the initial 'silence from Ireland', admitting the imbalance of earlier interpretations.<sup>185</sup> He later questioned whether 'scanty' cable messages since July about 'the Irish situation... and the prospects of Home Rule...[were] due to censorship'.<sup>186</sup> He used divergent coverage of a Redmond speech in Adelaide's three daily papers (two missed a sentence included in the *Daily Herald* with 'an independent [cable] service') to suggest suppression was either local or in London.<sup>187</sup> That newspaper reported O'Loughlin's St Patrick's Day speech fairly, unlike others excluding 'all his most telling points'.<sup>188</sup> By July 1917, irregular arrival of 'Irish exchanges' led to publication

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<sup>184</sup> See Schmuhl, 'Peering through the Fog', 39 for a list of days when Irish newspapers were not printed in 1916. He suggests that in the absence of Irish named dispatches until 29 April, 'certain imperial biases made their way across the Atlantic'. See also Donal O Drisceoil, 'Keeping disloyalty within bounds? British media control in Ireland, 1914-19' in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXXVIII, No 149, May 2012, 59 for censorship on Rising anniversaries in 1917 and 1918.

<sup>185</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1916. The 'Irish News' segment was headed 'The Sinn Fein Rising: Condemned by Irish Opinion'.

<sup>186</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1916.

<sup>187</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 October 1916. The missing sentence read that Mr Redmond had 'declared that present conditions [in Ireland] were injuriously affecting the British cause in America and the Dominions, and especially at the present time in Australia'. This referred to the first referendum campaign. The *Register* and *Advertiser* omitted lines while the *Daily Herald* was correct.

<sup>188</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1917.

difficulties,<sup>189</sup> Koerner explained only 'important items by cable or mail' would be provided in future, not the weekly summary.<sup>190</sup>

The war's practical effects were many and various. In March 1917 Koerner told readers that paper scarcity and price meant a reduction in all reports, clarifying '*Cross*' policy: 'Catholic and Irish news will be given preference over matters of purely local or general interest'.<sup>191</sup> In September, limited coal supplies reduced power and linotype operation, so 'composition... [and] publication were delayed'.<sup>192</sup> Shorthill announced price doubling from 3d to 6d on 1 August 1918.<sup>193</sup> By October 1918 the 'Paper Controller was collecting details of paper usage, and regulations were anticipated'.<sup>194</sup>

In August 1916, a visiting Dubliner reported Australians were 'handicapped by a lack of comprehensive news' because cables were controlled by those 'who censored everything that would give a different view of current events'.<sup>195</sup> Following Melbourne's November 1917 Irish meeting, and bitter *Argus* portrayal of Mannix, Koerner tackled issues of prejudice<sup>196</sup> and cable syndicate effects. Mannix had accused daily papers of including cables about Sinn Fein from the time the meeting was announced; he claimed that previously, despite their coverage in Irish papers 'little or nothing was heard about this in cables'. Koerner emphasised that:

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<sup>189</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 March 1917. When the column 'was made up', files from 13 January had not arrived, so details of the Home Rule debates from local papers replaced them.

<sup>190</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1917.

<sup>191</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 March 1917. Readers were warned of possible reduction in paper size.

<sup>192</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 September 1917.

<sup>193</sup> *Advocate*, 27 July 1918. 'We hope that normal prices will shortly enable us to revert to the old rates'.

<sup>194</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 October 1918.

<sup>195</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 August 1916.

<sup>196</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 November 1916. Previous instances of unreliable *Argus* material were provided: reference to an undated *Government Gazette* warning about 'fabricated' items, refusal of the Acting Chief Secretary, Sir Bryan O'Loughlen to provide information in response to an attempt to discredit Victoria, and a parliamentary motion against 'wanton and profligate untruths' being published.

the *Argus* organised the syndicate supplying these cable messages, and that the news (an identical copy of which is supplied to every Australian and New Zealand paper in the syndicate) is sent from the *Argus* office in London.<sup>197</sup>

Acrimony surrounding the second conscription referendum contextualised some of this focus.<sup>198</sup> In November the *Advocate* and *Tribune* were both required to submit all war-related material under WPA 28A.<sup>199</sup> Hostility towards Mannix probably explains late November's raid on *Advocate* offices; a referendum pamphlet justified the incursion, an item submitted to Sydney's Censor but not in Melbourne.<sup>200</sup> Both proprietor and editor were prosecuted and fined; Shorthill's offence was slighter, 20/- compared to £20 with £5.5 costs.<sup>201</sup>

Outspoken and provocative, Mannix drew applause in April 1918 when he publicly ruminated on being vilified because he was Irish. Although claiming he tried to 'keep Irish matters in their proper perspective,' his swipe at the press was pointed: 'You have to depend here for a knowledge of Irish affairs upon daily newspapers whose impartiality and veracity are the least of their virtues'.<sup>202</sup> The Minister lifted Press censorship restrictions on 29 November 1918<sup>203</sup> but WPA controls continued until December 1920. Koerner's infrequent references to wartime difficulties suggests a constant struggle, but one which he weathered with professional style.

Just before the formation of Adelaide's INS in May 1918, Koerner was targeted by more radical first generation Irishmen, Fr Prendergast and Dr Hanrahan who wanted greater 'Cross' coverage of Sinn Fein.<sup>204</sup> The editor's response, captured only because his mail was

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<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 January 1918. This included a brief article (mentioning Archbishops Kelly and Mannix) about daily papers being pro-conscription and thus being 'Australian' whereas weekly papers (including religious publications) were not. The item quotes Sydney *Freeman's Journal* as stating that 'Our dailies...stand for Imperialistic Jingoism which is not Australian; for sectarianism which is not Australian...'.  
<sup>199</sup> See Fewster, *Expression and Suppression*, 213. This was dated 17 November; the *Daily Herald* in Adelaide (pro-Labour) was also forced to submit everything on 5 December.

<sup>200</sup> *Advocate*, 1 December 1917.  
<sup>201</sup> *Advocate*, 22 December 1917.

<sup>202</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 May 1918.

<sup>203</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 November 1918. The Minister of Defence was George Pearce.

<sup>204</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 3, 17 May 1918. See Appendix C for details about Dr Hanrahan and Fr Prendergast.

monitored, was important in a number of ways. He affirmed the paper's primary role was Catholic with its 'Irish character [as] secondary and subordinate, and it is not the organ of...any...Irish party'. He then justified its adherence (like other Irish-Catholic newspapers and the UIL) to the IPP 'which is representative of the majority of the Irish people...'. The paper would give 'loyal support' elsewhere should electors 'set them aside', because the Irish people were the best judges. He outlined the paper's 25 year 'exchange' history, using the Nationalist press (apart from the *Leader*), and some American papers, but highlighted the impact of war on the process. Reducing 'exchanges' meant reliance on the *Weekly Freeman*, *Irish Catholic* and the *Liverpool Catholic Times*: because Sinn Fein's emergence was recent, its 'exchanges' were not included, and many associated publications were banned.<sup>205</sup> Here, in addition to the clarity of Koerner's publication rationale, the exchange of letters also provides insight into the different ways that the encounter between IPP and Sinn Fein challenged all Irish-Australians.

In September 1918 at a Hibernian Communion Breakfast, Bro Sebastian<sup>206</sup> spoke; in his response to the vote of thanks, Archbishop Spence made another rare public comment on Ireland. He commented on Ulster, recalling that the popular 1906 IPP delegate, Joe Devlin, was from Ulster. Spence then discussed his own reading habits:

He received and read all the chief Irish papers of every shade of politics. He knew the value of their views, and was in a better position to understand them than an Irish-Australian. But he confessed he was sometimes bewildered and confounded and did not know where they were. It was well to be cautious. If things were so perplexed and confused even that even in Ireland the people could hardly understand the position, how could we do so here?<sup>207</sup>

The un-named '*Cross*' 'Notes and Comments' writer's examination of a claim of 'Too Much Irish News', indicated some criticism. He argued that because Ireland was 'continually

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<sup>205</sup> NAA: D1915 SA29, Pt.1. 30 May 1918.

<sup>206</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January 1917 showed him as transferring from WA to Adelaide's Sacred Heart College, security authorities noted his whereabouts.

<sup>207</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 September 1918.

being belied or misrepresented in' cables, this demanded responses. Thus 'a Catholic and Irish paper' was obliged to confront the imbalance; the writer maintained that when Irish prominence was reduced, this would show issues had been settled. An 'exchange' justified the balance of local presentation:

In its final analysis the Irish problem is a struggle between democracy and the spirit of autocracy, a contest between the people seeking expression through a very large majority and class domination ...— the principle of majority rule.<sup>208</sup>

Koerner's deliberate focus on Ireland to inform and to counter widespread misrepresentation, suggests the '*Cross*' played a key role in augmenting recognition and understanding of the transnational roots of Irish-Australians. He demonstrated both reality and integrity when, following Sinn Fein's comprehensive election victory in December 1918, an intercepted letter revealed his contact with Dublin editors of Sinn Fein newspapers, *Leader* and *Nationality*, requesting 'exchanges'.<sup>209</sup>

By the end of 1918, despite strenuous efforts to prove imperial loyalty, the judgement of mainstream Australia went against Irish-Australians. Notwithstanding levels of patriotic support for the war, the weight of factors constituting disloyalty seemed overwhelming. Judgement of Irish-Australian betrayal combined the aftermath of Dublin's Rising, the combatant style of Archbishop Mannix amidst the wartime atmosphere of distrust and sectarian animosity, and transnational evidence of sedition.<sup>210</sup> In 1918 the discovery of IRB treason, and recognition of more radical organisations compounded Irish-Australian unreliability; surveillance confirmed suspicions that many were disloyal. In an environment of expanding Loyalist intensity, shifts in the loyalty continuum meant that Irish-Australian loyalty could not be proved. Irish news displayed sustained British intransigence and

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<sup>208</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 August 1918. The exchange was from the Canadian *North-West Review*.

<sup>209</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. Koerner's letter was dated 27 May and the SIB report 2 June 1919.

<sup>210</sup> See Table Seven for the consistency of public occasions graced by Mannix, the size of his audiences, and the range of his topics; many of these integrated loyalty challenges.

diminishing popular support for constitutional methods, contributing to despair about Ireland, and the shift of moderate Irish-Australian figures towards more radical positions. For Irish-Australians who had been cut adrift from certainties since Easter 1916, distance and censorship reduced the capacity of their newspapers to easily interpret or explain events.<sup>211</sup> Against an Irish-Australian community under siege, loyalist Protestants, Freemasons, many politicians and censors exerted immense power and control. Much earlier, in the previously discussed *Advocate* letters of July 1916,<sup>212</sup> one correspondent located Sinn Fein's 'differential treatment' in a long-standing context of prejudice. He argued that this 'seems to be the principle on which the Irish are treated throughout the British dominions'.<sup>213</sup> The war ended with many Irish-Australians in a vacuum where only the more radical solutions of Sinn Fein in Ireland and the INA in Australia seemed to offer anything. And such leanings further intensified charges of disloyalty. A catch-22 prevailed.

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<sup>211</sup> See Michael Wheatley, 'Irreconcilable Enemies', 61-85 for charting movement of Irish press in five counties from 1914 to 1916.

<sup>212</sup> See 235-6 above.

<sup>213</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 July 1916.

## **Shifting Loyalties: Transnational Alignment of Irish-Australian Loyalty, Challenges From the Easter Rising to the End of World War One.**

*Such fanatics [in Dublin] betray gross ingratitude for the benefits Ireland had received through long agitation and the generosity of the Irish abroad, as well as for the valuable help rendered by the British and other democracies.<sup>1</sup>*

This chapter re-engages with the previously identified transnational threads of the Anglo-Boer War, Home Rule, ‘small nations’ and Irish participation. It argues that following the Easter Rising, despite the initial vehement outrage expressed in the cablegram quoted above, *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* readers faced mounting questions from many Anglo-Australians about their wartime expectations for Ireland. These transnational perspectives, were largely peculiar to the Irish-Catholic press, and certainly seemed to sit uncomfortably beside the emerging realities of British policy. For some Irish-Australians, the divergence generated complex challenges to Imperial loyalty. Conversely, wartime participation from Irish or Irish-Australians was now totally incapable of making up for what was almost universally condemned as Irish treachery in Dublin.

Debates surrounding the introduction of conscription in both Australia and Ireland were extremely important during this phase of the war. In both countries its short and long-term impact was crucial. Conscription was a divisive issue that exposed lasting sectarian fault

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<sup>1</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 April 1916 for report of cablegram from Melbourne UIL to John Redmond expressing ‘abhorrence’ about the Easter Rising.



lines in Australia, and immediately unified all sections of the community in Southern Ireland, while destroying any hope of a constitutional future.

Freemasonry was another important issue. Perceptions of its vigour and danger in Australia and Ireland, and the visible influence of Catholic prelates displayed the power of the transnational religious sphere. Easter 1916 represented a watershed beyond Ireland.

Diaspora communities like those in Australia were increasingly characterised by Empire loyalists as treacherous, a wartime framing which ensured an even more pivotal role for the Irish-Catholic press.

#### *The South African Precedent*

South Africa's importance during World War One, the contrast in terms of Britain's aggressor role, and its treatment of the Boer subsequently enabling their full imperial participation, was established in Chapter Four. The nature of British responses after that war was also reinforced in discussion of early Irish-Australian responses to the Rising in Chapter Five. This 'small' nation's experience provided a powerful transnational connection between Ireland and Irish-Australia – reconciliation with Britain had secured imperial loyalty. South Africa formed a template of possibilities for Britain's response to the rebellion, indicating the potential for Ireland's future position within the Empire.

However British 'response' inconsistencies towards South Africa and Ireland galvanised Irish and Australian critics. Earlier Irish support for the Boers, especially the roles played by John MacBride and Irish-Australian Arthur Lynch in the Irish Brigades, found uncanny resonance in 1916 when the former was executed in Dublin, and the latter was at Westminster.

The South African War's continuing reverberations have already been noted in both newspapers. Botha's response to De Wet's attempted 1914 rebellion was an instructive model for Britain and Ireland in 1916.<sup>2</sup> Carson's threatened revolt over Home Rule in 1914 sharpened the analogy. In discussing the royal commission into the Rising, Koerner claimed if Home Rule had been operational, any rebellious attempt 'would have been suppressed...just as easily as it was by Botha'.<sup>3</sup> In June an 'exchange' examined 'the advantages which [Britain] has derived from pursuing a mild policy in South Africa'.<sup>4</sup> A South African MP visiting London commented that Britain's 'courageous policy' overcame difficulties which were 'much greater than those that are encountered in Ireland'.<sup>5</sup> Irish-Australians could access specific contrasts between South Africa, where issues were resolved despite war, and Ireland, where resolution seemed unlikely following a rebellion.

A range of newspaper items clarified this discrepancy for readers, with the *Cross* featuring more South African references than the *Advocate*, a reversal of the pre-Rising pattern.<sup>6</sup> By July, American 'exchanges' reinforced Mannix's remonstrance: 'Why could not the British have perceived that what they had done in South Africa a few months ago must be done again in Ireland?'<sup>7</sup> Early post-Rising letters to the *Advocate* (discussed previously),<sup>8</sup> explored questions about whether the treatment of Boer rebels was applicable to Irish dissidents.<sup>9</sup> One correspondent argued if 'Irish prisoners' fighting 'for the freedom of a small country... cannot command the same treatment as Boers...it connotes an inferiority

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<sup>2</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916. The *Daily Chronicle* was quoted as making this point. Botha and Smuts dealt with the pro-German Boer outbreak without using imperial forces, De Wet was imprisoned for a year. He died 'isolated and apparently forgotten' in 1922. See 443-4 below for JV O'Loughlin's comparison between his 'disloyalty' and other comparable examples.

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 May 1916.

<sup>4</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1916. ('Irish News').

<sup>5</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1916. ('Irish News' dated 25 August).

<sup>6</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 5 May (3 items), 12 May, 19 May (2 items) and 30 June 1916.

<sup>7</sup> *Advocate*, 1 July 1916.

<sup>8</sup> For details of these letters see 235-6 above.

<sup>9</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 July 1916.

recognised by [authorities]'.<sup>10</sup> *Advocate* Readers were reminded that 'De Wet was pardoned [and] Carson was made a Cabinet Minister'; questions of loyalty and its consequences were implicit issues here.<sup>11</sup>

As the intensity of the Irish problem changed, allusions to South Africa diminished. When Smuts reached England in 1916, his wartime prominence guaranteed reminders.<sup>12</sup> At Melbourne's Irish Relief Fund meeting in September 1916, Smuts and Botha were hailed as two of the 'greatest figures in the Empire today'.<sup>13</sup> Readers of both papers were guided about anomalies: Botha, the former rebel received honours, while Irish constitutional gains were denied.<sup>14</sup> Recall of the Anglo-Boer War, its Irish connection and British generosity towards its foe highlighted inconsistencies in 1916, especially disloyalty issues, and possible applications for Ireland.

### *Home Rule*

Home Rule's achievement in 1914 had become the gauge by which many Irish-Australians measured Ireland's future. Publicly, many remained hopeful about implementation as they struggled with the consequences of Easter 1916. Hope and disappointment coloured the Irish-Catholic press as Britain lurched through the six post-Rising policy phases identified earlier.<sup>15</sup> This section will trace the newspapers' representation of the progress of Home Rule through those stages. Editorials<sup>16</sup> and comprehensive articles/reports in 1916 provide

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<sup>10</sup> *Advocate*, 8 July 1916. The correspondent was HA Meagher.

<sup>11</sup> *Advocate*, 15 July 1916. The segment was entitled 'Notes on the Irish Situation', the *Catholic Times* item was headed 'What Causes Bitterness?'

<sup>12</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January 1917. As South African Minister of Defence, Smuts attended the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet meetings and impressed Lloyd George: he was invited to join his war cabinet.

<sup>13</sup> *Advocate*, 28 September 1916.

<sup>14</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 October and 8 December 1916, *Advocate*, 10 March 1917. The letter was titled 'Justice for Ireland'.

<sup>15</sup> See 61-5 above for outlining of these phases.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix H-1 and 2 for details of editorials about Irish issues including Home Rule.

a huge reservoir of research detail about Home Rule.<sup>17</sup> The narrative increasingly reveals divisions among Irish-Australians while the impact of the news cycle – cables followed by detailed ‘exchanges’ – insinuates then reinforces Irish-Australian doubts. By mid-1918, optimism about Home Rule no longer featured in the Irish-Catholic press.

In 1916 Irish-Australians quickly understood both the threat to Home Rule,<sup>18</sup> and its connection with rebellion. Both editors demanded immediate implementation.<sup>19</sup> While welcoming Asquith’s commission of Lloyd George to negotiate a settlement plan,<sup>20</sup> editors Koerner and Brennan recognised this as an obstacle for Ulster’s IPP members.<sup>21</sup> The ‘*Cross*’ initially viewed the plan as ‘a temporary compromise’, linked to Redmond’s pledge of support for the Allied cause.<sup>22</sup> But the paper’s position changed when Irish Cardinal Logue voiced implacable opposition. He claimed that it would be ‘infinitely better to remain for another 50 years under English rule than accept the proposals’.<sup>23</sup> Details then emerged of Unionist opposition, hints of IPP struggles to maintain followers or govern due to Sinn Féin influence,<sup>24</sup> from the *Catholic Record*, distrust of London,<sup>25</sup> and cables about Lloyd George’s betrayal.<sup>26</sup> By August the ‘*Cross*’ position was much less enthusiastic; such editorial

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<sup>17</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 April, 6, 20, 27 May, 1, 8, 15 June, *Southern Cross* of 28 April, 12 May, 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 June 1916.

<sup>18</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 5, 19, 26 May, 23 June, *Advocate*, 1 July 1916.

<sup>19</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19, 26 May, *Advocate*, 20 May and 22 July 1916.

<sup>20</sup> Lloyd George’s plan had 6 stages: a). Home Rule to operate immediately. b). Introduction of Amending Bill as a War Emergency Act. c). Irish MPs to remain at Westminster during war. d). Ulster to remain under Imperial Government during war. e). Imperial Conference post-war to consider Empire Government. f). Permanent settlement of outstanding problems in immediate post-war conference under War Emergency Act. See Boyce, ‘British Opinion’, 579-84 for details of the negotiation process. See Wheatley, ‘Irreconcilable Enemies’, 81 for recognition in Irish provincial press that the hope of a George solution reflected the ‘physical force’ of the Rising had ‘achieved results denied to constitutional methods’, a perspective not appreciated in these Irish-Australian papers.

<sup>21</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 16 June, *Advocate*, 17 and 24 June 1916. See Wheatley, ‘Irreconcilable Enemies’, 81 for this ‘trigger[ing] a wave of protest across the south and west of Ireland’, a reaction only understood slowly at Irish-Australia’s distance from events.

<sup>22</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 June 1916.

<sup>23</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 June, *Advocate*, 1 July 1916. ‘Irish Prelates Dissent’ named 3 other bishops as opposing the scheme. See *Advocate* of 5 August for Dublin’s Archbishop Walsh’s letter about the disastrous conduct of Home Rule at Westminster.

<sup>24</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1916.

<sup>25</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1916. This item explained London distortion of the events.

<sup>26</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1916.

reversal was typical of local confusion following the Rising.<sup>27</sup> The 'exchange' cycle provided readers with reminders about the English 'pledge-breaking and shuffling' over Home Rule for weeks after Redmond repudiated Lloyd George's scheme.<sup>28</sup> Irish-Australian distrust of English politicians was reinforced by this 'echoing' pattern. When 'failed' Castle administration was reinstated in August, for many, this confirmed the inexorability of British policy towards Ireland.<sup>29</sup>

In this phase, Irish-Australians really experienced confusion as limited information caused editors to acknowledge their 'awkward predicament'. By October 1916 Koerner's headline of 'No Hope for Home Rule'<sup>30</sup> showed progress beyond previous uncertainty about the IPP retaining the 'confidence of the country'.<sup>31</sup> Somewhat illogically given his betrayal over the Home Rule negotiations, both editors seemed more optimistic when Lloyd George became Prime Minister in December: '[He] is still the friend of Irish autonomy and a convinced advocate of Home Rule'.<sup>32</sup> When Adelaide's UIL received Dublin pamphlets explaining the collapse of the Lloyd George scheme in January 1917, those at the meeting reaffirmed confidence in Redmond and the IPP. Sparse attendance was attributed to most Irish-Australians anticipating 'that Home Rule would soon be attained'.<sup>33</sup> In Victoria at the UIL's annual excursion, the IPP's justificatory Manifesto of May 1916 was circulated; this fortified Irish-Australian hopes, but scarcely assisted their understanding.<sup>34</sup> The *Advocate* report listed the benefits of the UIL gathering: listening to the Irish Pipers, meeting fellow

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<sup>27</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 August and 23 June 1916.

<sup>28</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 July, *Southern Cross* of 4 August 1916.

<sup>29</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15, 22 September (News dated 20, 26 July), and *Advocate* of 30 September 1917 ('Letter from London', dated 2 August). See Wheatley, 'Irreconcilable Enemies', 82-3 for Irish responses and the 'dire' position of the Irish party.

<sup>30</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 October, *Advocate*, 28 October, 2 December 1916, 13 January 1917.

<sup>31</sup> See *Advocate* of 2 September, *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1916.

<sup>32</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 December 1916, *Advocate*, 24 February 1917. ('Our London Letter' dated 21 December).

<sup>33</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 January 1917. The pamphlets were distributed to local MPs.

<sup>34</sup> See Wheatley, 'Irreconcilable Enemies', 79 for discussion of the Manifesto, described as the 'party's first public defence of its continuing existence'. Attempting to balance Rising condemnation and horror at Britain's response, 'its longest section was a repetition of all the achievements of constitutional nationalism'.

patriots and exchanging reminiscences as well as enabling individuals to share ‘their views in the burning question of [Ireland’s] prospects of Home Rule, untrammelled with undesirable restrictions’.<sup>35</sup> This aside makes clear the pressures experienced by many Irish-Australians, and the value of organisations in providing a ‘safe’ space for dissent when Irish identification and interests contributed to vulnerability and potential targeting as disloyal.

That recognition of Irish issues was not confined to Irish-Australians in larger city clusters emerged from two brief ‘*Cross*’ items in early 1917. Meetings ‘of the district Irishmen’ at Willaloo (in the Mid-North of SA), and Broken Hill, revealed regional Irish-Australians were not only focussing on Home Rule but were well versed in local persuasion tactics.<sup>36</sup> Both gatherings concentrated on the imminent Imperial Conference, and ensuring that Australia’s representative urged the immediate granting of Home Rule. At Willaloo, Ireland was characterised as ‘the only white nation within the Empire’ denied ‘this God-given right’ of freedom’.<sup>37</sup> The group voted for their proposal to be sent to Koerner, reflecting both lobbying awareness, and the perceived significance of the ‘*Cross*’.

Significantly, explicit transnational dimensions of Home Rule emerged almost simultaneously in Australia’s Senate<sup>38</sup> and at Westminster.<sup>39</sup> While the first achieved a positive outcome – 29 votes to 2 – in London, where the motion was linked to ‘small nations’ and consistent war policies, its failure precipitated an IPP walkout.<sup>40</sup> While the Senate vote was interpreted as a ‘victory’ by many Irish-Australians, its relevance was

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<sup>35</sup> *Advocate*, 3 February 1917.

<sup>36</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 9 March 1917.

<sup>37</sup> This represents an early example of Irish-Australian recognition that British treatment of Ireland placed the Irish on the same level as the colonised nations of Asia and Africa.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, As predicted by Koerner, there was no House of Representatives vote. Facing a hostile Senate, when Hughes tried to extend the life of his minority government beyond the war by making deals with Tasmanian Senators, the discovery led to a loss of confidence motion forcing a poll. This affected Australian attendance at the Imperial Conference.

<sup>39</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 16 March, *Advocate* 17 March 1917 for item headed ‘Home Rule in Two Hemispheres’.

<sup>40</sup> See *Advocate*, 12 May 1917. (This was the detailed item by mail).

minimal, except perhaps in terms of antagonising many loyalist Australians. The Westminster vote, however, had important consequences for diaspora communities when the demoralised parliamentarians sought their involvement by devising a Manifesto for the 'Sea-Divided Gael'. Their 'Appeal to help Home Rule' was published in both newspapers.<sup>41</sup> Directly involving Irish-Australians was a powerful recall of relationships previously forged by IPP delegates, and for many Irish-Australian newspaper readers, reaffirmed close identification with Ireland.

St Patrick's Day always provided important celebratory opportunities for Irish-Australians. In 1917 in both Melbourne and Adelaide, the issue of Home Rule at the centre of celebrations was couched in terms of Irish-Australian identity. In Melbourne Archbishop Carr's parish circular linked the day to Ireland verging on 'full possession of her legislative and national independence',<sup>42</sup> while at Adelaide's luncheon, the toast to 'The Visitors' suggested ringing the Town Hall bells 'at the inauguration of Home Rule'. South Australia's premier (a luncheon guest) urged Australian support, arguing Home Rule would be the 'means of more closely uniting the Empire'. And at the UIL dinner for 200, MHR McMahon Glynn, toasting 'Ireland a Nation', clarified the state of Home Rule positively, outlining the 'conspicuous failure of English Government... which [has] never... secure[d]...good order or the contentment and loyalty of [Ireland's] inhabitants'.<sup>43</sup> These community gatherings centred on Ireland enabled many Irish-Australians to clarify some confusion about Home Rule and British policies, and to both experience and demonstrate solidarity; such gatherings approximated Handlemann's levels of ethnicity.<sup>44</sup> Observers could however interpret these as disloyal occasions.

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<sup>41</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May, *Advocate*, 5 May 1917.

<sup>42</sup> *Advocate*, 24 March 1917.

<sup>43</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1917.

<sup>44</sup> See above 36, 123 and 140 for earlier discussion of Handleman's levels of ethnicity.

May 1917 marked the fourth phase of Britain's Irish policy, immediate Home Rule (excluding Ulster), or a Convention to settle Ireland's future. When Koerner placed details of the Westminster debate provoking the IPP walkout alongside new Home Rule plans, this suggested he used page layout to influence readers. The nature of Redmond's choice precipitated editorial reminders of British perfidy.<sup>45</sup> From Melbourne, UIL figure, Jageurs attempted to co-opt broader UIL support for the Irish Convention but his demand for greater government commitment 'to accept ... its decisions' met with hesitation in Adelaide. There, UIL unwillingness to impose conditions at long distance led to J.V. O'Loughlin's discussion of the committee's altered proposal with Jageurs.<sup>46</sup> Tracking such negotiations through the *Advocate* and '*Cross*' provides evidence of Irish-Australian struggles to find a path through the confusing Home Rule and wartime environment.<sup>47</sup>

A July Manifesto from some of Ireland's Catholic and Protestant Bishops opposing 'the dismemberment of our country' reaffirmed Church involvement in the Home Rule debate, revealing senior prelate support for the Irish Convention.<sup>48</sup> Despite Redmond cabling the Australian UIL about his hopes of success for the Convention, Koerner equivocated. Reminding readers of Sinn Fein's boycott, hopes were less 'sanguine', and the editorial wanted a peace conference to examine Ireland's case.<sup>49</sup> Britain's use of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) limited the coverage of the Irish Convention,<sup>50</sup> adding to Irish-Australian confusion and anxiety. Koerner's doubts persisted, even though reliable

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<sup>45</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 May and *Advocate* 26 May 1917. See John Grigg, *Lloyd George, War Leader 1916-1918*, Penguin Books, London, 2003, 120 for claim that the Convention idea was Redmond's and modelled on Dominion experience. See also Boyce, 'British Opinion', 584-5 for reference to December 1916 telegram from Hughes to George about the need for an Irish settlement for uniting Australian opinion, and Lloyd George's 1917 comment to Carson about Ireland as 'a stumbling block in the conduct of the war. It has done much harm in Australia...'.  
<sup>46</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1917. The meeting discussed contact with Tasmanian and Victorian branches and the value of communication in facilitating cooperative Irish action.  
<sup>47</sup> Such UIL details in these newspapers represent the only record of their decisions.  
<sup>48</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1917. Archbishops Walsh and O'Dwyer were greatly respected.  
<sup>49</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1917.  
<sup>50</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 and 19 October 1917. DORA's introduction in August 1914 facilitated control of civilian life.



American exchanges suggested success. Quoting the Dublin *Leader*, he suggested the Convention existed ‘to tide over a crisis...a device to trick Ireland’, – and with wisdom acquired since his December endorsement of Lloyd George, voiced distrust of all British politicians.<sup>51</sup>

In 1918 Home Rule remained important for Irish-Australians. Adelaide’s annual UIL meeting remained hopeful but found the lack of a Convention report ‘vexatious’.<sup>52</sup> On St Patrick’s Day when Bro Purton toasted ‘Ireland a Nation’, he examined the state of Home Rule and its subordination to Westminster politics – foremost only while the IPP held the balance of power which seemed unlikely given the serial loss of by-elections to Sinn Féin in 1917. McMahon Glynn countered Purton’s constitutional pessimism by emphasising the many contributions from the recently deceased Redmond, proclaiming ‘we are on the threshold of a solution of a great problem’.<sup>53</sup> Irish–Australians frequently experienced such incompatible interpretations but had few possibilities for their resolution. ‘Exchanges’ from New Zealand’s *Tablet* (sent by a Wexford Irish priest) applauded Irish unity, clerical involvement, and pride in the Easter martyrs, all indicating an Ireland unwilling to accept the ‘old regime of broken pledges ...’.<sup>54</sup> Two years after the Rising, as British policy focussed on Home Rule linked to a complex Convention outcome, a phase characterised more by drifting than action or certainty, many Irish-Australians were perplexed about Ireland and its future.

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<sup>51</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 October 1917.

<sup>52</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 January 1918.

<sup>53</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 March 1918. Redmond had died after surgery on 6 March 1918, some claimed of a broken heart.

<sup>54</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 March 1918.

London's joint announcement of conscription and Home Rule on 4 April 1918 initiated the fifth policy phase.<sup>55</sup> Home Rule was displaced from popular discussion by the conscription debate.<sup>56</sup> Both editors recognised that combining these policies was hugely mistaken for Ireland.<sup>57</sup> In Melbourne, conference proposals exposed cleavages among Irish-Australians, when Jagers attempted to claim UIL superiority over other societies by associating it with more than 1000 international branches.<sup>58</sup> Ultimately, as in Ireland, community recognition that 'the Home Rule Bill and Conscription [were] inseparable' facilitated Irish-Australian cooperation.<sup>59</sup> Mannix presided at Melbourne's 10 May UIL Convention (to be discussed) and Victoria's 15 Irish groups sent delegates. One motion which denounced conscription incorporated a demand for 'national autonomy' and its withholding as 'incompatible with the claims of the British Empire...to be champions of small nations'.<sup>60</sup>

Following united Irish opposition to Britain's Conscription/Home Rule attempt, discovery of a 'German plot' precipitated Irish arrests. This encouraged Koerner's retrospective summary of the Home Rule imbroglio – leaving Irish-Australian readers without doubt about malevolent British intentions.<sup>61</sup> Lord Curzon blamed the plot and hierarchical intervention for the abandonment of both conscription and Home Rule. He argued that the state of Ireland meant an unacceptable bill could not be classed as 'statesmanship but folly [which] would almost amount to a crime', a picturesque rationale.<sup>62</sup> Taking up editorial cudgels, Koerner dismissed Curzon's attacks against the hierarchy, summarised the state of

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<sup>55</sup> See Boyce, 'British Opinion', 587-591 for discussion of British press support for Irish conscription, identifying the *Manchester Guardian* as the 'voice of reason' in opposition.

<sup>56</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 12 April, *Advocate*, 13 April 1918.

<sup>57</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 19 April, *Advocate*, 20 April 1918.

<sup>58</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 May, *Advocate*, 27 April 1918.

<sup>59</sup> *Advocate*, 11 May 1916.

<sup>60</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17, 24 May, *Advocate*, 18, 25 May 1918. Late organisation prevented SA's UIL President Patrick Healy attending, however JV O'Loughlin was there. Speakers included Senator Needham, James Scullin and Frank Brennan MHR.

<sup>61</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 May 1918.

<sup>62</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 June 1918.

Home Rule, insisting that a peace conference held most promise.<sup>63</sup> Home Rule was rarely mentioned by late 1918, in painful contrast to 1914. Perceptions of betrayal predominated.<sup>64</sup> In December, while Asquith (a Liberal opposing the Liberal Tory coalition led by Lloyd George) ‘advocated prompt Home Rule’ in his election manifesto,<sup>65</sup> given diminished IPP stature and enhanced Sinn Fein allegiance, absence of comment suggested few Irish-Australians retained optimism.

### ‘*Small Nations*’

The transnational ‘small nation’ issue – British justification for engaging in the war – remained central in both newspapers. By 1918 its leverage was multi-layered. The plight of other ‘small nations’ provided a patent launching pad for the discussion of Ireland. Crises facing Belgians, Poles, Serbians and Armenians, allowed Ireland’s easy inclusion.<sup>66</sup> The contradiction between Britain ‘draw[ing] her sword on behalf of the little peoples’ framed policies towards Ireland. The *Advocate* stridently claimed ‘You cannot liberate the Belgians with one hand and subjugate the Irish with the other’.<sup>67</sup> Equating the 1916 Irish executions with Belgian horrors also underlined the point.<sup>68</sup>

For many church-going Irish-Australians, including the parish priest who listed the nationalities supported by Melbourne’s Catholics at his 1916 church opening, one nation was missing. He suggested ‘they had ... forgotten a suffering people ... more closely allied

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<sup>63</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 July 1918.

<sup>64</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 August 1918 for report of Dillon’s Westminster attempt to get the issue discussed, and official responses about current impossibility of any introduction of Home Rule.

<sup>65</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 December 1918.

<sup>66</sup> See *Advocate* of 3, 10 June, 29 July and 19 August 1916, 23 January, 2 March 1918 (Belgium), 8 July 1916, 2 March 1918 (Poland), 29 July (Armenia); *Southern Cross*, 28 April, 20 October, 17 November, 8 December 1916, 23 February 1918 (Belgium), 12 May, 30 June (Poland), 8 September 1916 (Armenia), 2 March 1917 (Serbia).

<sup>67</sup> *Advocate*, 1 July 1916.

<sup>68</sup> *Advocate*, 1 July 1916. (‘Our London Letter -The Black Week in Dublin’ dated 5 May).

to them – the sufferers in Ireland’.<sup>69</sup> His plea coincided with a letter from a senior Irish cleric headed ‘Distress in Dublin’.<sup>70</sup> Speakers at the already mentioned ‘Great Irish Demonstration’ in September 1916 asked whether Australians were less generous to Ireland than to ‘Servians (sic), Poles and Russians’,<sup>71</sup> reminding Irish-Australians that the war ‘hinged largely on the injustices to small nations’ and the denial to Ireland of Home Rule. Extensive coverage in both newspapers reinforced understanding among wider circles of Irish-Australians that Ireland was a ‘small nation’, and that diaspora communities had obligations. Publication of subscription lists revealed widespread Irish-Australian commitment to the ‘old country’.<sup>72</sup> Melbourne’s meeting thus encompassed various layers of perceived Irish-Australian disloyalty: its motivation, the content of its speeches, subsequent reporting and dissemination, and ongoing evidence of subscriber enthusiasm for a rebel cause.

British inconsistency on the ‘small nation’ issue became clearer as their policies hardened, and Sinn Fein support increased. Readers followed policy transitions – oft-raised hopes and increased distrust. The *Advocate* and the ‘*Cross*’ played a seminal role in transmitting reliable news from Ireland. Both papers increased the space devoted to Irish ‘exchanges’; readers learnt of IPP struggles and Sinn Fein expansion. Both parties supported Ireland’s ‘small nation’ claims although the torturous IPP path received more local coverage. The lop-sided attention equally reflected editorial struggles to keep abreast of Irish currents, and unwillingness to abandon the IPP construction of Irish reality. So editorials,<sup>73</sup> IPP censure

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<sup>69</sup> *Advocate*, 26 August 1916. He included Belgians, Russians, French, Serbians and Montenegrins.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, The letter was from the Administrator of Dublin’s Pro-Cathedral.

<sup>71</sup> *Advocate*, 23 September 1916. The motion pledged support for the fund established by Mannix, and called for responding ‘promptly and generously’. As well as Carr and Mannix, speakers included Dr AL Kenny, Fr Lockington SJ, and TC Brennan. See NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt 1, 8 September 1918 for SIB interception of Fr Lockington’s mail.

<sup>72</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 September and 14 October 1916 showing Mannix and *Advocate* lists of subscribers. From 30 September parochial subscription lists were also included.

<sup>73</sup> *Advocate*, 21 October 1916.

motions,<sup>74</sup> and resolutions<sup>75</sup> reported in the latter half of 1916 continued to emphasise inconsistencies between policies in Ireland and Allied war principles, as if this Party input really mattered.<sup>76</sup>

In London, Dillon's more realistic insistence late in the war, that Ireland must be treated as other 'small nations', emphasised that 'a discontented and oppressed Ireland, held down by military force, will be an appalling source of weakness and embarrassment to this nation, and ... the Allies'.<sup>77</sup> But when Asquith (replaced as Prime Minister by Lloyd George in December 1916) urged settlement of the Irish question before the Peace Conference, the response from Chancellor Bonar Law was 'Preposterous': the issue was domestic.<sup>78</sup>

Following Sinn Féin's December 1918 election success and virtual IPP obliteration, Shorthill interpreted this victory as strengthening Ireland's 'unassailable' Peace Conference case, an illusory recognition both of Irish reality and British capacity to thwart international focus.<sup>79</sup> Distance, delays, cables and censorship combined to limit Irish-Australian understanding of the interplay of issues involving Ireland, Britain and international diplomacy in a wartime environment.

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<sup>74</sup> *Advocate*, 28 October 1916

<sup>75</sup> *Advocate*, 30 December 1916. Redmond's resolution 'to prevent the government of Ireland along lines inconsistent with the principles for which the Allies are fighting...and that [f]ighting for the independence of small nations and maintaining martial law...is intolerable, ridiculous and shameful'.

<sup>76</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 October 1916.

<sup>77</sup> *Advocate*, 9 November 1918. ('From Our English Exchanges' nd.).

<sup>78</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 November and *Advocate*, 16 November 1916.

<sup>79</sup> *Advocate*, 21 December 1918.



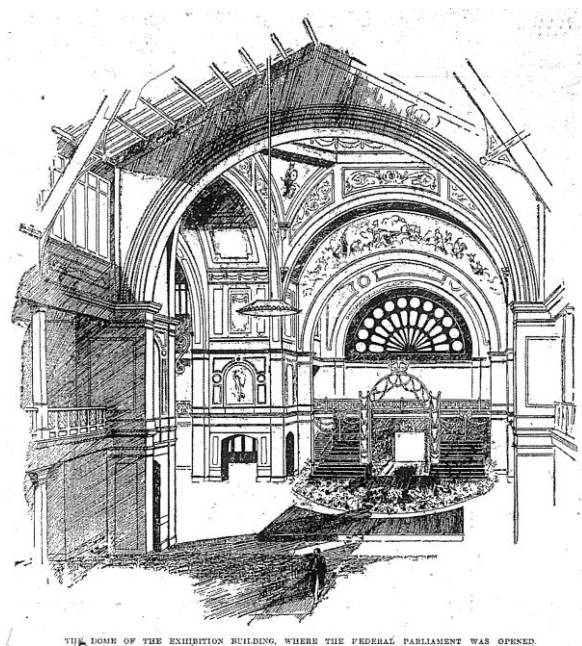
**Figure 46.** Melbourne Irish Demonstration, 5 November 1917  
(nla.pic-vn4507070-v)

In Melbourne, the pattern of large Irish-Australian meetings established with the Irish Distress Demonstration of 1916, continued in 1917 and 1918. In addition to attracting great publicity and wider community anxiety about imperial loyalty, some meetings generated Irish-Australian divisions. For example, Jageurs and the UIL opposed the Young Ireland Society-sponsored (YIS) plans to hold a ‘Monster meeting of Citizens’ to discuss the Irish situation on 5 November 1917.<sup>80</sup> The meeting represented the ‘United Irish and Kindred Societies of Victoria’.<sup>81</sup> (Figure 46) But loyal citizens, opposing any discussion of Ireland as disloyal, and anxious to maintain community peace, approached Victoria’s government about preventing the meeting, intending to invoke WPA regulations if this

<sup>80</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 November 1917 for item referring to Sydney’s *Catholic Press*, the *Argus*, the *Advocate* and the *Tribune* about opposition to the meeting. The *Tribune* stated that Jageurs ‘cannot claim to represent Irish-Australian feeling in regard to Irish self-government’.

<sup>81</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 November which lists the groups involved: the St Patrick’s Society, the Hibernians, the INF, the Shamrock Club, the CWA, the CYMS, the ACF and the Gaelic League.

failed.<sup>82</sup> When Exhibition Building trustees revoked their agreement to let the hall,<sup>83</sup> with John Wren's<sup>84</sup> careful support (Figures 47 and 48), the meeting over which Mannix presided, was held at the Richmond racecourse.<sup>85</sup> The audience of 100,000 heard the speaker both endorse 'the battle cry of England ... [as supporting] the rights of small nations', and plead 'In heaven's name, let her be consistent'. The *Advocate's* three page summary ensured the wider Irish-Australian community understood what happened, reinforcing the critical role of that newspaper.<sup>86</sup> But opposition from without and disunity within the Irish-Australian community showed the difficulties attendant to developing a coherent position on Ireland.



**Figure 47.** Melbourne Exhibition Building,  
*Adelaide Observer*, 18 May 1901



**Mr. John Wren.**

**Figure 48.** John Wren (1871-1953),  
*Advocate*, 20 March 1920

<sup>82</sup> Rentoul, Leeper and Snowball (LOL) were among those leading the protest.

<sup>83</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 November 1917 for reference to 'strong public feeling against the meeting' and its vigorous denunciation by the local UIL.

<sup>84</sup> See James Griffin, *John Wren, A Life Reconsidered*, Scribe Publications, Melbourne, 2004, 232-245 for Wren's relationship with Mannix and support for Irish-Australian events. See Appendix C for details of Wren's life.

<sup>85</sup> Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 188.

<sup>86</sup> *Advocate*, 10 November 1917. A full account of all the venue issues was included here. Speakers included YIS President DG Carter, E Adams (President of CWA), T Landrigan (INF), Fr JJ Malone and AA Calwell.

Throughout 1918 questions about Irish representation at the anticipated peace conference recurred, and whether Ireland's 'small nation' rights would be resolved.<sup>87</sup> In January Fr J.J. Malone's lecture on 'Ireland a Nation' dwelt on the significance of the peace conference for 'little nations';<sup>88</sup> public 'demonstrations' and lectures provided critical information for listeners, and newspaper readers subsequently benefitted. This reinforces the point made by Biagini (mentioned earlier) about the wider currency of published addresses.<sup>89</sup> Fr Malone reminded Irish-Australians that 'mails, the cables, the wireless... were worked in the interests of England [and] we learnt here just as much as the censor was pleased to reveal', reminding listeners about imperial, and local, wartime restrictions.<sup>90</sup>

Mannix presided at the fourth Victorian UIL Irish Convention in May 1918,<sup>91</sup> which was attended by 500 delegates and as a result of SIB interception of organiser Jageurs' correspondence, closely monitored.<sup>92</sup> This meeting aimed to support resistance against Irish conscription, and achieve 'a satisfactory measure of Home Rule'. MHR Hugh Mahon's<sup>93</sup> resolution proposed 'national autonomy', stating that 'withholding [this from Ireland] is incompatible with the claims of the British Empire and her allies to be the champions of the small nations'.<sup>94</sup> Mannix consistently used his platform at Church events to present the 'small nation' salvo – in July for example, at the CYMS 'Smoke Night', and

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<sup>87</sup> See *Advocate* of 5 January 1918 for editorial. See also *Advocate* of 26 January 1918 for Fr Malone's lecture of 21 January which also focussed on this outcome.

<sup>88</sup> See Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 58. He assesses Fr Malone as 'one of the outstanding priest of the archdiocese'.

<sup>89</sup> Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform*, 46, and 48-9 above.

<sup>90</sup> *Advocate*, 26 January 1917. (He was also doubtful that the concurrent Irish Convention could settle issues.) See 9 February editorial for point that the Press Bureau decides 'what it is not good for Australians to know'.

<sup>91</sup> Previous conventions were held in 1883, 1889 and 1896. These were briefly summarised following lengthy coverage of the fourth convention.

<sup>92</sup> See NAA: MP95/1, W/E 10/5/1918. Letters of 1 May from Jageurs to AA Calwell, to Jageurs on 1 May from MM Ryan (of Hobart), 4, 8 May from Jack Sheil, and 6 May from Albert Wells (Melbourne).

<sup>93</sup> Mahon had come to Australia in 1882. See John Redmond to Hugh Mahon, 14 and 20 February 1882, Letters, NLA, Mahon Papers, MS 937/8/285 and 287, and O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 226. See Appendix C for details of Mahon's life.

<sup>94</sup> *Advocate*, 18 May 1918. Other speakers included Senators Ferrick and Needham, E Adams, J.L. Murphy, TP Walsh and AA Calwell as honorary secretary.



the opening of a hall and school.<sup>95</sup> Diverse Irish-Australian audiences thus heard directly what others later accessed from the Irish-Catholic press, and the message increasingly suggested British betrayal.

By August 1917, despite some Irish-Australian understanding of Britain's insistence that Ireland was a domestic issue, not a 'small nation', expectations of a satisfactory outcome remained.<sup>96</sup> As well as the longer term peace conference, an Imperial Conference of July 1918 seemed to hold promise. But when short term hopes were dispelled by British avoidance tactics, Shorthill misguidedly argued that a peace conference focus was better than uncertainty about a post-war election producing a government favourable to Ireland.<sup>97</sup> Another Melbourne demonstration mounted by the INA in August 1918 (attracting 15,000) presented a resolution insisting on Britain's 'bounden duty to extend to Ireland the right of self-determination, as outlined by President Wilson'.<sup>98</sup> Public meetings and *Advocate* reports provided clarity about Ireland for many Irish-Australians, contrasting with increasing daily newspaper antipathy. But even in November, an editorial from Koerner reflected on Asquith's commitment to 'small nation' Ireland and the peace conference, failing to grasp this was a domestic issue.<sup>99</sup> In December, after the war and with Britain's election resolved, at another Melbourne mass meeting, 50,000 listened to speeches demanding 'Autonomy for Ireland', responding unanimously to resolutions. More Irish-Australians read about these and Mannix's assertion that while focusing on Europe, 'it ill becomes [England] to trample on the rights of another small nation at her very doors'.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Advocate*, 6 July 1918. See Table Seven for range of events where this was a focus.

<sup>96</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 August 1917.

<sup>97</sup> *Advocate*, 3 August 1918. The editorial, 'The Smaller Nations,' was hopeful of a Liberal-led government 'with a strong Liberal-Labour following'.

<sup>98</sup> *Advocate*, 17 August 1918. Speakers included Frank Tudor MHR, MJ Kirwin MLA, JL Murphy, Cyril Bryan, E Adams, GR Baldwin and R Scott as honorary secretary.

<sup>99</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 November 1918. This item reported the Asquith-Bonar Law exchange where Law was astonished that Ireland could be a priority over peace issues.

<sup>100</sup> *Advocate*, 26 December 1918. Mannix spoke first; other speakers included FG Tudor, Frank Brennan, Fr Malone, Senator O'Keefe, TJ Landrigan and JL Murphy.

Thus 1918 ended with Irish-Australians, operating within the war-long international agenda of ‘small nation’ rights, still fixated on the prospects of Ireland’s future being resolved within that framework. These unrealistic expectations did not prepare readers for dealing with peace conference disappointment.

### *Irish and Irish-Australian Participation Issues*

Easter 1916 disrupted any straightforward narrative about either Irish or Irish-Australian war participation, and loyalty questions neutralised previous imperial tributes to Irish bravery. But for Irish-Australians still believing in the IPP, reassurance about Ireland’s military role became more crucial. The *Advocate* and the ‘*Cross*’ both accentuated participation statistics, bravery and VC recipients.

Positioning consecutive ‘*Cross*’ editorials – ‘The Irish at the Front’ and ‘The Irish at Gallipoli’ – in the post-Rising atmosphere when condemnation of Ireland was unrelenting seems deliberate.<sup>101</sup> The second editorial revealed Irishmen had won 21 VCs by the end of 1915. Jageurs was prominent in challenging attacks on Irish bravery, combining Irish and local issues. For example his letter of April 1917, ‘Ireland and the War’, summarised Irish recruiting and bravery, naming all VC winners,<sup>102</sup> and in 1918 after vilification of Irish bravery,<sup>103</sup> Jageurs targeted Australia’s Minister of Defence about deliberate withholding of information.<sup>104</sup> He argued that Ireland’s involvement in the war was being suppressed.<sup>105</sup> And when his Melbourne adversary, Rentoul, applauded British sacrifices, but ignored

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<sup>101</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 and 23 June 1916. These were derived from Michael MacDonagh’s book, *The Irish at the Front* further discussed on 292 fn119 below.

<sup>102</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1917. It appeared in the *Age* of 30 April and *Advocate* of 4 May. Observations about ‘scant acknowledgement’ of Irish heroism continued: see *Southern Cross* of 21 September, 12, 26 October 1917 for examples in the Currente Calamo column.

<sup>103</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 June and 12 July 1918.

<sup>104</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 27 September 1918.

<sup>105</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 11 October 1918 for just one example.

Ireland, Jageurs attacked.<sup>106</sup> In a very statistical riposte, VC enumeration – 50 Irish winners, and 12 of Australia's 32 recipients Irish, and 10 Catholic – represented his most telling point.<sup>107</sup> Jageurs personified Irish-Australian defence against prejudiced community judgement about Irish war participation. But his visibility reinforced perception of Irish-Australian association with constitutional change; this alignment was increasingly critiqued.

Reports of Irish bravery, previously very common in the Irish-Catholic press, disappeared between Easter (except in sparse 'exchanges') and mid-July 1916.<sup>108</sup> The pattern resumed in two small items, one emphasised Irish POW loyalty in the face of Casement's cajolery, the other extolled Ulster troops in battle.<sup>109</sup> A further item reporting shock and disbelief from Irish troops hearing news of 'the wave of insanity paus[ing] over Ireland' – presented a further Irish critique of the Rising.<sup>110</sup>

Evidence of transnational pride in Irish performance, relayed through the Irish-Catholic press, formed a critical element in reassuring Irish-Australians after the trials of 1916. The focus on Irish bravery became more constant from November. A page about the Irish Brigade in France included Willie Redmond's letter extolling chaplains, and accounts from English correspondent, Philip Gibbs.<sup>111</sup> In February a specific page about Irish bravery described more VCs, a Requiem for Irish Guards at Westminster Cathedral and, crucially for Irish-Australians, letters from MP, Sir Mark Sykes decrying English ingratitude towards

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<sup>106</sup> See 145, 160, 169 and 172 above for references to Rentoul during the Anglo-Boer War.

<sup>107</sup> See *Advocate*, 23 November for 'Prominent Topics: A Dishonest Controversialist' and exchange of letters in Melbourne, *Southern Cross*, 29 November 1918 for item in 'Topics'. See also issue of 6 October 1917 for earlier claim that one fifth of local recipients were Irish by birth or descent.

<sup>108</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 May 1916. This was an 'exchange' from St Patrick's Day (17 March) in London where Irish bravery had been featured.

<sup>109</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1916. The items were printed next to one another. Casement, executed after April 1916, had attempted to get support from Irish POWs in Germany.

<sup>110</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1916. This letter extract appeared under 'The Sinn Fein Rising' title, and was 'sent to the press' by Mr Swift MacNeill MP, but without date or source.

<sup>111</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 November 1916. See issue of 15 September for his 'The Irresistible Irish', and issue of 22 December. See Appendix C for details about Gibbs' life.

Ireland and the need to 'compose our differences'.<sup>112</sup> On St Patrick's Day 1917, the 'Cross' measured Irish bravery against English inaction over Ireland.<sup>113</sup> Pride in Irish troops was also promoted at Adelaide's Hibernian luncheon, where press tributes to the Irish in 'every severe battle', and segments of a letter about a London procession led by the Irish Fusiliers Band, were features. The letter writer described pride in 'marching with the Australians, headed by Irishmen, the two greatest fighting nations in the world'.<sup>114</sup> When Fr Gwynn repeated praise from Irish CIC Sir Bryan Mahon at Adelaide's UIL social, the impact was similar: 'no men could have done more in the field than the Irish...at Gallipoli, and in Serbia'.<sup>115</sup> By March 1917 many beleaguered Irish-Australians were ready to hear such endorsements of both Irish and Irish-Australian bravery.



Figure 49. Item from front cover, *Advocate*, 20 October 1917



Figure 50. Front Cover, *Advocate*, 4 August 1917

<sup>112</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 February 1917. Sykes was a Catholic British MP.

<sup>113</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 March 1917.

<sup>114</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1917. The letter was from the enlisted Grand President of the Hibernians, Sgt JS Malone.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* Fr Gwynn's chaplain brother was killed in 1915.

## IRISH VALOUR AND THE GREAT WAR.

One of the Bravest Charges in the Present Conflict.



Figure 51. Item, *Advocate*, 5 May 1917

At such a distance from the war, located within an atmosphere of increasing hostility, and dependent on London-based cables for immediate news, these editors used a variety of items to highlight the Irish and local participation issues. Figures 49 to 51 demonstrate visual examples from the *Advocate*: diminishing Carson, valorising one of the Easter rebels, and emphasising contemporary Irish bravery. And in the ‘*Cross*’, a thrilling review’ came from the New Zealand *Tablet* – ‘*What the Irish Regiments Have Done*’, which ‘reveal[ed] the glory of [the] Irish soldier’s deeds’.<sup>116</sup> Previous association between the Redmond brothers and Irish-Australia provided an important link for readers. When Willie Redmond MP, a volunteer at 55, was killed in Flanders during June 1917, local sadness elicited both tributes,<sup>117</sup> and intentional emphasis on his bravery. Shorthill and Koerner focussed coverage of his death over two issues, reprinting Redmond’s final, powerful intervention at Westminster. Speaking on behalf of ‘tens of thousands’ of his Irish colleagues ‘many of whom will never return’, Redmond urged self-government for Ireland like other parts of

<sup>116</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 April 1917. No further attribution is provided; the New Zealand *Tablet* was published in Dunedin. See issue of 18 May for details of yet another Irish VC.

<sup>117</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 15 June 1917. Both UIL President Patrick Healy and JV O’Loghlin provided moving responses to his death.

the Empire.<sup>118</sup> His brother, John's introduction to Michael MacDonagh's book, *The Irish on the Somme* (reviewed and used by both newspapers) stressed pride in Ireland's regiments.<sup>119</sup>

In Melbourne there was some contestation of the bravery issue. Letters about Irish patriotism in the *Advocate* of October 1917 were reminiscent of 1914's interchange between Fodhla Quilligan and Jageurs.<sup>120</sup> Correspondents in 1917, 'Irish Girl' and C.M. Murphy (President of the Hurling Association) disputed whether VC style patriotism was the 'best and highest ideal', or 'those who had the hangman's rope or the bullets of a firing squad', exhibited greater valour.<sup>121</sup> Acknowledging Ireland's military contribution became more compelling for many Irish-Australians after Easter 1916; it demonstrated imperial loyalty and outweighed minority disloyalty.<sup>122</sup> But this view was neither shared by all Irish-Australians, nor accepted by Australians who associated Ireland with unqualified treachery. Vigilance from such groups about Irish participation rates, the increasing sanctification of Easter martyrs, or threats of additional Irish betrayal, were all reflected in the newspaper debates. As Irish unrest intensified in response to English incapacity to resolve Ireland's issues, conflict over battlefield statistics and bravery became irrelevant because evidence from Ireland contradicted such claims.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15, 22 June and *Advocate* 16, 23 June 1917.

<sup>119</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 October 1917. See issue of 5 April 1918 for O'Loughlin's review of MacDonagh's next book, *The Irish at the Front*. But for this text as damaging propaganda for Irishmen, see Joanna Bourke, 'Shell-shock, Psychiatry and the Irish soldier during the First World War' in Adrian Gregory and Senia Paseta (eds.), *Ireland and the Great War: 'A war to unite us all?'* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2002, 157 and 158.

<sup>120</sup> See 235-6 above for reference to the 1916 exchange..

<sup>121</sup> *Advocate*, 6, 13, 20 and 27 October 1917. Jageurs was closely associated with Hurlers, and Murphy strongly defended him in these letters.

<sup>122</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 August 1918 for front cover with headline 'Irish Gallantry 'Everywhere and Always Faithful, 16<sup>th</sup> Irish Division: An Unrecorded Exploit'.

<sup>123</sup> See *Irish Independent* of 7 August 2005 for discussion of a secret British Government report into the wartime firing squad execution of 26 Irishmen. Conclusions of racist and ethnic bias were drawn from comparing recruitment figures and death sentences with those of other countries in the British army, and figures of 1 for every 2-3000 British troops as against 1 in less than 600 in Irish units. The report noted the 'pervading British attitude of 'mistrust and suspicion' and 'the anti-Irish feeling of many in British society'.

*Advocate* and ‘*Cross*’ editors used many ways of emphasising Irish-Australian participation and war support after Easter 1916. Among many examples, a few will exemplify approaches. Regular ‘*Cross*’ publication of extracts from former editor ‘Mr Denny at the Front’, demonstrated loyalty and imperial commitment.<sup>124</sup> His wounding was extensively reported,<sup>125</sup> as was his award of the Military Cross in November.<sup>126</sup> Both editors quoted War Correspondent Gibbs about Australian participation:

There was no mistaking [the Australians]. Their slouch hats told one at a glance, but without them I should have known. They have a distinctive type of their own which marks them out from all other soldiers of ours along these roads of war.<sup>127</sup>

Such accolades from a notable journalist were an important boost for many Irish–Australians, particularly those with family members at the front. Reports of the return to South Australia of Captain-Chaplain Murphy (after more than three years)<sup>128</sup> and Belgian Fr Le Maitre provided evidence of loyalty,<sup>129</sup> as did accounts of Chaplain-Majors Devine and Close in Victoria.<sup>130</sup> Such items were significant for readers in terms of their Irish-Catholic identity as well as demonstrating the extent of Irish-Australian imperial commitment. That many Irish-Australians continued to exhibit strong dual loyalty represents an important dimension of this research.

### *Conscription – in Australia and Ireland*

Conscription, a menacing possibility since 1915, materialised as a further transnational thread in the post-Rising years. It was a contested issue in Australia and a threat to Ireland

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<sup>124</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 8 September (soldiers’ need for woollen goods), 15 September 1916 (the Gallipoli reputation), 12 January 1917 (Denny in a gas mask). Other letters were published on 20 April, 5 May, 20 June, 19 October 1917, and 4, 11 January 1918.

<sup>125</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 September, 5 October 1917. The premier named him as ‘our patriotic colleague’. See 30 November issue for Denny’s letter of 26 September explaining his wounding and medical treatment.

<sup>126</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9, 16 November 1917. See issue of 21 December for his letter about the MC on the ‘Anzacs in Action’ page.

<sup>127</sup> *Advocate*, 22 July 1916. Philip Gibbs, a (Catholic) English correspondent for the *Morning Post*. See also *Southern Cross*, 13 October 1917 and 6 September 1918 for other articles. See Appendix C for Gibbs’ details.

<sup>128</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4, 25 January 1918.

<sup>129</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 March 1918.

<sup>130</sup> See *Advocate*, 4 and 11 May 1918. The latter contained an ‘Interesting letter’ from Captain-Chaplain Hayes at the Front.

between 1916 and 1918. Opposition to its Australian introduction became synonymous with imperial disloyalty, while for Ireland, any suggestion to extend conscription represented extreme coercion to an aggrieved population. In both countries enlistment figures remained controversial.<sup>131</sup> For many Irish-Australians, the divisive conscription referenda in 1916 and 1917 exposed fault lines of identity, loyalty and religion in ways unprecedented in Australia's history.

Both newspapers reflected concern about Australian conscription from May 1916.<sup>132</sup> After its British introduction, the '*Cross*' urged local delay, reiterating the opinion that Australia had contributed 'more than her fair share already in money and men'.<sup>133</sup> After September's referendum announcement, while Koerner's comments were descriptive only, they were located alongside the first of many references to New Zealand's experience.<sup>134</sup> Although Kildea and Morgan categorise the *Advocate* as neutral in 1916, closer scrutiny suggests its attitude was more negative.<sup>135</sup> Clashes between Brennan and Archbishop Mannix over the issue led to Brennan's 'resignation' in April 1917, Thomas Shorthill replacing him.<sup>136</sup> The following discussion, however, will centre on the *Southern Cross* since there has already been extensive coverage on the role of Mannix in both conscription campaigns.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See 186, 200, 203-4 and 217 above for reference to contested figures.

<sup>132</sup> *Southern Cross* 19 May and *Advocate*, 20 May 1916.

<sup>133</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 May 1916. See Hunt, Arnold D and Thomas, Robert P., *For God, King and Country: A Study of the Attitudes of the Methodist and Catholic Press in South Australia to the Great War 1914-1918*, Salisbury College of Advanced Education, Salisbury, 1979, 21 for erroneous suggestion that the '*Cross*' was pro-conscription in 1916.

<sup>134</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 September 1916. The editorial was titled 'The Call to Arms', while the 'Topics' item was 'The Example of New Zealand'.

<sup>135</sup> See Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 138 and Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 175. Kildea summarises the views of the Catholic press. Melbourne's *Tribune*, the '*Cross*' and the *Catholic Record* opposed. Brisbane's newspapers were neutral, the *Age* opposed it on polling day, in Sydney the *Catholic Press* opposed it and the *Freeman's Journal* was 'supportive'.

<sup>136</sup> See *Advocate* of 21 April 1917 for Brennan's retirement in order to 'devote himself... to his practice at the Bar ... [and] he is no longer responsible for the policy of the paper'.

<sup>137</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 270-2, McKernan, *Australian Churches*, 109-27, Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 141-4, 165-181, and among many articles, Glenn Withers, 'The 1916-1917 conscription referenda: a cliometric reappraisal' in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. XX, No 78, April 1982, 36-46. Table Seven reveals Mannix's use of Church events to examine the conscription issue for different audiences.



The Irish-Catholic press provided important transnational conduits between domestic affairs and events in Ireland. Before the first conscription referendum, there were questions in Federal parliament about Ireland: martial law, troop numbers and whether their removal to the Front would avoid Australian conscription. More significantly, prime ministerial opinion was sought about:

raiding ...houses and religious institutions by night...and [whether] the indefinite imprisonment of men and women without trial is likely to encourage [Irish] men... to volunteer to fight the Empire's battles?

The questions were all answered in the negative.<sup>138</sup> But the part-transcript quoted here demonstrates that Irish events were noted, used, and connected with immediate conscription concerns. Attempting to clarify such complex issues for Irish-Australians, weeks prior to a vote on conscription, while important, was easily equated with disloyalty.

Koerner reaffirmed '*Cross*' opposition to conscription in three editorials,<sup>139</sup> challenging pro-conscription arguments. He emphasised Mannix's statements that Catholics must decide for themselves. Crucially, he also argued there were 'cases in which Australia and her interests should come even before the Empire'.<sup>140</sup> Stressing Church neutrality, he argued strongly against a 'Yes' vote, and focussed on Irish links.<sup>141</sup> While agreeing that Catholics were fighting for the Empire's preservation, not as Irish or English citizens, he linked most conscription opponents with their Irish roots. He described '[r]ecent unhappy events ... [as having] revived the feeling against the British misrule of past centuries'. Restating general condemnation of 'the rising as insane and injurious', he nevertheless claimed its 'brutal repression' alongside Carson's treatment, Home Rule's repudiation and martial law, 'have

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<sup>138</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 October 1916. Labor Senator Millen queried figures of 60,000 troops and 30,000 armed police in Ireland in his challenge. See issue of 22 September for item about the invasion of convents.

<sup>139</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 6, 13 and 20 October 1916. See issue of 13 October for Koerner's mention of some 'Catholics resenting our article and attempted coercion and interference with the freedom of the press by withdrawal of subscriptions or advertisements'.

<sup>140</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 October 1916.

<sup>141</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1916 for third editorial emphasis largely on financial issues, and extreme criticism of the recent budget's non-examination of these issues.

caused a revulsion of feeling'. He noted that ending martial law would release British troops from Ireland, providing more for Europe while encouraging voluntary enlistment. He also focussed on British inconsistency in its commitment to small nations and 'coercion of Irish nationalism'.<sup>142</sup> In these editorials Koerner demonstrated his ability to integrate a breadth of factors, enabling his readers to identify the most crucial issues in an atmosphere of extraordinarily strident community sentiment.

Conscription highlighted divisions among Irish-Australians, and varying perceptions of imperial loyalty. Unlike O'Loughlin,<sup>143</sup> and as mentioned previously, McMahon Glynn and Denny represented those who supported conscription, if somewhat ambiguously. Glynn preferred the voluntary system, but supported government power to 'call up men', and, importantly, demonstrated public support for conscription just before the referendum.<sup>144</sup> In 1915 Denny favoured conscription, but subsequently equivocated.<sup>145</sup> It is difficult to assess their impact; they were prominent Irish-Australians of different generations. The precise nature and influence of the Catholic vote and Mannix on the campaigns has attracted interest,<sup>146</sup> although neither O'Farrell nor Naomi Turner accord anti-British sentiment any role among Catholic voters.<sup>147</sup> Both locate motivation within a sense of exclusion. While Mannix has been blamed for the failure of the first referendum, this was largely retrospective because at the time his comments were limited.<sup>148</sup> Blame guaranteed

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<sup>142</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 October 1916.

<sup>143</sup> See JV O'Loughlin to TB Merry (Secretary United Trades and Labor Council), 3 August 1916, Letter, NLA, O'Loughlin Papers MS4520/4. 'I am not in favour of conscription ...', he was returning to 'bring help to those who are gallantly our battles at the front'.

<sup>144</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 October 1916. See Gerald O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn. A Founder of Australian Federation*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965, 265 for description of Glynn as 'a convinced conscriptionist' in 1917.

<sup>145</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 October 1915, and 212, fn.208 for his complete statement.

<sup>146</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 270-1.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 270-3. Naomi Turner, *Catholics in Australia: A Social History*, (Vol.1), Collins Dove, Melbourne, 1992, 305.

<sup>148</sup> Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 174-5.

his prominence and resulted in unprecedented sectarianism in 1917.<sup>149</sup> But as discussed earlier, the vigour of his wartime assault on Freemasonry suggests his provocative lien before October's referendum gave him greater influence than has been accorded.<sup>150</sup>

Discussing the narrow loss of the referendum on 28 October 1916, Koerner identified pro-conscription forces as: 'all the resources and influences of wealth, Society, Militarism, Freemasonry, the Protestant Churches, the Government and the Press'.<sup>151</sup> Reflecting on Victoria's 'Yes' vote, he concluded Mannix's words were used 'to arouse religious rancour and inflame the Orangemen'.<sup>152</sup> Koerner's criticisms of government campaign processes were biting: the £80,000 expenditure, use of Federal telegraph services to send PM Hughes' speeches without cost to major newspapers, and attendant limitations for the 'No' case.<sup>153</sup> Koerner revealed both he and the newspaper had been targeted specifically about imperial loyalty. Briefly referring to being Australian-born, partly of Irish descent, and educated in an 'English character', Koerner explained that 'the directors and editor [had] considered it their duty to stand beside the majority of their co-religionists in the fight against compulsory service and militarism'.<sup>154</sup> It is from such occasional comments, not located in editorials, that crucial evidence about '*Cross*' attitudes and policies emerge, evidence which enables judgement about both the conduct and impact of this newspaper.

Meanwhile from Ireland, Irish-Australians read accounts of conscription moving towards reality. '*Cross*' 'exchanges' refuted official claims about Irish regiments needing

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<sup>149</sup> Michael McKernan, 'Catholics, Conscription and Archbishop Mannix' in *Historical Studies*, Vol.17, No. 68, April 1977, 299-314. McKernan sees the hierarchy being 'led' by the laity on the conscription issue, with Mannix's early clarity an exception. See Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 174-5 for point of attribution largely being retrospective.

<sup>150</sup> See 220-24 above for discussion of issues related to Freemasonry in 1916, especially Mannix's role.

<sup>151</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 November 1916.

<sup>152</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 November 1916.

<sup>153</sup> See Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger*, 205-7 for discussion of Hughes 'intervention'.

<sup>154</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 November 1916.

reinforcements by revisiting earlier delays in recruiting,<sup>155</sup> and reported Redmond's October speech asserting that conscription 'would be the most fatal thing that could happen [and] would be resisted in every village'. Irish-Australians read this forecast weeks after voting.<sup>156</sup> Dillon insisted that equality of sacrifice was inapplicable for a country which had experienced population drain over decades.<sup>157</sup> And by late 1917, a visiting Australian correspondent examined the potential for conscription amidst increased coercion and Sinn Féin's popularity, predicting 'an immediate collision which would further embitter relations'.<sup>158</sup> There was symmetry between Australia and Ireland.

The aftermath of Australia's first referendum was bitter. Irish-Australians were blamed for rejection despite statistics demonstrating non-Irish Australian opposition.<sup>159</sup> Politically, the consequences were extreme. The Labor Party split, expelling Hughes and 24 others in mid-November. The Fusion (or National) Party emerged but, facing a hostile Senate, Hughes was forced to a March 1917 election.<sup>160</sup> Despite his campaign commitment not to re-introduce conscription in the next parliament,<sup>161</sup> his clever caveat of 'unless national safety demands it', underlined Koerner's statement about 'always distrust[ing] Mr Hughes as a politician'. Koerner used comments from *Stead's Review*<sup>162</sup> and Mannix about conscription being the real election issue to predict a larger 'No' vote at any further referendum.<sup>163</sup>

Sectarian hostility permeated post-election politics. The ACF represented Catholics who

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<sup>155</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 December 1916. (From the *Freeman's Journal*).

<sup>156</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 December 1916. The speech was at Waterford on 6 October.

<sup>157</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 January 1917. The speech was in mid-November. The issue also used material from an 'English newspaper' to discuss the Irish Registrar-General's figures of men of military age, emphasising many fewer than the 500,000 often mentioned.

<sup>158</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 November 1917. ('Irish News' by Cable).

<sup>159</sup> *Advocate*, 27 January 1917.

<sup>160</sup> Hughes won 53 of 75 seats in House of Representatives and 18 contested Senate seats.

<sup>161</sup> Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 148 argues that both the closeness of the referendum vote and the Labor split meant that the last word on conscription had not yet been heard.

<sup>162</sup> Published by Henry Stead (and others) in Melbourne from 1893, this weekly publication distressed censors – a NAA file stated that 'In every case the [subscriber] name is German, or of German derivation, thus showing the class to whom his writings appeal...It should not be possible for them to obtain the Publication which a loyal Subject would refuse to read' – and provided information for more objective readers. See NAA: MP95/1 W/E 20/5/18 for one of many files revealing close monitoring of *Stead's Review* correspondence.

<sup>163</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 April 1917, the editorial was headed 'Is Conscription an Issue?'

were incensed by the circulation of offensively anti-Catholic pamphlets (questioning Irish-Catholic military participation levels) after the referendum defeat. They were convinced that both Hughes and his associate, Critchley Parker were implicated.<sup>164</sup> Mannix perceived Masonic inspiration, and while acknowledging Hughes' repudiation of the material, simultaneously questioned his links to Parker.<sup>165</sup> The unimpeded circulation of these pamphlets despite WPA actions against smaller, less inflammatory items was debated in the Senate amidst interjections vilifying Ireland, Catholicism, and Irish-Australian loyalty.<sup>166</sup>

With Irish-Australian loyalty to Empire under attack, both editors were alert for a further conscription attempt from July 1917.<sup>167</sup> Koerner's distrust of Hughes was reflected in publication of repeated negative references to conscription in New Zealand and Canada.<sup>168</sup> Between June and December, the '*Cross*' included at least 11 items each on these countries, including three editorials on Canada.<sup>169</sup> Thus before the second conscription referendum was announced on 5 November, Koerner had already canvassed broader imperial political and military issues.<sup>170</sup>

Conscription received extensive editorial comment;<sup>171</sup> each issue of the '*Cross*' also included a full page on 'The Conscription Campaign'.<sup>172</sup> The full-page advertisements shown in

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<sup>164</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 May 1917 and Appendix C. Associated with Hughes in terms of a government printing contract but ultimately disavowed, the dissemination of Critchley Parker's pamphlets with their cartoons and caricatures became more complicated when former Minister, Hugh Mahon (one of those repudiating Hughes over conscription) challenged Hughes' account of the relationship. See Letter from P Oliphant to Herbert Brookes, 14 April 1917 on Critchley Parker letterhead, NLA, Brookes Papers, MS1924/20/1 wanting details of 'war pensions applied for by and all war pensions granted to Roman Catholics'.

<sup>165</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May, *Advocate* 5 May 1917.

<sup>166</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 July. See issue of 3 August 1917 for more reports of parliamentary debates.

<sup>167</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 July 1917, 'The Old Cry for Conscription'.

<sup>168</sup> See Kildea, *Tearing The Fabric*, 174-7 for details of New Zealand's August 1917 decision that medically fit seminarians and religious must enrol in its conscript army, despite a previous verbal assurance against this.

<sup>169</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 9 March, 8, 22 June, 13 July, 10 August, 14, 21 September (editorial), 12 October, 2 November (editorial) and 21 December (editorial) focussing on Canada. For New Zealand, see 16 March, 6, 13 April, 15 June, 6 July, 3 August, 7, 28 September, 12, 19 October (editorial), and 2 November 1917.

<sup>170</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 November 1917. See issues of 16 and 23 November for more discussion.

<sup>171</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 16 ('The New Conscription Scheme'), 23 November ('Reflections on the Referendum'), 7 December 1916 ('The Conscription Issue'). See *Advocate*, 10 ('The Cloven Hoof'), 17 ('A Sugar-Coated Pill'),

Figures 52 and 53 were a new campaign feature. The densely packed 'Noes' page listed 13 aspects aimed at different sections of the community, clarifying the voting outcome, while the 'Yes' lobby incorporated prominent Irish-Australians – Glynn as Irish-born and former *Advocate* editor, T.C. Brennan, and Fr O'Donnell as members of the second generation – to support their claims. Such a blatant appeal to the Irish-Australian community raises interesting questions about funding.<sup>173</sup>

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24 November ('Your Money or Your Life'), 1 ('Bad Case, Abuse the Other Side', and 'Juggling With Figures'), 8 ('Conscriptionists and Spooks'), 15 (Food Wasted, Not Men), 22 ('Kamerad Vot Nein'). Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 163 suggests that Catholics were speedily identified with the anti-conscription position due to the increased social friction of the previous 12 months.

<sup>172</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 16, 23 and 30 November, 7, 14 December (2 separate segments). On 7, 14 and 21 December 'Conscription Notes' were another item.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* The advertisement named 'JHS Olifent and Mr BH Vincent, Joint Secretaries, King William Street, Adelaide'.

# Reinforcements Referendum

# YES

On December 20 will Help the Boys in the Trenches.

**"320,000 Irishmen have gone to the Front."**

---Hon. P. McM. Glynn, Federal Minister.

"I should like all my friends in Ireland to know that in joining the Irish Brigade and going to France I sincerely believe, as all the Irish soldiers do, that I was doing what was best for the welfare of Ireland in every way."

---The late Major Redmond in his Will dated December, 1916.

"When America declared war, cardinals and archbishops of the United States, representing 15,000,000 Catholics, sent a joint note to President Wilson promising that we and all our flock committed to our care will co-operate in every way possible with our President and the National Government to the end that our beloved country may emerge from this hour of test stronger and nobler than ever."---Extract from letter in Melbourne "Argus" 1st December 1917, written by Thos. C. Brennan,

"They must stand true to the noble sons of Australia who have gone out to avenge Catholic France and Catholic Belgium."---Rev. Father O'Donnell, Hobart.

## Vote YES and Stand by the Boys!

**What American Catholics Say.**

**"YES"**

"When men ask you, 'What fight ye for?' tell them in tones that shall wake up the dead of '76; 'I fight for liberty, for freedom's sake, for righteousness, for all my country's flag has represented. I fight for peace, that justice may prevail, that frightfulness and inhumanity may not possess the earth. Out of the mart and mill and meadow I have come, no warrior by profession, but a peace-loving and peace-keeping citizen, roused by my country's call, to serve her with my all; to struggle, to suffer, to die if need be, that her cause may live, that might shall not prevail, that right shall not forever perish from the earth."---Monsignor James E. Cassidy, son of a Sinn Feiner, in a sermon to Roman Catholic troops at Fall River, U.S.A.

**Don't be a Quitter and turn some of your Pals Down**

**Vote "YES."**

## YES is for Reinforcements !

**The Boys in the Trenches want your YES Vote on  
DECEMBER 20.**

Authorised by J. H. S. O'Leary and M. D. H. Vincent, Joint Secretaries, 2, King William street, Adelaide.

**Mr. Holman Appeals to Irishmen.**

The Premier of New South Wales (Mr. Holman), speaking at Cootamundra, made a special appeal to Irishmen to support the demand for necessary reinforcements. He referred to the fact that within the last few days he had received the official thanks of the Irish organisations of Sydney for the services he had rendered to the Home Rule cause. "There is on foot," he said, "a movement specially calling on Irishmen as Irish men to resist the compulsory reinforcement of our lads. There is neither logic, sense, nor policy in this. It is impossible to comprehend the spirit which prompts it. I feel it my duty to sound this solemn note of warning. When this war is over, whether it ends with victory or failure for the Allies---and no one knows which way it is going to end yet---if it is clearly demonstrated that Irish influence has been exerted to hamper the operations of the Allies and prevent the necessary reinforcements being sent to the front, Ireland will lose all her claims to support of the Allied races."

**Vote "YES" and Keep Australia Free.**

And God forbid that there should be any so base and low and blinded as to wish to strike at the heart of England through the soul of their own country. God forbid that there should be any who would rejoice at the losses of any of the Allies, when they know that such losses mean only greater losses and multiplied death among you. Let this insanity pass forever from these States."---Monsignor James E. Cassidy.

**VOTE "YES"**

and save the

**HOME RULE**

you have in Australia only as long as you keep the enemy out.

**REMEMBER :**

**"Yes" is for Australia--No is for Germany.**

Figure 52. Advertisement, *Southern Cross*, 7 December 1917

# What will Happen if You Vote NO!

## NO!

"These growing feathers, plucked from Billy's wing,  
Will make him fly an ordinary pitch.  
Who else would soar above the view of men  
And keep us in servile fearfulness?"

—(Shakespeare Revised.)

## NO!

### WHAT ARE MR. HUGHES' PLEDGES WORTH?

In reply to a question at Armidale (N.S.W.) on Saturday, the Prime Minister (Mr. Hughes) repeated that if the Government's proposal were agreed to the Government would be bound by all the pledges he had made; but if it were not agreed to he would refuse to carry on, and any Government that might then come into power would be really free from responsibility to keep any pledges he might make, and personally he would not consider himself bound by them.—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO."

### MOTHERS OF AUSTRALIA.

The Australian woman, who gives unmistakable evidence that she believes in the right of the child unborn to its life, ought to be able (she has the numbers) to settle the question of conscription. Australia is out for her life—for her national life. The forces arrayed against her are as bloodhounds off the leash, and may only be stayed by an overwhelming "No" vote.—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO."

### WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA.

In a speech in the House of Commons on the penalising of conscientious objectors, Lord Hugh Cecil, in defending these peace-lovers, said that above public safety was the divine law to which the consciences of these men responded. Women of Australia, whose heroic sons in voluntary sacrifice have written the epic of this war, do not place yourselves in opposition to the divine law. Leave to your lads the gift of free will; be worthy of them as they have been worthy of you in Gallipoli and France, and VOTE "NO."—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO!"

### MARRIED MEN.

The Government proposals are changing like a kaleidoscope. The most unfortunate thing is that the announcement of this holding of the "infant class" (for legally every person under 21 is an infant), will set the mathematicians going to find out how much sooner will come the turn of the married men.—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO."

### CONSCRIPT CONTEMPORARY FAVOURS CONSCRIPTION OF WOMEN.

In England a million men who have gone abroad have had their places taken by women. If necessary, Australian women are quite equal to any service that an Englishwoman can render.—Melbourne "Age."

VOTE "NO."

### THE TRUE POSITION. THE OFFICIAL FIGURES.

The official figures show clearly the position as follows:—

Casualty List, issued November 10, 1917 ..	114,747
Casualty List, issued October 2, 1916 ..	69,204
Put out of action during last 13 months ..	45,543
Average per month ..	3,503
Enlistments for the same period ..	69,296
(See official statement, 24/11/1917.)	
Average per month ..	4,637
VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENTS EXCEEDED THE GAPS BY 1,134 MEN PER MONTH.	

—"Daily Herald," 8/12/1917.

VOTE "NO."

### IS A CHRISTIAN BROTHER A MINISTER OF RELIGION?

The Christian Brothers are no more ministers of religion than Mr. Hughes is; and if the Government can, by a stroke of the pen, exempt a class of citizens under the pretext that they are something which they are not, then by another stroke of the pen it can abolish any or all exemptions.—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO."

(Authorised by J. J. Daly, Unity Chambers, Currie street, Adelaide.)

### AN ANZACS' VIEWS.

We do not want a military caste created and our people enslaved in the yoke of militarism. Such an event would be calamity to Australia, for we cannot stand a wholesale deportation of our manhood.

As free Australians we fought on the battle fields.

As free Australians we will still fight on the political field with the same object in view.

To preserve our people's freedom and liberty, and maintain Australia's economic position.

It is the last vote and the last shilling that is going to win.

Assist us financially to defeat the referendum.

Let the battle cry for all be "No conscription."

And may God save Australia and preserve to us our freedom.

Written by W. A. Gibbs, late 2nd Battalion, A.I.F., Chairman; W. H. McKenzie, late 20th Battalion, A.I.F., Secretary, at the Head Office of the League, Ground Floor, MacDonnell House, 321 Pitt street, Sydney.

November 12th, 1917.

VOTE "NO."

### ARE OUR SCHOOLS SECURED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S PLEDGE?

This same serious question arose in New Zealand, where Archbishop Redwood was promised exemption for the teaching Brothers by the Minister, prior to the passing of the conscription law. But the exemption was not specifically inserted in the Bill, and the Courts turned down the Brothers' claims.—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

TAKE NO RISKS.

VOTE "NO."

### MR. HUGHES AND VOLUNTARISM.

Mr. Hughes said in the Melbourne Town Hall on August 2:—

"I am perfectly convinced that the voluntary system is the best way to get recruits."

VOTE "NO."

### WHAT SENATOR PEARCE SAYS.

Senator Pearce, in the Sydney Town Hall, said:—

"The total enlistments to date are 380,000. It is an army of which any country might well feel proud."

VOTE "NO."

### AUSTRALIA'S EFFORT. COMPARED WITH CANADA.

Canada as at June 30, 1917, had a population of 5,491,100, and sent 408,500 recruits, being a percentage of 4.8. Australia at the same date, Australia, with a population of 4,375,300, recruited 370,214, being 7.6 per cent. of the population. Had Canada enlisted in proportion to its population to the same extent that Australia has done, Canada's army today, instead of being 408,500, would have been 644,778. IN OTHER WORDS, CANADA HAS FAILED TO DO HER EQUAL SHARE BY NO LESS THAN 236,272 MEN. EVEN UNDER CONSCRIPTION IN CANADA (WHICH PROPOSES TO RAISE THE QUOTA TO 500,000) CANADA WILL STILL BE 144,778 SHORT OF AUSTRALIA'S CONTRIBUTION ON A POPULATION BASIS.—"Daily Herald," 8/12/1917.

VOTE "NO."

### A SAMPLE OF HUGHES' THREATS.

Speaking at a meeting in Ipswich, Mr. Hughes referred to the trouble he had caused in Brisbane. He said:—"There was at work in our midst an insidious campaign to undermine the war spirit of the country. In America they had a very short way of dealing with men who carried on such treacherous work. There was a white wall, a dash, and no more."—"Catholic Press," 6/12/17.

VOTE "NO."

Figure 53. Advertisement, *Southern Cross*, 14 December 1917



As predicted, on 20 December 1917 the negative vote increased.<sup>174</sup> First editorials presented conclusions about the outcome: Mannix was accorded responsibility by Irish-Australians and blame elsewhere.<sup>175</sup> As a result of the Australian government's requests to the Vatican,<sup>176</sup> there were futile attempts to restrain him. But concerns about the military exemption of religious guaranteed Catholic opposition, based on details of the New Zealand precedent. Kildea claims that the 'myth' of 'a monolithic Catholic vote' met needs for both conscription camps, but the issues remain complex.<sup>177</sup> AIF losses on the Western Front represent crucial, unmeasurable factors in the double rejection of conscription.<sup>178</sup> There was, however, no doubt about Irish-Catholic loyalty being impugned, publicly and privately after the second referendum.

Westminster introduction of Ireland's Military Service Bill in April 1918 validated Irish-Australian recognition that conscription was a transnational threat. Britain's decision was made despite 'Castle' alarm, Cabinet recognition of Sinn Féin expansion, imperial implications, the anticipated impact on the concurrent Home Rule Convention of 'broaching conscription', and both the 'enforcement cost' and questionable soldier quality.<sup>179</sup> The impact in Ireland was explosive. The *Advocate's* comment was clever: 'We are not allowed to discuss the question of conscription in Ireland'.<sup>180</sup> Koerner had foreseen possibilities of a Home Rule and Conscription bargain in Ireland by late 1916;<sup>181</sup> by 1918 he

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<sup>174</sup> In the first vote, the margin opposing conscription was 72,476 with Victoria, Tasmania and WA voting 'Yes'. In 1917, while WA, Tasmania and the Federal Territories voted 'Yes', the margin against was 166,588.

<sup>175</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 and 11 January 1918. Editorials: 'The People's Answer' and 'The Federal Farce'.

<sup>176</sup> Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 168-70. Mannix did get 'admonition from time to time...but continued to speak out on issues in a way that appealed to working-class Irish-Australian Catholics'. See also Glenn Caldrewood, 'A Question of Loyalty: Archbishop Daniel Mannix, the Australian Government and the Papacy, 1914-18' in *Footprints*, June 2005, 12-48, (Reprinted from *Australian Studies*, Vol 17, No 2, Winter 2002).

<sup>177</sup> Kildea, *Tearing The Fabric*, 180-1. His argument involves evidence about whether Hughes wanted Mannix blamed, deliberately using the religious issue, and alternatively, Catholic paranoia about being targeted.

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix I for details of AIF battles and casualties in 1916 and 1917.

<sup>179</sup> Adrian Gregory, 'You might as well recruit Germans': British public opinion and the decision to conscript the Irish in 1918' in Gregory and Paseta (eds.), *Ireland and the Great War*, 116-7.

<sup>180</sup> *Advocate*, 20 April 1918.

<sup>181</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 December 1916. In an editorial headed 'The Irish Problem', Koerner also explored the idea of a convention.

claimed their coupling was ‘a mistake’. He reminded readers about the fate of Home Rule after 1914,<sup>182</sup> and recalled Ireland’s many previous betrayals.<sup>183</sup> The UIL cabled its horror to John Dillon,<sup>184</sup> and for weeks, cables relayed details of Irish resistance.<sup>185</sup>

Indignant and widespread Australian protests about the offensive *Bulletin* cartoon portrayal of Ireland’s conscription reaction featured in both newspapers;<sup>186</sup> its caricaturing recalled the Victorian era’s distinctive simian representation of Irishmen highlighted so powerfully by L. Perry Curtis Jr.<sup>187</sup> (Figure 54) Simultaneous Irish Convention failure (to agree on Home Rule) contributed to Irish-Australian dismay about their homeland, reflected in the surprising attendance of all Melbourne’s Irish groups at the 1918 Fourth UIL Convention. Irish Church opposition to conscription, combined with (short-term) Sinn Fein and IPP cooperation, possibly reassured Australia’s UIL.<sup>188</sup> Historian Adrian Gregory contends that, facing a manpower crisis in France, the government pursued the conscription policy cynically. Notwithstanding predictable outcries, he argues, its primary goal was supporting drastic changes to Britain’s compulsion structure. After May 1918, British public opinion no longer needed mollification: community need to believe in Irish conscription plans had been met, but the government ‘did not have to go to the trouble of doing so’.<sup>189</sup> In June Irish-Australians learned of its abandonment in place of a voluntary recruiting target of

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<sup>182</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 April 1918. The issue included a detailed (cabled) summary of the Convention Report. See also *Advocate* 13 April 1918, ‘Prominent Topics: Will Conscription Come for Ireland?’

<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 20 April 1918.

<sup>184</sup> *Advocate*, 4 May 1918.

<sup>185</sup> See *Advocate* of 20, 27 April, 4, 11 May, *Southern Cross*, 19, 26 April, 3, 10 May 1918.

<sup>186</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 3, 10 May for HACBS and ACF protests and *Advocate*, 4 May 1918. The item was in the *Bulletin* of 18 April.

<sup>187</sup> See Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, passim.

<sup>188</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 July 1918 for item headed ‘The Theology of Resistance’ for explanation of Church justification of opposition to conscription.

<sup>189</sup> Gregory, ‘You might as well recruit Germans’, 128. As indicated above, conscription’s introduction led to the resignation of leading ‘Castle’ officials.

50,000, but the threat remained.<sup>190</sup> Continuing opposition from Irish bishops was important in reinforcing Irish-Australian concerns and attitudes.<sup>191</sup>



Figure 54. Front Cover, *Bulletin*, 18 April 1918

<sup>190</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 June, *Advocate*, 19 June 1918.

<sup>191</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 5, 12 and 19 July 1918.

While Ireland seemed allowed to drift, Irish-Australians read earlier ‘exchanges’ when the threat was acute: for example, the poignant argument from an Irish mother of two serving soldiers.<sup>192</sup> When enlistment targets were further extended in September, Shorthill identified Lloyd George (not as Gregory demonstrated, leading the push), but as a Conservative Party stooge in promoting conscription.<sup>193</sup> In terms of Gregory’s argument, conscription was the last in ‘the long list of tragic [English] blunders’, inflicting terminal damage on the IPP, underscoring their political impotence, and guaranteeing Sinn Féin’s victory in December. In Australia, the scope of damage was different, even within an Irish-Australian community differentiated by class, religion and gender, as well as the previously discussed generational anomalies in terms of age and length of time in Australia, conscription destroyed any illusions about their guaranteed acceptance. For most Irish-Australians, opposition in Ireland and referenda defeat in Australia reinforced the same verdict – imperial disloyalty.

### *Freemasonry*

Freemasonry persisted as a threat to Irish-Catholic identity; evidence in Australia and Ireland ‘confirmed’ Catholics were deliberate targets of freemasons. Events earlier in the war reinforced Catholic perceptions – as a group they were actively disadvantaged by Masonry’s excluding and secretive operation – so claims rarely needed further articulation. Language codes, particularly reference to ‘sinister’, immediately equated with Masonic restriction of Catholics. Some responsibility for increased levels of acrimony lay with Mannix whose provocative denunciation of Freemasonry in early 1916 guaranteed further sorties.

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<sup>192</sup> *Advocate*, 17 August 1918. The author, Kathleen Tynan, had published extensively in both newspapers.

<sup>193</sup> *Advocate*, 28 September 1918. Intriguingly, given Gregory’s argument of conscription not being a real option, Shorthill quotes a May Dublin *Daily News* correspondent predicting that chances were 5 to 1 against.

Editors highlighted the threat posed by Freemasons to Irish-Catholics in these years. When Loyal Orange Lodge (LOL) Master, Oswald Snowball responded to Mannix's claims at Melbourne's July 12 celebrations in 1916, Shorthill countered with a full page explanation – 'What is Freemasonry?'<sup>194</sup> After the first conscription referendum, Koerner ascribed 'remarkable unanimity ... shown by Premiers, Ministers ... members of the various professions, and the great daily newspapers [regarding conscription] to the influence of freemasonry'.<sup>195</sup> Between May and October 1917, 'Cross' focus on a 'Public Service Lodge' in Adelaide,<sup>196</sup> and Catholic representation in state public positions,<sup>197</sup> generated renewed Irish-Australian recognition of their vulnerability. ACF involvement<sup>198</sup> and discussions with Archbishop Spence confirmed the issue's importance.<sup>199</sup> Both newspapers played an important role in maintaining perceptions that Freemasonry represented a threat, while persistent Irish-Catholic identification of Masonic danger contributed to their community differentiation.<sup>200</sup>

Newspaper content reinforced Freemasonry's transnational power; editors used contemporary concerns to remind readers of previous threats, and alert them to ongoing dangers. So Koerner's discussion of an Irish anomaly<sup>201</sup> allowed revival of claims about Masonic influence in the War Office, its supposed role in protecting Ulster's 1914 military rebels, and Kitchener's presumed membership.<sup>202</sup> The anomaly involved Westminster disclosure that DMP had been prohibited (since 1836) from membership of any secret

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<sup>194</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 July 1916 for Shorthill's article.

<sup>195</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 November 1916.

<sup>196</sup> *Advocate* 23 June 1918, see also *Southern Cross*, 8 June, 6 and 13 July, and *Advocate*, 3 August 1917.

<sup>197</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 May 1917. The 'Currente Calamo' column listed Catholics in both houses of parliament – 8 of 79 MPs, statistically it should have been 11. Catholic public servants earning £400 pa 'could be counted on ... one hand ... and have won their promotion by seniority and merit after long service'.

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 September 1917.

<sup>199</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 October 1917.

<sup>200</sup> See James Franklin, 'Catholics Versus Masons' in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. XX, 1999, 1-15 for discussion of some Australian background.

<sup>201</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 10 November 1916 for first mention of the Irish anomaly.

<sup>202</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 January 1917. ('Currente Calamo'). Kitchener's earlier negativity about equal Irish war participation was emphasised here.

organisation except Freemasons.<sup>203</sup> Linked to earlier news that 400 Hibernian DMP members had been charged with insubordination, this aroused victimisation concerns;<sup>204</sup> inconsistencies were easily linked to Carson's apparent protection in 1914. At Westminster, John Dillon challenged the Irish Police Bill ('much to the indignation of Ulster members'), and the inconsistency was removed.<sup>205</sup> 'Newspaper 'exchanges' clearly exercised great power, in this instance reinforcing Irish-Australian beliefs that Freemasonry represented inevitable disadvantages for Catholics, with some institutions particularly influential sites for its activities.<sup>206</sup>

This perspective was reinforced following official notification of Michael O'Donnell's death in February 1918. The occasion encouraged both newspapers to summarise his life; by default this reactivated the role of freemasonry in his 1916 military gauntlet.<sup>207</sup> There was no specific reference to Freemasonry, but the language employed – 'his case excited much public interest...he found his way to promotion blocked...unfair treatment...he levelled certain charges' – encoded reminders of his treatment for Irish-Australians, recalling Mannix's denunciations.<sup>208</sup> A later '*Cross*' 'exchange' discussed 'Freemasonry and Treason'. It examined the role of this 'military snobocracy' in protecting Carson in 1914, and in defeating the introduction of Home Rule.<sup>209</sup> For many Irish-Australians, consistent references to examples of Freemasonry's anti-Catholic role and influence, domestically and internationally, impacted on their sense of identity, especially their Catholicism. It served to intensify their 'difference', their paranoia, and, for many, their need of Mannix.

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<sup>203</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 January 1917. ('Irish News: The Police and Freemasonry' dated 17 November 1916).

<sup>204</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 November 1916.

<sup>205</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 April 1917. 'Much indignation' was ascribed to Ulster members!

<sup>206</sup> See Kildea, *Tearing The Fabric*, 185 for links between Freemasonry and recruiting.

<sup>207</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February and *Southern Cross*, 8 February 1918. O'Donnell had entered Duntroon, received a commission and gone to France. No trace of him or companions was found but it was known they had been caught in an artillery attack, his father continued to seek details. He was in contact with a Vatican bureau which reunited soldiers and families.

<sup>208</sup> See 221-3 above for explanation of O'Donnell's enlistment situation in 1916.

<sup>209</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 June 1918. The item then discussed additional treasonous instances.

Hierarchical leadership was significant for the Catholic community in Ireland and Australia. The nature of this leadership was contested after 1916, particularly when prominent prelates – Bishop O'Dwyer in Limerick and Archbishop Mannix in Melbourne – were judged as provocative in the imperial context.<sup>210</sup> Catholic newspapers consistently reported comments and directives from prelates; readers were thus exposed to their views and activities. Unprecedented wartime political pressure added impact to hierarchical interventions, these figures operated as both political and religious leaders. Their importance for Irish-Catholics incorporated tacit reinforcement of Irish identity.

Historian Dermot Keogh describes Ireland's four wartime archbishops<sup>211</sup> as 'strongly disillusioned by the failure of London to introduce home rule ... [dissatisfied] with the Irish party and...leadership of John Redmond'.<sup>212</sup> Scepticism about the IPP, and Redmond's commitment to war<sup>213</sup> dominated in Ireland and Rome.<sup>214</sup> Keogh demonstrates that prelates were aware of pre-Rising rumours, concerns and information from individuals close to the rebels.<sup>215</sup> Apart from 'advanced nationalist' bishops O'Dwyer and Fogarty, their colleagues despised 'Castle' government but abhorred the folly of rebellion.<sup>216</sup> However by June/July, there was evidence of a 'more radicalised' episcopacy.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> See 231 and 251 above for reference to Bishop O'Dwyer's perspective on Sinn Féin, and the demonstrated loyalty of his Australian relatives.

<sup>211</sup> Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, Cardinal Logue of Armagh and Archbishops Harty of Cashel and Healy of Tuam were the four, Walsh was the political spokesperson.

<sup>212</sup> Dermot Keogh, 'The Catholic Church, the Holy See and the 1916 Rising' in Gabriel Doherty and Dermot Keogh (eds.), *1916: The Long Revolution*, Mercier Press, Cork, 2007, 253.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>214</sup> Rome's Irish College received correspondence from bishops in Australia, New Zealand and America as well as Ireland, and according to Keogh, 255, letters 'frequently contained unpublished thoughts on politics', not aired publicly for reasons of caution.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-279.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 279-89.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 291-5. On 22 June Cardinal Logue's statement to a Maynooth gathering of priests defended priests from accusations and stating the 'public authorities had muddled things'. Walsh's newspaper letter of 25 July opposed constitutional Home Rule approaches, arguing a Bill on the statute books did not guarantee IPP control of Ireland.

Irish prelates' views about the Rising received wide coverage in the *Advocate* and 'Cross'.<sup>218</sup> Both published correspondence between Bishop O'Dwyer and CIC General Maxwell after the Rising, the latter naming anti-conscription priests associated with the Irish Volunteers, demanding action. O'Dwyer refused to discipline anyone, utterly condemning Maxwell's 'wantonly cruel and oppressive' policies. He named the executions as 'outrag[ing] the conscience of the country', described the deportations as 'an abuse of power', and Maxwell's regime as 'one of the worst and blackest chapters in the history of [Ireland's] misgovernment'.<sup>219</sup> When Irish-Australians read O'Dwyer's attack in 'exchanges' weeks after the Rising, disgust had replaced condemnation, and duplicity over Home Rule had been revealed. So the bishop's indictment was read differently. O'Dwyer's public dismissal of IPP policies and endorsement of Sinn Féin had significant impact.<sup>220</sup> His continuing pessimism about the IPP, and critique of its luminaries reinforced some Irish-Australian opinion.<sup>221</sup> When three Protestant bishops joined 18 Catholic prelates in a manifesto opposing Ireland's partition,<sup>222</sup> for some Irish-Australians, Mannix's increasingly outspoken positions received validation, clarifying imperial loyalty issues defined by Irish events.

Prelate war-related activities received attention, sometimes demonstrating official Church imperial loyalty, alternatively flaunting disloyalty. Both newspapers featured Perth Archbishop Clune's 1916 visit to the Front.<sup>223</sup> But when Mannix was nominated as Chaplain-General after Carr's death, Leeper demanded a Melbourne protest meeting.<sup>224</sup> Earlier Mannix met antagonism from sections of his community. A 'deputation of leading Catholics' visited Carr in March 1917 wanting to limit his Coadjutor from 'ventilating...

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<sup>218</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 July (Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe), 21 July 1916 (Archbishop of Cashel, Bishops of Clonfert and Rose). The first cited Carson's example, the latter totally condemned the Rising.

<sup>219</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1916.

<sup>220</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 November 1916.

<sup>221</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1917.

<sup>222</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1917.

<sup>223</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 March 1917.

<sup>224</sup> See *Advocate* of 28 July, *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1917. Leeper's *Argus* attack was described as 'slandrous'.



alleged disloyal views about the war'.<sup>225</sup> Carr advised the group to approach Mannix who was free to express his own views; but he refused to meet them because of their discourteous treatment. *Advocate* correspondence reflected various perspectives about Mannix, some relating to previous prominent Catholic figure, Benjamin Hoare's willingness to air his attacks in the *Age*.<sup>226</sup> Provocative public statements established Mannix as both an Irish-Australian champion *and* an imperial traitor. As can be seen from Tables 7 and 8, Mannix invariably attracted large crowds; his record combined with constant accolades from Catholic organisations,<sup>227</sup> suggests many Melbourne Irish-Catholics perceived him as speaking on their behalf.<sup>228</sup>

Mannix increasingly identified the importance of putting Australia first;<sup>229</sup> it was a theme in his 1917 referendum campaign and a factor in St Patrick's Day disputes over the Union Jack and the Australian flag. But Irish-Australians were divided about his promotion of an identity which differentiated them from the majority in an atmosphere of wartime loyalty. In Sydney a 1917 conscription meeting of 20,000 heard Irishman Fr Maurice O'Reilly defend Mannix against the 'lonely coterie of Catholics who...have been telling the country that it is... seditious...for a Catholic Archbishop to tell Australians to put Australia first'.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> *Age*, 26 February 1916, quoted in *Southern Cross* of 16 March, *Advocate*, 10 March 1917. The editorial title 'Muzzling the Watchdog' indicated the paper's position.

<sup>226</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 February, 3, 24, 31 March, 20 April 1917 for letters. Hoare, formerly a prominent Catholic (1870 editor of SA's *Irish Harp*), joined the anti-Mannix deputation to Carr. See issue of 14 June for detailed account of the Mannix-Hoare conflict. See Appendix C for Hoare's details.

<sup>227</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 November 1917 where the toast to the 'Hierarchy and the Clergy' at the Donald HACBS Communion Breakfast, referred to pride in 'that fearless, noble prelate who has been described as the most-maligned and best-loved man in Australia'. One editorial in that issue was 'A Great Leader: Mannix'. See also NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. A letter of 2 September 1918, from Ned Ryan of Petersburg, SA asked: 'What do you think of your countryman...[Dr Mannix] isn't he a hero and no mistake. I pray for him every day to give him strength and light to confuse his enemies'.

<sup>228</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 May 1917 for a correspondent's argument about this: responding to a supposed 'leading Catholic' councillor who said at a meeting (attended by PM Hughes) that he was 'ashamed' of the Archbishop and 'that hundreds of loyal Catholics were the same'.

<sup>229</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 March 1909 for a comment in the informal 'Easy Chair Jottings' column: 'Australia First', in our estimation, should be the motto of Young Australia', an item suggesting the idea had Melbourne Irish-Catholic currency years before Mannix.

<sup>230</sup> *Advocate*, 8 December 1917. The report covered 2 pages. See also Fr J Wilkinson, 'Fr Maurice O'Reilly: A Controversial Priest' in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. VII, Pt 3, 1983, 3-23.

*Advocate* publication of Clare County Council's March 1918 appreciation of Mannix demonstrated his transnational standing.<sup>231</sup> Such refracted recognition was immensely important for many Irish-Australians struggling with marginalisation and vulnerability in Australia, and isolation and despair about Ireland. In the same edition, a Melbourne MLA's comments that Mannix was 'a menace to the Empire... and his utterances rang with disloyalty', typified the contrast. Mannix forced individuals to decide where they stood – evidence suggests many Irish-Australians stood with him.<sup>232</sup>

Melbourne's 1918 St Patrick's Day had huge impact. It not only highlighted extreme positions, but as will be examined, it precipitated radical WPA changes. Mannix was maligned for not saluting the Union Jack, and castigated for acknowledging a banner proclaiming 'To the Martyrs of Easter Week'. The procession's inclusion of Sinn Féin banners and representation of Irish history caused offence. The main protagonists were Leeper and Herbert Brookes, (President of the Employer's Federation), an associate of Prime Minister Hughes.<sup>233</sup> Biographer (and relative) of Brookes, Rohan Rivett, categorised the procession as 'highly inflammatory to those whose sons had been fighting for King and Empire for four years'.<sup>234</sup> Leeper's attack on Mannix's disloyalty involved his 'hindering, recruiting and fostering a rancorous hatred of England'.<sup>235</sup> A Citizens' Loyalist Committee was quickly established (Leeper was chairman and Brookes treasurer);<sup>236</sup> Hoare moved the

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<sup>231</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1918. The item quoted the *Tipperary Vindicator*.

<sup>232</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt 1. An intercepted letter of 9 October 1918 from Jesuit seminarian, Arthur Rombach to his mother after the INA Exhibition Meeting of 17 September: 'It is almost impossible to imagine the unity that Dr Mannix has brought to the Catholic community. A few catholics (sic) may disagree with him, but the Victorian, I may even say the Australian democracy, are with him to a man'.

<sup>233</sup> See Herbert Brookes, Note, Undated, Brookes Papers, NLA MS1924/17/168. This item, handwritten, refers to Mannix and the Vatican, probably connected with St Patrick's Day.

<sup>234</sup> Rohan Rivett, *Australian Citizen: Herbert Brookes 1867-1963*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965, 62.

<sup>235</sup> *Argus*, 18 March 1918.

<sup>236</sup> Brookes was a Melbourne Trinity College undergraduate when Leeper was Warden.

chief resolution at a public meeting of 21 March.<sup>237</sup> A ‘spontaneous’ deputation visited Hughes, requesting Sinn Fein’s proscription as an illegal organisation, and Mannix’s deportation if convicted for sedition.<sup>238</sup> The numbers attracted maximum publicity. Support from prominent Sydney Catholics led to Rivett’s claim that this finally informed Mannix ‘of the attitude to the war, the Crown and the Empire of a great part of the population’.<sup>239</sup>

St Patrick’s Day in 1918 was probably unequalled in levels of loyalist and sectarian acrimony. In the short term it led to WPA changes banning Sinn Fein, and longer term it stimulated moves to establish the Australian Protective League. Appendix E provides some details of League planning and motivation but especially the hand of Brookes. Historian Neville Meaney classifies his life as gaining ‘meaning’ from:

an idealisation of the British race which was fused with his ideas of fair play, culture, and liberty, and it was this which made him an implacable ...fanatical, enemy of all those who did not give unqualified loyalty to the British Empire.<sup>240</sup>

Shorthill correctly framed the loyalist meeting and deputation within an anti-Catholic and anti-Irish post-referendum context: ‘They would like to convey the impression that Irishmen and Catholics have not been doing their duty in the war’.<sup>241</sup> Predictably, his coverage was more extreme and emotional than the ‘*Cross*’ which related the issue to Sinn Fein and rumours it faced ‘drastic regulations’.<sup>242</sup> Melbourne’s ‘Indignation’ meeting of 60,000 demonstrated Irish-Catholic devotion towards their Archbishop who had faced

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<sup>237</sup> Hoare (in Rivett, *Australian Citizen*, 64) claimed he had already received abuse ‘because he had joined other prominent liberal-minded Catholics in protesting against Dr Mannix’s attitude to Britain [but] considered it an honour to be asked [and] felt it was his duty to accept the invitation’. See *Southern Cross* of 1 November 1918 referring to Hoare’s book, *War Things that Matter*, criticising Mannix, he linked the Easter Rising to Germany.

<sup>238</sup> Rivett, *Australian Citizen*, 64-5. Brookes describes contacting PM Hughes (with whom he was ‘on a friendly footing’) prior to the meeting, explaining its purpose, asking if he would accept a deputation about banning Sinn Fein. ‘He agreed’.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 68-9. Irish-Australians, Judge Heydon and Thomas Hughes MLA, were included.

<sup>240</sup> Neville Meaney, *Australia and World Crisis 1914-1923, Vol. 2, A History of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy 1901-23*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 2009, 232.

<sup>241</sup> *Advocate*, 30 March 1918.

<sup>242</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 March 1918. The editorial was titled ‘Sinn Fein and Dr Mannix’.

‘unwarranted and unscrupulous attacks from platform, pulpit and press’. Resolutions protested ‘slandorous accusations of disloyalty’ and ‘recorded ‘unbounded admiration’ for Dr Mannix and his determination – and wanted Hughes to receive both.<sup>243</sup> While the meeting reflected implicit appreciation of Mannix’s role in defining an acknowledged Irish-Australian identity, it also confirmed widespread disloyalty.

Rivett was unable to recognise flaws in his argument about Mannix. His claim that Mannix was incapable of ‘appreciat[ing] the horror and nausea’ experienced by combatants’ families when he derided Britain, totally ignored Irish-Australian (and Irish) soldiers. Such ‘insights’ about 1918 and 1965<sup>244</sup> demonstrate loyalty was a slippery idiom, and when unthinkingly equated with military service, incorporated groups other than Loyalists. When Archbishop Duhig addressed Brisbane Hibernians in September, he focussed on transnational Irish loyalty in the war, congratulating members ‘on [their] spirit of patriotism’.<sup>245</sup> Episcopal messages were consistently transmitted through Catholic newspapers, few contemporaries equalling Mannix in style, rancour and audience.<sup>246</sup> Prelate wisdom counteracted some negativity and the dismissive and accusatory tone dominating the secular press.

The calls to deport Mannix associated with St Patrick’s Day in 1918 elicited strong reactions from Shorthill and correspondents; his ‘guilt’ in being Catholic and Irish, success in defeating conscription, constant misrepresentation, and the role of ‘ignorant and malicious critics’ were catalogued to display his vulnerability.<sup>247</sup> Shorthill opined cynically

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<sup>243</sup> *Advocate*, 6 April 1918. Speakers included Senator Needham, GR Baldwin, James Scullin and Frank Brennan. Shorthill’s editorial was titled ‘The Hymn of Hate’.

<sup>244</sup> Rivett, *Australian Citizen*, 72.

<sup>245</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 September 1918.

<sup>246</sup> McKernan, ‘Catholics, Conscription’, 311-2, points to both embarrassment, and divergence over Mannix among fellow prelates. He was a complex figure in terms of Irish-Australian identity and loyalty, but as a visible champion was arguably more significant.

<sup>247</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 April 1918 for letters from Gerald R Baldwin (a convert, supporter of Mannix and involved in many Church organisations) and Agnes Murphy, a frequent, articulate correspondent,

that loyalty must only be a Protestant virtue.<sup>248</sup> Mannix thus attracted fierce support and faced significant opposition, not just from Catholics who disputed his anti-conscription stance, but from the Hughes government which attempted to enlist Vatican support in silencing the troublesome prelate.<sup>249</sup>



Figure 55. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 21 December 1918

In late 1918 Cyril Bryan of Newman College (late AIF Captain) published a 200 page book of Mannix's speeches (Figure 55). Heavily promoted in both newspapers, the book claimed to deal 'trenchantly with the misrepresentation that His Grace has been subject to by press and people since his arrival in the Commonwealth'.<sup>250</sup> Questioning Irish-Catholic loyalty (a minority religious group in relation to majority Protestant affiliation), was likely when the

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subsequently of interest to security authorities. For Baldwin, see Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 172, 174, 185, 189, 194, 196, and for Murphy, see Dillon Papers, TCD, for correspondence between 1889 and 1916.

<sup>248</sup> *Advocate*, 13 April 1918.

<sup>249</sup> See McKernan, 'Catholics, Conscription', 310-11, and Caldrewood, 'A Question of Loyalty', *passim*.

<sup>250</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 29 November and *Advocate*, 30 November 1918. See *Advocate* of 3 August and *Southern Cross*, 9 August 1918 for report of Bryan's lecture 'With the Artillery in France'. See *Argus* of 23 March 1913 for its unequivocal welcome to Mannix. See Appendix C for details of Bryan's life.

British Empire faced intense pressure. But challenging Irish-Catholic loyalty became inevitable after Easter 1916, with the potential for Church leaders (increasingly political *and* religious) to attract additional scrutiny. However Mannix's personality and performance guaranteed challenges became hostile, hysterical and hypocritical in terms of what constituted disloyalty.

After the Rising, Irish-Australians were forced to reinterpret their understanding and expectations of many aspects of the relationship between Ireland and Britain. The Anglo-Boer War attracted renewed focus, especially from Koerner, and was assessed as an example of quintessential British duplicity. The time-honoured promise of Home Rule disintegrated amidst the shambles of British wartime political commitments. And the war's justification as defending 'small nations' was increasingly seen as irrelevant for Ireland; possibilities of international arbitration faded. Thus all conventional avenues of Irish problem-solving espoused by the IPP were a dead letter. The domestic environment was inflamed, made tense by the demands and stresses of war. Within that atmosphere, additional factors such as Freemasonry, Conscription, and some public Church intervention, Irish-Australians were explicitly differentiated from their fellow citizens, and their imperial 'disloyalty' was highlighted. The Irish-Catholic press both supported the Irish-Australian community, and reinforced their difference.

### ***Beyond Loyalty? Irish-Australians and the Irish War of Independence***

***1919–1921***

*Those who convened and participated in the recent Irish Race Convention would probably deny that there was anything in connection with it save that which could with the utmost safety, be made public and which savoured of all that was loyal and patriotic. As a matter of fact the Convention had its birth amidst disloyalty and sedition, and up to the very moment the Convention concluded with a dinner...those elements of sedition and disloyalty remained.'*<sup>1</sup>

The Australasian Irish Race Convention of November 1919 was impressive in terms of numbers and organisation. It was also affirming to most Irish-Australians across the spectrum of Irish connectivity. However, as the above document shows, the Melbourne event activated intense alarm among Empire loyalists. Located in Herbert Brookes' Papers, the extract highlights a growing nexus between disloyalty and sedition which was increasingly associated with Irish-Australians during the Anglo-Irish War. This chapter will explore the ways this conflict exposed Irish-Australian ambivalence, if not negativity towards the empire, and the increasing estrangement of many from most other Australians. The imperial crisis involving war between Ireland and England, more than any others discussed in this research, pinpoints the extent of the loyalty divide within Australia.


Conflicts discussed previously demanded that Irish-Australians demonstrate imperial loyalty: a notional continuum of loyalty identified a range of markers.<sup>2</sup> In the Fenian episode, royal visits, the Sudan War, the Anglo-Boer War and the early years of World War One, Irish-Australian loyalty was often judged as qualified. From 1916 Irish-Australians were increasingly associated with disloyalty. Figure 56 illustrates how Catholic newspaper

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<sup>1</sup> See 'The Irish Convention. The History of its Origin: Speeches Made in Secret Recorded'. (nd and no author), NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/21/1027-30.

<sup>2</sup> See 2-3 above for explanation of this continuum.

advertisements – this one highlighting ‘Easter Martyrs and Republican symbols – reinforced such perceptions.



**IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY**  
Leaders in the Insurrection, May, 1916

**PHOTOS OF THE LEADERS OF THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.**  
Patriots, some of them sacrificed their lives in Easter Week, 1916, for their native land.

1, Thomas MacDonagh; 2, Thomas J. Clarke; 3, Major John McBride; 4, Joseph Plunkett; 5, Thomas Ashe; 6, J. J. Heuston; 7, The O'Rahilly; 8, Ed. De Valera (President); 9, Sean MacDiarmada; 10, Eamonn Ceannt; 11, E. Daly; 12, P. H. Pearse; 13, Michael O'Hanrahan; 14, Countess Markievicz; 15, Cornelius Colbert; 16, James Conolly.

Framed in Massive Oak and Gold, size 27 x 26, price, 25/-. Freight extra.  
Also, Meeting of Irish (Grattan's) Parliament, 1798, oak and gold frame, 32 x 26, 30/-.  
Men of '88.—7 Portraits Irish Patriots, 36 x 26, 30/-.  
Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week, 1916?—Pearse, Plunkett, MacDonagh, Oak and gold frame, also 11 x 9, 5/-.  
Large Oak and Gold Framed Portrait, 36 x 25, of St. Patrick, St. Brendan, St. Columbkille, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Maevy, Edmund Burke, Brian Boru, Patrick Sarsfield. Suitable for Xmas Gifts or Wedding Presents. 30/ each.  
Sacred Heart and Our Lady. St. Joseph, St. Anthony, Sister Teresa, Dr. Mannix. All 30/-. Size 30 x 25.  
Sacred Heart Pictures and Acts of Consecration of Families to the Sacred Heart, oak and gold frames, 28 x 22, 20/- each. Smaller size, 22 x 16, 12/6 each.  
Also Our Lady, St. Joseph, St. Anthony, Sister Teresa, Dr. Mannix, same prices.

**LOUIS GILLE & CO., 300-302 Lonsdale St., Melb.**

Figure 56. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 15 November 1919

Earlier chapters have also shown that imperial conflicts unmasked differing levels of loyalty among Irish-Australians, with the Irish-born generation sometimes more staunchly imperial than the second generation. By 1919 many Australian-born Irishmen were moving beyond believing that resolution of Ireland's relationship with Britain was possible. In their struggles to accommodate intensifying violence in Ireland with their belief in Irish nationhood, these Irish-Australians faced private and public accusations of disloyalty. In this atmosphere of more open prejudice, generated by Easter 1916 and fed by conscription defeats, there was no longer any space for Irish-Australians to negotiate their imperial,



Australian, and Irish-Australian identities. The dominant Anglo culture insisted that identification with Britain was analogous to being Australian, but the reverse did not apply. For those Irish-Australians wanting to promote their Australian identity ahead of a contemporarily questionable imperial connection, such identification rendered them liable to charges of disloyalty.

What made these three years so different for the Irish-Australian community was the electoral blitz of Sinn Fein in December 1918: 73 seats in comparison to only six IPP wins. Insisting on Ireland's unbroken claim as a nation, and the illegality and violence of its imperial entanglement after the Union of 1801, Sinn Fein's election manifesto had clarified the nature of Ireland's demand for independence. It was

not based on any accidental situation arising from the war. It is older than many...of the present belligerents...based on our unbroken tradition of nationhood...on our possession of a distinctive national culture and social order....The right of a nation to sovereign independence rests upon immutable law and cannot be made the subject of compromise.<sup>3</sup>

Such claims were anathema for Britain, and a clear majority of its Australian subjects. So too was the immediate consequence of electoral victory in Ireland – the *Dail Eireann* and declaration of a republic. As Ireland and England moved towards imperial war in 1919, a situation not acknowledged until 1920, any Irish-Australian support for Ireland was equated with empire disloyalty.

Australian press judgements increasingly equated Irish disloyalty in 1919 with imperial treachery. Daily newspaper exploration of unfolding issues (based on the London-derived cables and news services managed by the Melbourne *Argus*) elevated the Irish-Catholic press to new heights of significance. As the earlier discussion of *Southern Cross*

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 42.

circulation indicates, subscriber numbers increased in these three years; from 18.6 percent in 1919, to 19.7, then 25 percent of the Catholic population in 1921.<sup>4</sup> Copies of the '*Cross*' were sold in greater numbers during the 1920s than ever before, suggesting more Irish-Australians actively sought reliable information about Ireland.

All sections of the Irish-Australian community were challenged by the speed and nature of events in Ireland from 1919. Irish-focussed organisations' long anticipation of Home Rule, and a dominion relationship between Ireland and England, became irrelevant. This often alienated elderly Irish-born leaders from second generation Irish-Australians. Many of the latter had already gravitated towards the Irish National Association (INA), but it was no longer easy to sustain United Irish League (UIL) membership when the IPP presence at Westminster was so diminished. Fault lines and intra-community conflict emerged during the Anglo-Irish War, the turmoil tested Irish personnel within an Irish-focussed Church. The upheaval encompassed those involved with '*Cross*' and *Advocate* publication.

While Irish-Australians struggled with the train of events the Great War precipitated in Ireland, Australian society itself faced major post-war readjustment. The Armistice of November 1918 was not synonymous with peace. The Paris Peace Conference laboured for six months, peace undeclared until the signing of the final treaty in September 1920. Official wartime configuration persisted externally and domestically. In January 1919, the *Advocate* reported a £50 fine for making verbal statements 'likely to prejudice recruiting'.<sup>5</sup> When local press telegram censorship ended, *Southern Cross* editor, Koerner, assessed 'the military dictatorship and censorship under which the Commonwealth has suffered so severely' was easing gradually. Also noting that 'scrutiny' of overseas cables 'was still

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<sup>4</sup> See 95-6 above for discussion of *Southern Cross* circulation figures.

<sup>5</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 January 1919.

required by the Imperial authorities', he accurately predicted that 'the powers ... so much misused under the War Precautions Regulations [would] be clung to as long as possible by the Federal authorities and the military'.<sup>6</sup> The WPA was not 'repealed' until December 1920. Unbeknownst to most Irish-Australians, surveillance continued.

Historian Joan Beaumont has powerfully countered the 'birth of the nation' palimpsest associated with the Great War in much twentieth century history:

Post-war Australia remained divided into the camps the war had spawned: a broken nation in which the volunteer was pitted against the 'shirker'; the conscriptionist against the anti-conscriptionist; and ...the Catholic against the Protestant.<sup>7</sup>

Fewster made the same point.<sup>8</sup> Political divisions followed the acrimonious Labor split of 1916, economic divisions related to wages/cost of living disparity, levels of industrial unrest and unemployment, and socially, fragmentation was evidenced by returned soldiers struggling to adapt, 60,000 families grieving, and the sectarian animosity which particularly marginalised Irish-Catholics. Beaumont suggests the war legacy 'echoed down the years'.<sup>9</sup> Figure 57 shows an early example of post-war sectarianism in the federal election campaign of 1919.

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<sup>6</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 March 1919.

<sup>7</sup> Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2013, xviii and 549.

<sup>8</sup> Kevin Fewster, 'Politics, Pageantry and Purpose: The 1920 Tour of Australia by the Prince of Wales' in *Labour History*, No 38, May 1980, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Beaumont, *Broken Nation*, 549.

# CATHOLICS AND THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION

On purely political issues the Catholic Church tells no one how he or she shall vote. It teaches the moral obligations of man to man, and leaves the individual conscience to apply this teaching to circumstances as they arise.

The freedom to speak one's political opinions, to persuade others, though not to compel them, and to exercise the right of voting, belongs to every Catholic, as to every citizen.

In the ELECTION which is to take place on DECEMBER 13th THERE IS NO RELIGIOUS ISSUE. It is not a question of Catholic *versus* Protestant; it is a matter of individual political beliefs.

THE CATHOLIC BODY HAS NOT INTRODUCED THE QUESTION OF RELIGION INTO THIS ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. Archbishop Mannix, the spiritual leader of the Catholic body in Victoria, has not made use of religion to induce or compel anyone to vote as he himself believes.

He has exercised his undoubted right as a citizen to express his political convictions. Those who would prevent him, or who criticise him for so doing, are ignorant of the rights and privileges of every Australian citizen.

It so happens that ARCHBISHOP MANNIX IS A DEMOCRAT AND IN SYMPATHY WITH THE WORKERS, that he opposed Conscription, that he extended his sympathy to the railway men, the wharf labourers, and the seamen, when they exercised the right to strike against conditions which they found they could not tolerate. For these actions he has been criticised and abused. Had he been on the side of Capital he would have been praised for expressing his views, embraced by the Capitalist, and proclaimed as a statesman by the Capitalistic Daily Press.

The Catholic Federation appeals to ALL WHO ARE FAIR-MINDED AND JUST to see that those rights—which belong to Catholic and Protestant alike—of thinking, speaking, and voting as an Australian citizen shall not be denied to any one Catholic because his opinions are not in accordance with those of the man who happens to hold office to-day.

[Authorised by J. H. Kennedy, Gen. Sec. A.C.F., 98 Elizabeth-street, Melbourne.]

Figure 57. Advertisement, *Advocate*,  
29 November 1919

## CABLES

(From the Daily Papers.)

### IRISH REPUBLICAN PARTY IS SINN FEIN'S NEW TITLE

#### FULL INDEPENDENCE SOUGHT

(Published in the "Times.")  
Dublin, Sunday.  
It is announced that the Sinn Fein has assumed the official title of the Irish Republican Party. It announces that a constituent assembly will be opened at Mansion House on January 21st.

The correspondent of the "Times" at Dublin says that undoubtedly the Sinn Fein is now in the saddle, and has practically unchallenged political control of three-fourths of Ireland, with a platform consisting of the single plank of absolute independence for Ireland and complete separation from the United Kingdom and the Empire.

[It will be well to receive with caution any news touching Irish affairs that appears in the "Times." It is not likely that the correspondent of the "Times" is in the confidence of the Sinn Fein leaders.—Ed. "A."]

#### SINN FEIN PLANS.

London, Jan. 14.  
The plans of the Sinn Feiners, according to the "Daily Telegraph," are as follows:—

1. The summoning of a National Assembly in Dublin.
2. To compel the repudiation of the annual payments for land purchased under the Wyndham Acts, and using the boycott against newcomers if the holders be evicted.
3. A national strike.
4. A national levy on trade and property according to the tax collection, and using the boycott against defaulters.
5. To capture the county councils and poor law bodies, which control the administration of £3,000,000.

The success of the Sinn Feiners in connection with the last scheme, the newspaper states, is almost certain, and its importance can be scarcely over-estimated.

#### DELEGATES TO PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Sinn Fein members of the House of Commons met at Dublin on Wednesday, and appointed Mr. E. de Valera, Mr. Griffiths, and Count Plunkett as delegates to the Peace Conference.

## IRISH REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED

### SINN FEIN PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN DEMANDS WITH- DRAWAL OF TROOPS.

London, Tuesday, 7.50 p.m.  
To-day the Irish Parliament held its first meeting. It proclaimed a Republic, and demanded the evacuation of Ireland by the British troops.

(Published in the "Times.")  
Lord French, the Viceroy, held a conference in Dublin Castle on Saturday. It was attended by all the high officials, including General Shaw, Commander-in-Chief, and Mr. J. I. Macpherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The Republican Party is issuing a limited number of tickets, admitting the public to the assembly. Reports of the proceedings will be published in the Irish language only. The party is sitting at the Mansion House, drafting rules for the Constituent Assembly and an appeal to the free nations of the world.

(Reuter.)  
London, Tuesday.  
Members of the Sinn Fein Assembly stood while the Declaration of Independence was read, announcing the formation of the Irish Republic and demanding that the British garrison should evacuate Ireland.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

### VOICE OF DOMINIONS.

(Australian Press Association.)

London, Jan. 16.  
It is understood that the arrangements for the personnel of the Peace Conference, besides granting the dominions as a whole ample representation at all sessions, will provide extra representation for each dominion whose interests are affected from time to time. Thus, Australia's two delegates and New Zealand's one, will attend the discussions regarding Germany's Pacific colonies. All the dominions' delegates would attend in full strength at the general conferences, to which the smaller nations are summoned.

Advices received from Paris on Monday stated that the character and extent of representation of the British dominions at the Peace Conference was still uncertain. The dominions claimed to be regarded as active nations, and as entitled to separate representation.

It is announced by the British Foreign Office that there will be no censoring of the messages sent by British correspondents from Paris during the sittings of the Peace Conference.

### PRESS DEMANDS FULL LIBERTY.

(Reuter.)

### RIGHT OF COMMENT RESERVED.

Paris, Sunday.

At a meeting of delegates of the Allied and American press, held on Friday, resolutions to the following effect were adopted:—

1. It is essential to ensure full publicity being given to the proceedings of the Peace Conference.
2. Official communiques should be as complete as possible.
3. In addition to the official communiques, full summaries of each day's proceedings should be issued, not necessarily for textual publication, but for the guidance of the correspondents, who will maintain full freedom of comment.
4. We are opposed to any interference with freedom of intercourse between Peace delegates and responsible journalists.
5. The committee recommends equality of treatment of the Allied press by the abolition of the censorship in all Allied countries.
6. Apart from the general question of the admission of the press to the Conference, the committee is of the opinion that the journalists representing Allied countries should be permitted to attend the formal opening session of the Conference.

### CONFERENCE OPENED IN PARIS.

Paris, Sunday.  
The Peace Conference was formally opened on Saturday by President Poincaré.

M. Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, who has been nominated as President of the Peace Conference, has announced that the League of Nations will be the first business of the next full session of the Conference.

Three questions to be considered at the Conference are:—

1. Fixing responsibility for the crimes committed during the war.
2. Fixing responsibility for the crimes committed during the war.
3. Legislation upon the international labour question.

Mr. Lloyd George has brought to Paris Mr. W. F. Lloyd, K.C., Prime Minister of Newfoundland, as the fifth British delegate.

The New Zealand delegates have not yet arrived. Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister for Australia, and Sir Joseph Cook, Minister for the Australian Navy, have Mr. P. C. Deane and Mr. H. S. Gullett (formerly one of the war correspondents with the Australian Imperial Force) in attendance.

The Conference delegates settled into their chairs, a silent, stern body, representing every human colour, doubtless of divergent human views.

President Wilson proposed that M. Clemenceau be permanent Chairman of the Conference. He referred to France's tragical sufferings, and said he hoped that Paris, the centre of the old world's history, would be the scene of a great people's peace in the new era. This was the supreme

Figure 58. Item, *Advocate*, 25 January 1919

*How did Advocate and Southern Cross progress towards understanding of war in Ireland demonstrate Irish-Australians' shifting loyalties?*

Irish-Australians (the majority of whom were second generation), lacked a compass to guide them through the unprecedented distress of war in Ireland. Australia's UIL luminaries, mostly elderly first generation individuals, maintained close links with IPP figures, most of whom were largely irrelevant politically. But four decades of Irish delegations, ongoing Australian financial contributions, and many Irish-Australian visits to Ireland, had created and reinforced close bonds. Echoes of this history recurred in correspondence published in these newspapers from ghostly IPP figures like Joseph Devlin, Richard Hazelton, and John Dillon.<sup>10</sup> The Sinn Fein era not only lacked these kinds of personal connections, but was immediately characterised by unprecedented developments. Following the declaration of the *Dail*, Gaelic became official, and Sinn Fein instituted its governmental structures.<sup>11</sup> Figure 58 provides one example of how *Advocate* readers received news of radical changes in Ireland. Both newspapers struggled with cable bias and delayed receipt of reliable information. Koerner wrote 'We are gradually learning the truth about many [suppressed] things'.<sup>12</sup> Editors relatively quickly presented readers with a range of explanatory material about Sinn Fein.<sup>13</sup>

Optimism, increasingly matched by confusion, but ultimately replaced by disillusion, characterised expectation that Ireland's right to self-determination would be resolved at the Paris Peace Conference. As this research has previously emphasised, principles of self-determination had underpinned much wartime coverage, and filtered through Irish and/or Irish-American newspaper 'exchanges', both editors nurtured positive belief in Ireland's unarguable right to be heard in Paris. Additionally, readers learned of Melbourne's

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<sup>10</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 February, 30 May and 6 June 1919 (Devlin), 18 July 1919 (Hazelton), 28 February, 23 April 1919 and 6 February 1920 (Dillon).

<sup>11</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 February and 3 March 1919.

<sup>12</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 June and *Advocate* of 28 June 1919.

<sup>13</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 February (a cleric's account), 1 March and 5 April 1919.

December 1918 Demonstration where 50,000 heard Mannix demand Ireland receive autonomy, and speakers like Labor representatives, Frank Tudor and Frank Brennan MHR, urge immediate settlement of Irish claims or have them presented in Paris.<sup>14</sup> Koerner published Archbishop Spence's cable to President Wilson – sent on behalf of Adelaide's Irish societies – this stated that Ireland's exclusion would represent 'moral cowardice and hypocrisy on the part of ... the Conference'.<sup>15</sup> Koerner's subsequent comment, that 'justice has never been the guiding principle in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland', could also have been applied to the Conference.<sup>16</sup>

In their claims for Irish justice, both newspapers reflected continuity. The imprint of the South African war remained, both capricious examples of British behaviour, but also the impact of a 'wise and generous' post-war policy later preventing a German rising.<sup>17</sup> Early... news of British excesses in Ireland revived memories of tactics against the Boer: 'suffering ... devastated farms and houses and the fate of multitudes of women and children ... [leading] to sullen resentment'. Geelong Irishman TP Walsh's article, 'Australia and Ireland' appeared in conjunction with Melbourne's 1919 Irish Convention. He dismissed critics decrying local engagement with Ireland, arguing they aimed to create 'a community of Union Jackeens ... bound fast to the Imperial chariot of England'. His claims rested on the 'delighted [local] participants' in the 'Soudan' (sic), Boer and Great Wars, he emphasised the absence of 'choice or consultation' for Australia. And, aware of close entanglement in imperial wartime security, he wrote:

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<sup>14</sup> *Advocate*, 19 December 1918.

<sup>15</sup> *Southern Cross* of 17 January 1919.

<sup>16</sup> *Southern Cross* of 24 January 1919.

<sup>17</sup> See *Advocate* of 8, 22 February and 24 May 1919.

From their rising up to their lying down, the lives of our citizens 'have been regulated, not by an Australian Government...but by a Minister taking his [largely undisclosed] instructions from Ministers overseas'.<sup>18</sup>

Walsh also detailed the trajectory of 'British despotism' towards Ireland, culminating in the 1912 Home Rule Bill and the subsequent multi-layered Ulster-based resistance.<sup>19</sup> His use of history was powerful. For readers, such items in parallel with previous references to proven British inconsistency and injustice helped establish a backdrop for the issues associated with Ireland and the Peace Conference.

At a series of early 1919 Melbourne meetings celebrating Sinn Féin's victory, speakers exuded confidence about Ireland's rights, linking them to wartime actions for Belgium, and conference preoccupation with Poland as a 'small nation'.<sup>20</sup> Resolutions at a YIS meeting, while expressing doubts about British promises, stressed those reasons for which the war had been fought.<sup>21</sup> A Celtic Club Demonstration attracted 2,000. There, Irishman and MHR, Hugh Mahon combined themes of war, principles of peace and the Irish nation in his stirring resolution. He spoke for Australian citizens who believed:

that any racial readjustment fail[ing] to endow the ancient nation of Ireland with the same right of determining its form of government as ... other distinct races would be a violation of ... democracy [and] a repudiation ... of the Allies in the late war.<sup>22</sup>

However, news from Paris increasingly hinted at ramifications of what Margaret Macmillan described as Wilson's inadequate and 'controversial' concept of self-determination.<sup>23</sup> While the short term consequences of Woodrow Wilson's deficiencies only really emerged in June for these newspapers, by November delayed 'exchanges' disclosed the extent of his

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<sup>18</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 November 1919.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 February and 19 April 1919 for editorial linking of Polish and Irish claims.

<sup>21</sup> *Advocate*, 25 January and *Southern Cross*, 31 January 1919. Cyril Adams, E Adams, DG Carter and PF O'Sullivan proposed resolutions.

<sup>22</sup> *Advocate*, 1 February 1919.

<sup>23</sup> Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, 11.

betrayal.<sup>24</sup> Not only blaming American delegates for Sinn Fein's exclusion, he also expressed incredulity at the literal interpretation of his principles, and displayed ignorance about the number of nationalities needing attention.<sup>25</sup> Recognition that only nations within defeated empires were entitled to self-determination emerged painfully over 1919. However this experience helped propel many readers towards greater understanding and condemnation of specific British actions in Ireland. In Figure 59 the *Advocate's* interpretation of Ireland's self-determination opportunity is stark.



Figure 59. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 26 July 1919

By 1920 both the *Advocate* and *Cross* conveyed a stronger sense of embattlement amidst an emotional grappling with the worsening news from Ireland. The introduction of paramilitary forces – the ‘Black and Tans’ in January and the ‘Auxiliaries’ in July – indicated British incapacity to respond appropriately to the threat presented by the republic. And accounts of reprisals, looting, burning, and martial law all portrayed a violent Ireland – a war zone. Surrounded by daily press reports attributing all responsibility to Irish forces, it is little wonder that Irish-Australians of all generations felt isolated in a pro-British society.

<sup>24</sup> *Advocate*, 28 June 1919.

<sup>25</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 and *Advocate*, 29 November 1919. Both published details of an earlier secret interview between Wilson and Irish-American delegates.



Their geographic distance from Ireland was reinforced by their cultural distance from many Australians in the post-war sectarian atmosphere. When Hugh Mahon publicly voiced his summation of British policy as ‘bloody and accursed despotism’, having been prevented from raising the issue of the prison death of Irish hunger-striker, Terence MacSwiney within the protection of parliament, PM Hughes capitalised on the extreme language, moving for his expulsion. Accounts in the *Advocate* and ‘*Cross*’ were both detailed and explicitly critical of Britain.<sup>26</sup> Under the strictures of the still operating WPA, Irish-Australian protests were contained, but this hardly merits O’Farrell’s implied disapproval.<sup>27</sup>

His analysis highlights the weight of daily paper opposition towards ‘advocates or supporters of Irish independence’, the concomitant disavowal of any place for ‘old-world feuds’ in Australia, and the centrality of ‘goodwill towards Britain’. And while he judges that the ‘Australian Irish were brought to book ... by what was happening in Ireland’, his views are not totally consistent with the *Advocate* or the ‘*Cross*’.<sup>28</sup> Both newspapers published increasingly strong denunciations of British policies (many came from senior clerics and prelates), and while their reception by Irish-Australian readers can only be guessed at, their very persistence, and the nature of many ‘exchanges’ suggest their audience remained engaged, despite countervailing forces. That there was local defensiveness is clear from J.V. O’Loghlin’s March 1920 insistence that ‘criticism and denunciation of a Government is not necessarily disloyal or insulting to [a] country or its people’.<sup>29</sup> In briefly discussing why ‘Australian repercussions of Irish affairs 1920-21 were not more explosive’, O’Farrell alludes to the ‘impression of a united Irish-socialist front’ created by the disparate groups vocal in condemnation of Britain.<sup>30</sup> His explanation may

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<sup>26</sup> See editorials in *Advocate* of 18 and *Southern Cross* of 19 November 1920.

<sup>27</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 284.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>29</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1920.

<sup>30</sup> O’Farrell. *The Irish in Australia*, 282.

be valid in terms of public behaviour, but in the pages of both newspapers, evidence of outraged Irish-Australian communities is visible and strong.

The theme of Ireland's threat to the Empire, a feature of 1920, was louder in the conflict's third year. Numbers of *Advocate* and '*Cross*' editorials show commitment to provide more than appalling 'exchange' information about the spiral of violence in Ireland. Editor determination to interpret events in Ireland for their Australian reading communities becomes clear from just two of the editorial titles listed in Appendix H-1 – 'Not Peace but the Sword', and 'Murder – and Reprisals'.<sup>31</sup> There were 24 *Advocate* editorials by the July 1921 truce, with a further 17 appearing before December. The '*Cross*' presented 17 then 11 by December, a further 28 war-related 'Topics'. During 1921 a range of events in Australia magnified loyalty issues, demonstrating again that many Irish-Australians juggled both different attitudes to Empire and towards Australia than did their fellow citizens. The 'oath of allegiance' refused by visiting Irishman, Osmond Grattan Esmonde (which prevented his landing in January), alerted the community not only to the uses to which the War Precautions Repeal Act could be put, but also that many others welcomed such legislative protection against 'disloyalty'. Events surrounding the deportation of Fr Jerger (Figure 60) between April and June further reinforced Irish-Australian vulnerability.<sup>32</sup> Groups like the ACF recognised the Repeal Act's 'undemocratic principles' – it was 'infinitely worse' than its predecessor because individual liberty was much more restricted. Insertion of a definition of 'sedition' into the Crimes Act of 1914-15 elicited much greater caution from many Irish-Australians. This legal framework was probably relevant in explaining Irish-Australian failure 'to respond sufficiently' to Esmonde's deportation'; protection against charges of disloyalty was prudent rather than disinterested.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 19 and *Advocate* of 25 November 1920.

<sup>32</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 284.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



Rev. Fr. Jerger, C.P.

**Figure 60.** Fr Charles Jerger, *Advocate*, 27 May 1920

The three years of the Anglo-Irish conflict witnessed all layers of the Irish-Australian community moving from disbelief about what was happening in Ireland through to various levels of outrage. Sustained imperial loyalty was mostly associated with the Irish-born, as O'Farrell so adroitly points out the 'conservative right wing of Irish nationalist support ... were not about to desert their positions lightly'. Mentioning M.P. Jageurs specifically in terms of '[l]ives lived for Ireland at a distance', he attests to the challenges of adjusting to 'new, upstart and unfamiliar demands from home'.<sup>34</sup> Major divisions among Irish-Australians, subsequently associated with the Civil War, were thus prefigured during the Anglo-Irish conflict.

*Representation of the War in Ireland in the Advocate and Southern Cross.*

In early 1919 both Shorthill and Koerner, understandably disoriented, struggled amidst a vacuum, characterised by an information-deficit about a Sinn Fein Ireland and its relationship with Britain. Thus preliminary clues from cable snippets, for example reference to Sinn Fein's 'determined effort ... to make the government of Ireland impossible', or

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

American experience of 'Prussianism' in Ireland, went unexplained.<sup>35</sup> By June when reports of both Queensland MP J.A. Filhelly's treatment by military officials in Ireland, and accounts from the American delegation visiting Ireland en route to Paris were published, readers gradually understood more of the truth.<sup>36</sup> Although this research has previously argued that while London-derived cables were accepted as distorted, the combined process of their immediacy *and* detailed supplementation via newspaper 'exchanges' reinforced and heightened Irish-Australian clarity about Irish affairs. But, from 1919 where extreme community distrust and antagonism flourished, such news 'filtering' (alongside wartime controls limiting and obstructing 'exchange' arrival) was a disadvantage. This perspective accords more with McNamara's negative interpretation of the news delay process.<sup>37</sup> Figures 61 and 62 demonstrate the nature of some alternative 1920 input from and about Eire.

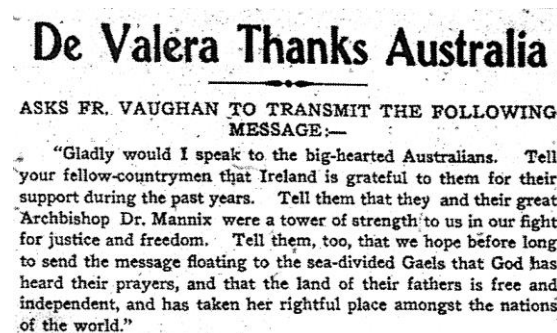


Figure 61. Item, *Advocate*, 19 August 1920



Figure 62. Item, *Advocate*, 19 August 1920

<sup>35</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 April and 23 May 1919.

<sup>36</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 and 27 June (editorial) and *Advocate* of 26 April and 7 June re Filhelly, and *Southern Cross* of 23 May and 18 July for reports about Americans in Ireland.

<sup>37</sup> See 171 above for discussion of McNamara and delayed news.

Cable-blocking of messages – for example, to Wilson following Melbourne’s November 1918 meeting about the Peace Conference, and from Mannix to de Valera congratulating him on Sinn Féin’s victory – deepened a sense of Australia’s isolation.<sup>38</sup> The *Advocate* editor professed disbelief about daily paper silence on ‘the case of Ireland before the Peace Conference’ while ‘trivial’ daily events became ‘outrages’.<sup>39</sup> Koerner later complained that Australia’s ‘press cable service’ was less a ‘news service’ than an organisation to promote the political and social aims of the capitalistic journals’, and ventilated ‘bewilderment and annoyance’ about access to limited information.<sup>40</sup> The more assertive tone reflected a change. The Great War had left imprints – a growing sense of local alienation as well as recognition of Ireland’s betrayal – were increasingly visible in these newspapers. The first subtle difference involved greater vehemence in language, and more overt criticism of Britain. While condemnation was precipitated by contemporary events, much was retrospective, suggesting deliberate earlier sublimation or minimisation had occurred during decades of greater optimism about constitutional change, evidence perhaps of ‘deep green loathing’ and an altered continuum of dissent?<sup>41</sup> The second change, also reflecting denunciation of Britain, was the reiterated celebration of Ireland’s entitlement to nationhood. That this claim was not new becomes clear from the title of a 1904 ‘*Cross*’ editorial: ‘The Antiquity of the Celt’.<sup>42</sup> The importance of Ireland’s claim as a latent generative force, but one which self-actualised after Easter 1916, as previously mentioned, has been judged as ‘the most crucial in Irish history’.<sup>43</sup> As indicated in Sinn Féin’s election manifesto quoted earlier, contestation over Ireland’s right to be heard in Paris where nations certainly regarded by Ireland as less eligible in terms of their history but where the

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<sup>38</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 March, and *Southern Cross* of 7 March 1919. Mannix’s cable was ‘contrary to the British censorship regulations’.

<sup>39</sup> *Advocate*, 3 May 1919. It is unclear when Shorthill retired.

<sup>40</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 16 May 1919 for editorial titled ‘Why Irish Cables are Unreliable’.

<sup>41</sup> See 2-3 above for discussion of both ‘deep green loathing’ and the continuum of dissent.

<sup>42</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 17 June 1904.

<sup>43</sup> See English, *Irish Freedom*, 3.

war had given them a voice and a place, formed a powerful reproach. This argument was one endorsed by Australia's Irish-Catholic press.<sup>44</sup>

There were differences between the *Advocate* and the '*Cross*' in 1919. Despite a reference in J.V. O'Loughlin's January column which likened a Cork open air meeting to 'an episode from a battlefield', in general, Koerner was more hesitant about naming the reality in Ireland.<sup>45</sup> His column, 'State of Ireland' increasingly included details of violence. For example in September, items described British soldier 'sacking' of Fermoy, prescription of the *Dail*, Episcopal denunciation of Irish attacks on the British and Sinn Fein's nationalistic orientation, but Koerner proved unable to analyse these collectively.<sup>46</sup> In October his comments about 'occasional reprisals' from the 'bitterly wronged [Irish]' being understandable, tacitly assumed some Irish violence rather than armed conflict.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile *Advocate* readers knew in September that Ireland was at war, something not grasped by Koerner until November, when he described attacks on Fermoy and Cork as 'like a page from the early German occupation of Belgium'.<sup>48</sup> Figure 63 illustrates an overt *Advocate* connection with Belgian wartime experience.

By 1920 both newspapers reflected less restraint in their coverage; examples from the '*Cross*' show the pattern. Koerner now headed all daily paper extracts with:

We do not vouch for the accuracy of the following cables.... We amend such errors as are within our own knowledge and add explanatory or corrective notes where necessary.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 February and 19 April 1919 for discussion of Irish and Poles in terms of 'unconquerable spirit of nationality'.

<sup>45</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 31 January 1919 for 'Currente Calamo' column.

<sup>46</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 and 19 September 1919.

<sup>47</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 October 1919.

<sup>48</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 September, and *Southern Cross* of 21 November 1919.

<sup>49</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 January 1920.

#### TALK OF BELGIUM!

Reading of the suppression of the above-named papers calls to mind the fact that during the last three years the following papers have been suppressed by the Government authorities in Ireland:—

"Ballina Herald," Ballina.  
 "Belfast Evening Telegraph."  
 "Bottom Dog," Limerick.  
 "Cork Examiner," Cork.  
 "Cork Weekly Examiner," Cork.  
 "Cork Evening Echo," Cork.  
 "Clare Champion," Ennis.  
 "Enniscorthy Echo," Enniscorthy.  
 "Evening Herald," Dublin.  
 "Fainne an Lae," Dublin.  
 "The Factionist," Limerick.  
 "Galway Express," Galway.  
 "The Gael," Dublin.  
 "The Irishman," Dublin.  
 "Irish World," Dublin.  
 "Irish Republic," Limerick.  
 "Irish Worker," Dublin.  
 "Kilkenny People," Kilkenny.  
 "Kerryman," Tralee.  
 "Killarney Echo," Tralee.  
 "Kerry Weekly Reporter," Tralee.  
 "Kerry News," Tralee.  
 "The Leader," Dublin.  
 "Limerick Leader," Limerick.  
 "Limerick Echo," Limerick.  
 "Liberator," Tralee.  
 "Mayo News," Westport.  
 "Munster News," Limerick.  
 "Meath Chronicle," Navan.  
 "Nationality," Dublin.  
 "Newcastle West Observer."  
 "New Ireland," Dublin.  
 "The Spark," Dublin.  
 "Southern Star," Skibbereen.  
 "The Voice of Labour," Dublin.  
 "Waterford News," Waterford.  
 "Weekly Nationalist Journal."  
 "Westmeath Independent."  
 "The Worker," Dublin.  
 "The Workers' Republic," Dublin.

The praise given to the Belgians by the English press for having continued the publication of "Libre Belgique," the expression of a nation's sentiment, sounds somewhat hollow in view of the above list.

Figure 63. Item, *Advocate*, 6 December 1919

In his regular 'Irish Cable News' column, Koerner consistently recast headings: 'Raids and Crimes', 'Raids, Robberies and Murders' and 'Alleged Outrages'.<sup>50</sup> The Great War's proximity facilitated easy recall of German atrocities in Belgium. Language made the link deliberate: A 'Hunnish Government', 'Kaiser Carson' and 'Brit-Huns', and discussing reprisals, 'When the Germans did this'.<sup>51</sup> And, consciously adding a propaganda layer summoning Britain's history in Ireland, headlines blared: 'The Reconquest of Ireland', 'Ireland in Bondage', and 'The English Wolves in Ireland'.<sup>52</sup> From June *Advocate* wording was stark: 'On the Irish Front'.<sup>53</sup> The more extreme language pattern continued in 1921. Koerner regularly used headings such as 'Raids, Ambushes and Reprisals', 'Terror' and

<sup>50</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12, 19 March and 2 April 1920.

<sup>51</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 May, 8 October, and 19 October 1919.

<sup>52</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 23 July, 13 August and 17 September 1920.

<sup>53</sup> *Advocate*, 10 June 1920.

‘Guerilla Warfare’, news items titled ‘England’s Hellish Policy’ and those covering British reprisals, were common.<sup>54</sup> All these represented and strengthened the horror of the conflict. Figures 64-71 provide a sample of *Advocate* visual commentary in 1920.



Figure 64. Photographs, *Advocate*, 16 September 1920



Figure 65. Photograph, *Advocate*, 7 October 1920

<sup>54</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14, 28 January, 4, 11 February, 25 March, 22 April, 10 June, 15 July, 19 August 1921.



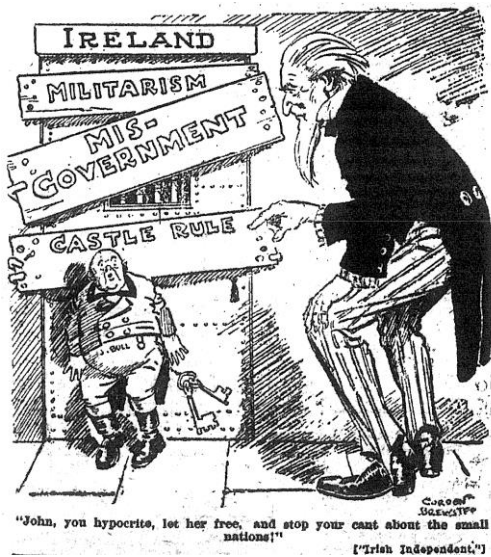


Figure 66. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 17 June 1920



Figure 67. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 5 August 1920



Figure 68. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 30 September 1920



Figure 69. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 21 October 1920



Figure 70. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 4 November 1920



Figure 71. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 16 December 1920

Both the *Advocate* and the ‘*Cross*’ also used firsthand reports from trustworthy sources, both individuals from Australia, and other overseas correspondents. When veteran NSW parliamentarian, John Meagher, returned to Ireland in 1920, both papers published his appalled observations.<sup>55</sup> Cyril Bryan, working in Dublin, was both prolific and a reliable correspondent in 1920 and 1921, providing detail and drama to readers of the ‘*Cross*’, *Advocate* and *WA Catholic Record*.<sup>56</sup> Interviews with recent arrivals, like letters from Ireland to Australian family members, – ‘How Irish Prisoners are Treated’, and ‘What is Really Happening in Ireland’ – provided detail as well as counterbalancing unequivocal bias in daily papers.<sup>57</sup> Editors maintained this model when possible in 1921, for example, letter extracts from a sister in Listowel to family in Victoria, described ‘awful times – nothing but shootings and burnings’.<sup>58</sup> Figure 72 provides a further example. Koerner and Fr Collins also cited well known journalists whose condemnation of Britain attracted international attention. Englishman Philip Gibbs, recognised for his World War One coverage, shared a Catholic background with Irish-born Francis Hackett, an implicit validation for readers. Gibbs wrote the introduction to London’s *Daily Mail* correspondent Hugh Martin’s book, *Ireland in Insurrection*, a text attributed some responsibility for challenging the British Government’s Irish policies.



Figure 72. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 29 September 1921

<sup>55</sup> *Advocate*, 13 March, *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1920. See GM Cashman, ‘John Meagher and the Meagher Family’ in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. VII, Pt 4, 1984, 41-6. See also NAA: A8911/231, ‘John R Meagher (MLA of NSW – Visit to Ireland 1920)’, and Appendix C.

<sup>56</sup> See *Southern Cross* from 27 August to 24 December 1920 and 7 January to 1 April 1921; items were also shown as being written for the Perth publication.

<sup>57</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 June and 11 November, *Southern Cross* of 17 September 1920.

<sup>58</sup> *Advocate*, 9 June 1921.

Historian Maurice Walsh analysed the work of foreign correspondents, Gibbs, Hackett and Martin among them. Walsh demonstrates changing perceptions of official explanations, doubts about the capacity to contain the conflict, and greater hostility after the introduction of the 'Black and Tans'.<sup>59</sup> He identified policy dissection in the press, the wider context of 'revolts around the Empire', Ireland's proximity to England and 'the ambiguity of its status', Britain's 'failure to monopolise the interpretation of the news', and 'Sinn Fein propagandists' recognition that journalists needed 'news'.<sup>60</sup> Walsh highlighted their successful strategy of identifying the Irish struggle within more universal dimensions: self-determination, then 'the nascent anti-colonialism nationalisms', and finally, justified resistance against extreme brutality.<sup>61</sup> He stressed that the force of international and domestic opposition to Britain's tactics drove their re-evaluation, *not* any threat of defeat.<sup>62</sup>

Sinn Fein's failure in Paris had unanticipated local imperial consequences. Building to some extent on earlier Irish associations with India,<sup>63</sup> intensified conflict with Britain allowed greater focus on contemporary parallels in treatment of both countries. By 1920 recognition of the Irish as the 'only white race ... which another nation holds in subjection and oppression by ... brute force', followed editorials discussing Indian 'disaffection [and] a resurgence of anti-British feeling' which offered 'striking correlations'.<sup>64</sup> Emerging details of the 1919 Amritsar massacre in 1920 provoked Koerner's scorn about suppression and imperial patriotism.<sup>65</sup> CIB comments on '*Cross*' coverage were dismissive: 'they are trying to

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<sup>59</sup> Walsh, *The News from Ireland*, 180-1.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-90.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3. See also Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, passim.

<sup>63</sup> See Jennifer Regan Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, Palgrave MacMillan, Hampshire, 2009, 1.6, 130-40 for details of Irish Quaker and nationalist Webb's 1900 presidency of the Indian National Congress. She argues India was an IPP thread, not always pursued due to immediacy of Irish issues with Britain. See Appendix C for Webb's life, including two visits to Australia.

<sup>64</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 30 January and *Advocate* of 7 February (editorials) and *Southern Cross* of 19 March 1920.

<sup>65</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 February 1920.

make political capital'.<sup>66</sup> (Figure 73) News of the Connaught Rangers' rebellion against military orders evoked local sympathy, and an account of police firing into a Milltown Malbay crowd was presented as Ireland's Amritsar.<sup>67</sup> In Melbourne the Amritsar Riots provided the topic for a public address, the speaker a former AIF and Indian Army member.<sup>68</sup> "Dyerism" or 'indiscriminate shootings' became synonyms for RIC policy; these terms used to describe the shooting of 14 bystanders in retaliation for secret service murders at Dublin's Croke Park, revealing the concept's integration into Irish and Irish-Australian thinking.<sup>69</sup> During 1921, as international condemnation of Britain in Ireland increased, material in these newspapers demonstrated editorial understanding both that Ireland represented an alarming imperial challenge, and shared parallels with colonial unrest in India, Egypt and Mesopotamia.<sup>70</sup> While inclusion of such items in these newspapers cannot establish definitive proof of Irish-Australian engagement with broader imperial crises, their very frequency, and editorial comment about the issues, suggests at least some members of this community appreciated these links.

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<sup>66</sup> NAA: D1915 SA29 Pt.1. 15 March 1920.

<sup>67</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9, 30 July 1920. In June 300 regiment members in the Punjab refused to obey orders responding to reports of 'Black and Tan' repression of women and children. One mutineer was shot.

<sup>68</sup> *Advocate*, 8 July 1920. The speaker was PK Collins BA Dip Ed. General Dyer led the charge in which 500 were killed and 1500 wounded.

<sup>69</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 September and 25 November, *Southern Cross* of 26 November and 3 December 1920.

<sup>70</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 January, 18, 25 February, 15 April, 1 and 15 July 1921.



Figure 73. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 6 March 1920

*How did Irish-Australians and their organisations react, and negotiate loyalty issues during the War in Ireland?*

Sinn Féin's electoral victory changed the landscape for all Irish-Australians. While in general, the first generation deplored the landslide, many second generation Australians, having accepted, often regretfully, that the IPP agenda was now irrelevant, welcomed the change. Staring into a relevance void, the UIL faced huge decisions about a future where historic links to the IPP no longer applied. Comparing the ways Adelaide and Melbourne's branches dealt with the dilemma reveals both pain and evidence of understandable denial. In 1919, Adelaide's group struggled to discuss the issue, much less make a decision, despite Patrick Healy's early suggestion that the group restructure along lines consistent with Ireland's choice.<sup>71</sup> Peace Conference hopes initially delayed action, but then in May, potential amalgamation of the UIL with the INA was aired. Although there was in-principle agreement about UIL dissolution, by September, dissenters successfully moved for action to be delayed until after the Race Convention.<sup>72</sup> Discussion about an UIL/INA merger included reference to accessing interstate INA constitutions, showing interstate networking and possibilities of name change and closer national links.<sup>73</sup> In January 1920 when the UIL finally joined the INS (despite vociferous objections from second generation F.B.Keogh), Adelaide's body became the INA.<sup>74</sup> Thus amidst war between the Irish Free State and Britain, the state's peak Irish-Australian body became one associated with radical rather than constitutional change; this made a strong statement about local processes of negotiating loyalty issues.

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<sup>71</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 January 1919.

<sup>72</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 4, 18 April, 2, 9 and 19 May, and 5 September 1919.

<sup>73</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 May 1919.

<sup>74</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 January 1920.

In Melbourne the UIL's response to the conundrum resulting from IPP decimation was different. Jageurs' reaction to Sinn Fein's victory has already been discussed.<sup>75</sup> He now approached a prominent member of the first generation network, H.B.Higgins, about the best course for the UIL; Jageurs' letter summarised the national picture, emphasising the strength of divergence in Melbourne.<sup>76</sup> Acknowledging the local decision to maintain an unaltered UIL, Shorthill was diplomatic: 'an executive [was needed] to watch over Irish interests in Victoria'.<sup>77</sup> When a combined Irish Executive proposal was raised later, an attempt to dissolve the UIL was defeated sixteen to three, Jageurs claiming that its rules prevented formal cooperation with other Irish bodies.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, moves towards establishing the Irish-Ireland League of Victoria proceeded.<sup>79</sup> Launched in September 1919, it incorporated nine Irish-focussed groups, including Hibernians, INF, YIS and INA.<sup>80</sup> The early prominence of A.A. Calwell (as secretary) and Brother Sebastian, already of interest to the CIB, no doubt increased the level of surveillance this League attracted.<sup>81</sup> In 1920 the League held regular meetings,<sup>82</sup> developed a constitution,<sup>83</sup> issued a Manifesto to Victoria's Irish-Australians (Figure 74), and co-sponsored a meeting with the ACF to protest against Mannix's exclusion from Ireland.<sup>84</sup> Calwell's report claimed membership of 698,<sup>85</sup> 200 delegates attended a two day December Convention where one of the aims was reaffirming

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<sup>75</sup> See 248-9 above.

<sup>76</sup> MP Jageurs to Judge Higgins, 18 January 1919, Letter, NLA, HB Higgins Papers, MS1057/343.

<sup>77</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 February, and *Southern Cross* of 28 February for a report that the UIL in WA planned to dissolve; the INA was shown as its replacement on 7 March 1919.

<sup>78</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 18 April and *Advocate* of 10 May 1919.

<sup>79</sup> *Advocate*, 11 July 1919.

<sup>80</sup> *Advocate*, 27 September 1919. Others were the INF, Shamrock and Celtic Clubs, ACF, CWA and CYMS.

<sup>81</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 July, 13, 20 September and 4 October 1919 for meetings, including Bendigo branch where Bro Sebastian spoke. See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 290 for one sentence reference to League and failure.

<sup>82</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 May, 15 July, 30 September and 30 December 1920.

<sup>83</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 April 1920 for discussion of constitution and 'The Objects and methods of Action'.

<sup>84</sup> See *Advocate* of 19 August 1920 for report of 60,000 attending this demonstration.

<sup>85</sup> *Advocate*, 30 September 1920. Following this meeting Calwell was shown as treasurer; it also noted sales of 5000 copies of a leaflet penned by de Valera. Neither Calwell's autobiography, *Be Just and Fear Not: The Fearless Memoirs of a Great Labour Leader*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978, nor his daughter, Mary Elizabeth Calwell's autobiographical study, *I am Bound to be True: The Life and Legacy of Arthur A Calwell, 1896-1973*, Mosaic Press, Melbourne, 2012 deal with Calwell's involvement in radical Irish-Australian organisations.

Australian support for the Republic.<sup>86</sup> Loyalty issues remained complex – while the existence of the League challenged the long-standing UIL, that its membership did not follow generational lines is clear from Hugh Mahon’s presidency until May 1921.<sup>87</sup>

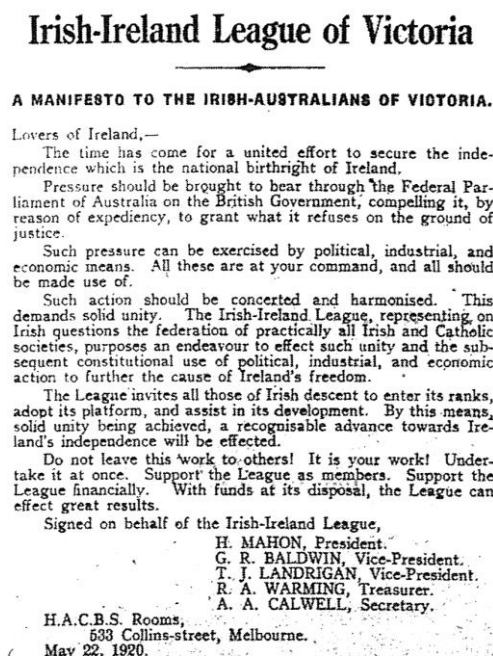


Figure 74. Manifesto, *Advocate*, 27 May 1920

To return to the ways the INS/INA responded to Ireland’s changed political terrain. Adelaide’s first annual meeting included an oblique reference to wartime surveillance of contact with interstate INA groups. Responding to a proposal from former IRB internee and NSW Secretary of the INA, A.T. Dryer, about a national meeting to discuss amalgamation of all Irish societies (passed unanimously), J.J. Daly claimed that the need for being ‘a little cautious’ in working for ‘Irish unity and sentiment’ had ‘passed away’.<sup>88</sup> In Melbourne, the James Connolly INA branch welcomed the released internees Maurice Dalton and Frank McKeown. Also speaking at the January meeting was Frank Brennan MHR, his discussion covered experiences of defending the internees at the judicial

<sup>86</sup> See *Advocate* of 14, 21, 28 October and *Southern Cross* of 22 October 1920.

<sup>87</sup> See Hugh Mahon to AA Calwell, 20 May 1921, Letter, Mahon Papers, MS937/8/65.

<sup>88</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 November 1919.



enquiry.<sup>89</sup> Both Dryer's Papers and surveillance files document antagonism towards Melbourne UIL leadership among more radical second generation Irish-Australians.<sup>90</sup> But in 1919, at least publicly, they managed to coexist. Correspondence from M.P. Jageurs to former IPP leader, John Dillon however, reveals quiet despair about the future of Home Rule, profound sadness about interstate UIL branches disintegrating, and deep antipathy towards many second generation Irish-Australians.<sup>91</sup>

Closer examination of the planning and execution of the already mentioned Irish Race Convention represents an important dimension of 1919. A significant, but previously unknown INS-coordinated meeting of Adelaide's Irish societies and clergy in November 1918 first proposed such a gathering. The stated goal was for a convention 'to deal with the question of Ireland, and to demand that the principle of self-determination be accorded to her people'. SIB vigilance captured the plan in a previously undisclosed letter to Mannix; his response remains unknown.<sup>92</sup> A year later, Sydney's INA approached Archbishop Kelly. His suggestion to Mannix that the event be staged in Melbourne happily coincided with the Irish-Ireland League proposal.<sup>93</sup> Both the *Advocate* and '*Cross*' were strong promoters, publishing delegate profiles, programme details and Convention justification.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 January, and issues of 11 January, 24 May, 7 June, 26 July, 1 and 29 November for reports of other 1919 meetings.

<sup>90</sup> 'AT Dryer to Editor Melbourne *Age*, Letter, 24 October 1917, NLA MS 6610, and NAA: MP95/1, W/E 29/4/19 for John Ryan's letter of 29 April to Maurice Dalton opposing Jageurs

<sup>91</sup> See for example MP Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 19 August 1919, TCD, John Dillon Papers, MS6848/231.

<sup>92</sup> See Jas J Flaherty to Archbishop Spence, and Spence to Flaherty, 28 and 30 November 1918, Letters, SACA, OO38 Spence Papers. The letter reported a meeting between the Hibernians, INF, UIL and INS and approval from Spence before copies of their resolution were sent to 'all Irish societies in Australia and to the Ecclesiastical Authorities ...'. He agreed.

<sup>93</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 September 1919. The local proposal went to Mannix on 19 August but the League withdrew its plans after learning of the Sydney suggestion.

<sup>94</sup> See *Advocate* of 13, 20, 27 September, 11, 18 and 25 October, and *Southern Cross* of 5, 19, 26 September, 10, 24 October 1919.

Irish societies and the Catholic hierarchy provided unprecedented support for the Convention, although correspondence reflected loyalist alarm.<sup>95</sup> Inserting an undercover representative at a private Convention dinner documented anxiety levels about Irish-Australian disloyalty.<sup>96</sup> More complete examination of the evidence is beyond the scope of this research, however what has already emerged suggests that the Convention was viewed as deeply subversive. Attracting 3000 delegates and organised by Joseph Sheedy (Figure 75), the event resulted in twelve pages of *Advocate* coverage with many photographs, six pages in the '*Cross*' (Koerner attended) and celebratory editorials in both.<sup>97</sup> Cables came from both de Valera and Arthur Griffith: acknowledgement from *Dail* President and Vice-President provided staunch reinforcement of Irish-Australian energy and purpose.<sup>98</sup> Figures 76 to 81 demonstrate the *Advocate's* sense of anticipation and celebration; the *Cross* did not include anything comparable.



**Figure 75.** Joseph Sheedy, Convention Organiser,  
*Advocate*, 8 November 1919

<sup>95</sup> See Secretary of The Loyalist League to Herbert Brookes, Letter, 13 October 1919, NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1921/21/31 about a meeting of Freemasons, LOL, Protestant Federation and Loyal Ulstermen 'to discuss what steps should be taken with regard to the forthcoming Irish Race Convention'

<sup>96</sup> See 'The Irish Convention. The History of its Origin. Speeches Made in Secret Recorded', (nd and no author), NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/21/1027-30.

<sup>97</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 November for special Convention edition including articles and a collage photo page of the 'Opening of the Dail Eireann in the Mansion House, Dublin', and *Advocate* of 8 and *Southern Cross* of 14 November 1919 for editorials.

<sup>98</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 and 15 November 1919.

AUSTRALASIAN  
**Irish-Race Convention**

Convened by  
His Grace the Most Reverend  
D. Mannix, D.D.,  
Archbishop of Melbourne.  
To Support Ireland's Claim to Self-  
Determination, as Expressed at  
the Recent Elections in  
Ireland.

THE HONOURABLE T. J. RYAN,  
PREMIER OF QUEENSLAND,  
WILL PRESIDE.

TREMENDOUS INTEREST  
AROUSING.

Thousands of Delegates Coming from  
All Parts of the Commonwealth  
and New Zealand.

The Management Forced to Make  
Bigger Arrangements.

**The Convention**  
to be held in  
**The Auditorium**  
(Collins Street).

INSTEAD OF THE CATHEDRAL  
HALL

THE HIERARCHY OF AUSTRALIA  
will be present.

THE AUDITORIUM,  
Monday, Nov. 3rd  
Commencing at Eleven o'Clock.

THE GREATEST IRISH EVENT  
EVER HELD IN AUSTRALIA

**Monster Public Meeting**  
RICHMOND RESERVE.  
Monday Night, Nov. 3  
At 8 o'Clock.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP  
and  
Prominent Public Men  
will Address the Gathering.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHAMPION  
BAND  
(Conductor, Mr. Percy Jones)  
will render  
Special Programme of Irish Music.

Remember the Night—  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3  
HOLIDAY EXCURSION FARES ON  
ALL LINES.  
SPECIAL TRAINS from Ballarat,  
Bendigo, Geelong, Sale, and  
other important centres.

GREAT SOCIAL FUNCTION  
Arranged in Honour of Visiting  
Delegates.

MELBOURNE TOWN HALL.  
Tuesday, Novemb'r 4  
(Cup Night),

**Conversazione**  
Musical Programme by Leading  
Artists.  
Catering by Holder & Co.

TICKETS 5/-—A Limited Number  
Available.  
Early Application Necessary.

Watch for Further Particulars.

For any information, apply to  
JOSEPH S. SHEEDY,  
Convention Secretary.  
Block Buildings,  
88 Elizabeth St., Melbourne.  
Phone—Central 7936.

Figure 76. Advertisement, *Advocate*,  
18 October 1919

**Message from De Valera to  
Irish Race Convention**

"The explicit recognition in international law of the  
right of nations to free self-determination is an axiomatic  
essential if the rational human principles of right and  
justice are ever to replace brute force in the settling of  
international disputes. Sons and daughters of the Gael,  
by combining everywhere in a close-knit, world-wide  
organisation to secure universal acceptance of this principle,  
are working, not only for the freedom of the  
motherland of their race, the last European land in  
bondage to alien rulers, but are privileged to be in the  
van of all progressive forces in the world to-day making  
for a lasting peace, for the improvement of the relations  
between all peoples, and for the advancement of true  
civilisation. Congratulations to Australians, who have  
been foremost in this noble cause.

"EAMONN DE VALERA."

Figure 77. Item, *Advocate*,  
8 November 1919

### Australasian Irish - Race Convention

#### Cable from Mr. Arthur Griffith

The following cable has been received by his Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne from Mr. Arthur Griffith, the Vice-President of the Irish Republic:—

"Dublin, Nov. 3.  
"Archbishop Mannix, Irish-Race Convention, Kew.

"The people of Ireland salute their friends of Australia. They hold firmly to their decision registered at the general election, and are confident that in their struggle against the rule of alien force they have the support of all who believe in God and human freedom."

#### CABLE FROM MR. JOHN MEAGHER.

Mr. John Meagher, sen., of Bathurst, N.S.W., who is on a visit to Ireland, sent the following cable:—

"Ballynacally, Nov. 5.  
"Archbishop Mannix, Melbourne.

"Heartiest congratulations on magnificent demonstration. With you in sentiment."

"JOHN MEAGHER."

Figure 78. Item, *Advocate*,  
15 November 1919

THE ADVOCATE. NOVEMBER 8, 1919.

**The**  
**Australasian Irish-Race Convention**

An Inspiring Gathering

Unanimous and Enthusiastic

The Australasian Irish-Race Convention so long awaited by men and women of Irish descent in Australia took place on last Monday at the Auditorium. Never was there such an inspiring gathering. Delegates had assembled there from all parts of Australia, after considerable expense and effort, and that the same motives actuated them all was evident from the absolute unanimity with which the resolutions proposed were carried. There will no longer be any doubt as to how Irish-Australians stand with regard to Ireland's claim for self-determination. The effect of Monday's gathering will be to help Ireland, morally and financially, in her struggle for self-determination.

Figure 79. Headline, *Advocate*,  
8 November 1919

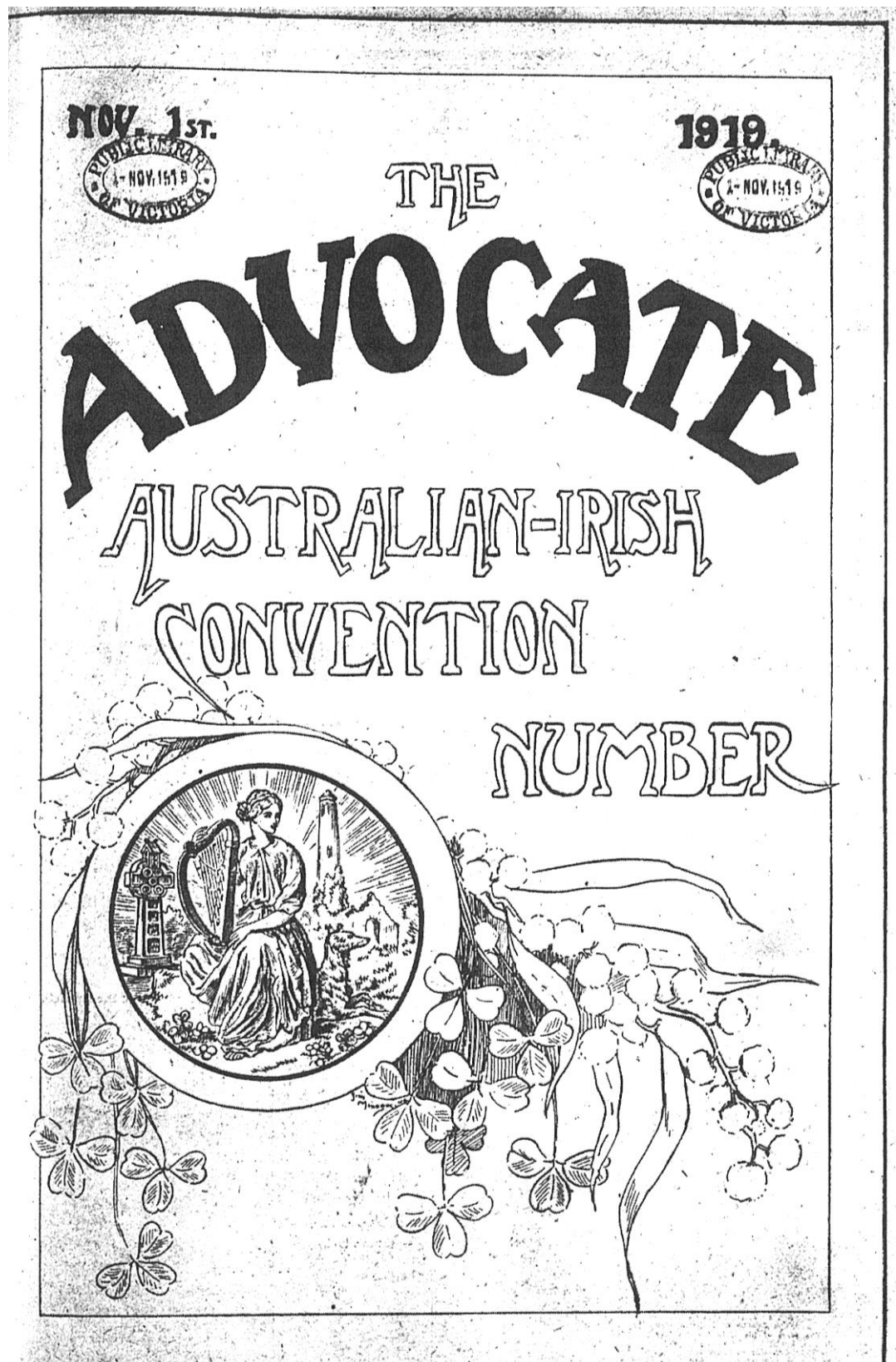


Figure 80. Special Cover, *Advocate*, 1 November 1919

"The weak and all who lack for strength  
Have His at their command."

—Wordsworth.

# THE ADVOCATE

Australasian-Irish Race Convention

Number

No. 2458—Vol. LI.



MELBOURNE, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

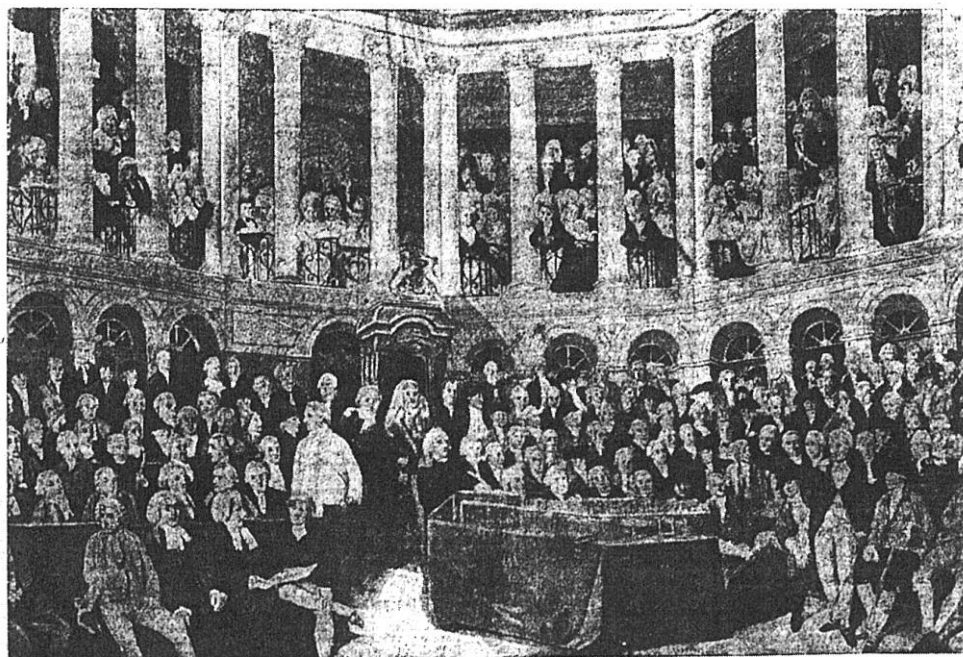


Price FOURPENCE

## Cardinal Newman's Prophecy

"I contemplate a people that have had a long night, and will have an inevitable day. I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come, and I dimly see the Ireland I am gazing on become THE ROAD OF PASSAGE AND UNION BETWEEN THE TWO HEMISPHERES, AND THE CENTRE OF THE WORLD. I see its inhabitants rival Belgium in populousness, France in vigour, and Spain in enthusiasm."

## The Irish Parliament, 1801



GRATTAN ADDRESSING THE HOUSE.

## Thomas Davis on Nationality

"Nationality is no longer an unmeaning or despised name among us. It is welcomed by the higher ranks, it is the inspiration of the bold, and the hope of the people. It is the summary name for many things. It seeks a literature made by Irishmen, and coloured by our scenery, manners, and character. It desires to see art applied to express Irish thoughts and belief. It would make our music sound in every parish at twilight, our pictures sprinkle the walls of every house, and our poetry and history sit at every hearth."

"It would thus create a race of a more intensely Irish character and knowledge, and to that race it would give Ireland. It would give them the seas of Ireland, to sweep with their nets and launch on with their navy; the harbours of Ireland, to receive a greater commerce than any island in the world; the soil of Ireland to live on, by more millions than starve here now; the fame of Ireland, to enhance by their genius and valour; the independence of Ireland, to guard by laws and arms."

Figure 81. Front Cover, *Advocate*, 1 November 1919

O'Farrell applies liberal faint praise in a generally damning assessment of the Convention. He suggests it took a year for Irish-Australia to overcome caution about Irish events (inaccurate in view of South Australian evidence, but legitimate in the light of other archival material), that the Convention represented Episcopal resolve to control Irish affairs,<sup>99</sup> and any success largely related to 'a warm feeling of solidarity and a sense of importance' from involvement in a big occasion.<sup>100</sup> His reading of this Convention (which clearly confronted loyalists), without specific evidence, does not fully accord with contemporary accounts,<sup>101</sup> except from the secular press. While it is true that by November 1919, the *Advocate* was a Church-owned newspaper, even with that caveat, its portrayal of the events and non-clerical involvement was significant. And at an organisational level, without the Church framework and resources, an event of those proportions – 100,000 at a rally – was impossible.<sup>102</sup> In terms of a public statement of Irish-Australian identity,<sup>103</sup> the Convention focussed fully on the Irish strand, and given the dominant culture's view of Ireland as violently and illegitimately resisting Britain, in the short term it represented for the British majority, deep Irish-Australian disloyalty. Its impact was also longer term as noted by the CIB,<sup>104</sup> particularly the Australasian Irish Self-Determination Fund (Figure 82)

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<sup>99</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 279-81.

<sup>100</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 November for Koerner's discussion of the sectarian interpretation of both the *Age* and the *Argus*. Koerner reported from Melbourne.

<sup>101</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 December 1919 for praise from Fr James Kelly, editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*, and his report of local Irish celebration of the event. He claimed his paper was the first in Australasia to 'raise the standard of Sinn Féin'.

<sup>102</sup> See *Advocate* of 15 November and 20 December 1919 for subsequent discussion. See issue of 1 November for Joseph Sheedy's management role, he was later involved with the national screening of 'Ireland Will Be Free'. Further research is required to clarify details of his life.

<sup>103</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 November 1919 for a special Convention edition including articles on the Gaelic Revival, photos of the *Dail Eireann* opening, Irish Women in the Struggle, past Melbourne Conventions, Australia and Ireland, and the Parliament of 1801.

<sup>104</sup> See NAA: A8911/219. A Circular from Spence and Bishop Hayden (dated 12 January 1920) named the treasurer, and described the fund's purpose as helping de Valera 'as the recognised leader of the Irish people to establish self-determination for Ireland. See reports of 15 March and 12 April, the former noting that £644 had been donated in SA.

for which contributions were sought and recorded into 1920.<sup>105</sup> And, as Figure 83 shows, the event was recognised elsewhere.

## Irish Self-Determination Fund

The following circular letter has been despatched by his Grace the Archbishop to the parish priests of the Archdiocese:—

St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne.  
24th November, 1919.

Rev. Dear Father,—

The success of the Irish-Race Convention recently held in Melbourne is on everybody's lips, and the lesson which the Convention taught will not soon be forgotten by friend or foe.

But the work of the Convention is yet only half-completed. The delegates who filled the Auditorium spoke for the Irish race in the Commonwealth and in the Dominion of New Zealand. They sent no uncertain or halting message to Ireland, and to Ireland's chosen leader, Eamon De Valera. But they also passed the following resolution unanimously and enthusiastically, and they pledged Australia and New Zealand to give effect to it:—

"That an Australasian-Irish Fund be opened to help the people of Ireland to press to a successful issue their legitimate claim to self-determination; that the Archbishop of Melbourne, the Hon. John McGehee, Bathurst, N.S.W., and Count O'Loughlin, K.C.S.G., Victoria, be treasurers of the fund; and that the Dominion of New Zealand and States of the Commonwealth be invited to organise local effort in support of a central fund."

It now devolves on us to carry out that resolution, and by a systematic effort to make the Australasian-Irish Fund worthy of the Convention and of the Cause. Each State will organise its own fund, with its own treasurers, the Dominion of New Zealand will do likewise, and all these local funds will be transmitted, as early as possible, to the three treasurers appointed by the Convention, as the trustees of the Australasian Central Fund.

It has been suggested that the most convenient way of giving the people an opportunity of supporting the Convention appeal would be that each Bishop should invite his own priests to organise parish collections. The various societies which were represented at the Convention would, I am sure, gladly undertake to make a personal appeal to all those who are in sympathy with Ireland's aims. I desire myself to act on that suggestion, and I therefore ask you to be good enough to organise a local

committee to solicit contributions within your own parish. The people are only waiting for an opportunity to honour the pledge of the Convention, and the sooner that opportunity is given them the better. It is most desirable that, so far as possible, all contributions should reach the Central Fund by the end of February next.

There will, I trust, be a healthy rivalry in a good cause between different States and dioceses and parishes. Melbourne is under a special obligation to make this Irish Fund a great success, and I confidently rely upon priests and people to be prompt and generous, as they always have been, in the hour of Ireland's need.

I am, Rev. Dear Father,

Sincerely yours,

✠ D. MANNIN

P.S.—Remittances and communications may be addressed to Mr. Joseph Sheedy, hon. sec. Irish-Race Convention, 57 Swanston-street, Melbourne. Cheques should be crossed, and may be made payable to the "Treasurers, Irish Fund."

✠ D. M.

The following additional contributions have been received:—

Van. Archpriest, McCarthy, Nunmurkah	£10 0 0
Rev. D. B. Nolan, St. Monica's, Essendon	10 0 0
"Myopia Friend"	10 0 0
Mr. Philip Skehan, Raglan St., South Melb.	10 0 0
Rev. M. Haffernan, Nunmurkah	5 5 0
Mr. D. McCarthy, Victoria St., W. Melb.	5 5 0
Rev. Nicholas O'Ryan, W. Melb.	5 0 0
Miss Eya Murphy, Deary St., Brighton	5 0 0
Mr. P. Skehan, Romsey	5 0 0
Mr. B. Brotherton, Haines St., Glenferrie	2 3 6
Mr. T. Whelan	1 1 0
"Lion of Justice"	1 1 0
Miss Eya Murphy	1 0 0
Manly, Sydney	1 0 0
Mrs. McFarley	0 5 0
Friend	0 5 0
A Friend	0 5 0
Boys of Christian Brothers' Schools	
Brunswick	£7 10 0
W. Melb.	7 10 0
Carlton	7 10 0
College, N.M.	10 0 0
	32 10 0

Figure 82. Item, *Advocate*, 29 November 1919



Figure 83. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 10 January 1920

<sup>105</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 5, 12, 19 and 26 March, 2, 9, 16 and 23 April, and 23 July 1920. The total was £1,836, Spence gave £50. See Spence to Joseph Sheedy, Letter, 16 April 1920, SACA, 0038 Spence Papers.

The visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920 functioned as an imperial challenge to many Irish-Australians. Historian Kevin Fewster depicts this as deliberate government strategy: 'It demonstrated that those bonds of Empire forged during the war could remain strong in peace'.<sup>106</sup> Between 26 May and 19 August Prince Edward visited 110 towns and cities, confronting many Irish-Australians about how to manage displays of imperial spirit with their own hostility over Ireland.<sup>107</sup> In Fewster's analysis, this community was 'alienated' in terms of imperial loyalty by conscription, the war, and Ireland. He quotes from Mannix's foe, Herbert Brookes. Delighted about the royal visit, Brookes described struggles 'with the [local] Enemies of Empire': Mannix and Sinn Fein constituted a national affliction.<sup>108</sup> For many Irish-Australians then, the visit held perils.

Koerner provided readers with specific guidance about loyalty displays. He encouraged Irish-Australian participation in receptions for the prince, but advised against following the standard practice of presenting loyal addresses to the prince, because these could hardly avoid including regret at the 'present lamentable state of [Irish] affairs', which would inevitably be rejected.<sup>109</sup> Although Koerner's distinction here between Catholic and Irish loyalty – performing publicly as loyal imperial citizens but avoiding procedural mechanisms which would necessitate comment about imperial policy – gave readers direction (and clarified aspects of the loyalty continuum), its intent was unlikely to be understood, much less appreciated by the loyalist community.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Fewster, 'Politics, Pageantry and Purpose', 59. He argues Hughes aimed to show his National Party represented nationalism more effectively imperially speaking to differentiate it from Labor's pre-war push for a more independent Australia.

<sup>107</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 16 April 1920 for item (taken from Melbourne *Tribune*) suggesting the YIS could help the prince understand what was happening in Ireland.

<sup>108</sup> Fewster, 'Politics, Pageantry and Purpose' 61-3. See Appendix C for Brookes.

<sup>109</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 (editorial) and 16 July 1920 for report of JV O'Loughlin, WJ Denny and McMahon Glynn attending Adelaide's State Banquet for the Prince of Wales.

<sup>110</sup> See SACA 0038 Spence Papers for copies of letters of 21, 24, 26, 27 May, 9 June and 2 July for letters between officials and Church figures relating to aspects of the tour, the participation of Catholic students in the procession, school closure to enable this, and general information about 'Demonstrations and Festivities' connected to the visit. The material reveals extraordinary Church cooperation.



In 1920 the local appearance of an internationally based organisation, the Self-Determination for Ireland League (SDIL) represented a new focus for the Irish-Australian community. Equally it provided further evidence of disloyalty to loyalist Australians. Established in Australia by Canadian Katherine Hughes (and backed by de Valera), its successes were significant.<sup>111</sup> Receiving Episcopal support,<sup>112</sup> it also achieved extensive publicity: between March and December 1921 '*Cross*' readers were incredibly well informed about local and national activities. Organisation was efficient – there were district structures, city and country focus, canvassers, returned soldiers' meetings, women's meetings, public speakers, interstate activities, state and national conventions, and a huge rally.<sup>113</sup>

The September rally attracted 5,000 at Adelaide's Botanic Park.<sup>114</sup> The size of this crowd on a rainy day reflected a strong statement of engagement with Ireland.<sup>115</sup> League president, Irish-born McMahon Glynn, along with second generation members, Frank Brennan MHR, J.V. O'Loughlin, W.J. Denny, and Irishwoman, Mrs Eileen Mott spoke to resolutions attacking British policy and appealing for funds.<sup>116</sup> Irish-born Glynn's speech was heavily qualified: he proclaimed himself a Dominion Home Ruler, and emphatically not a Republican.<sup>117</sup> Thus his later resignation was hardly unexpected. Effective rural publicity about the League followed a visit to Clare by Mrs Mott and O'Loughlin. O'Loughlin's letters

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<sup>111</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 24 June (Hughes visit to NZ) and 4 November 1921 for Canadian newsletter account of 369 branches and 33,000 members by June, 400 and 40 members by August.

<sup>112</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 March and *Southern Cross* of 13 April 1921 for Spence's letter of support.

<sup>113</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 May, 10, 17 June, 3, 15 July, 12 August, 9, 23 September, 7 October 1921.

<sup>114</sup> See NAA: A8911/219 for report of 19 September stating 3000 attended and national attendance figures of 120,000.

<sup>115</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 23 September 1921.

<sup>116</sup> Related to Irishman, Lord Russell, former Chief Justice of England, her husband was local representative of TM Burke's land company. See *Southern Cross* of 18 May 1923 for his departure from Adelaide and her intention to follow. See Appendix C for some details of her life.

<sup>117</sup> See O'Collins, *Patrick McMahon Glynn*, 74.

responding to a local critic were published in the *Northern Argus* and the 'Cross'.<sup>118</sup> CIB files reflect alarm at the SDIL structure and growth, both of which were reflected in the depth of 'Cross' coverage of the League.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to the newcomer SDIL, the INA maintained good progress. In early 1921 Adelaide's Terence McSwiney branch reported 600 members, 21 committee and 12 general meetings, six membership campaign gatherings and visits to convents and Church institutions.<sup>120</sup> President since July 1921 (also of the SDIL after Glynn resigned), J.V. O'Loughlin directed its November *Feis* or festival of 165 events, running over three nights at the Town Hall.<sup>121</sup> Judged by Koerner as a 'Brilliant and Successful Function', a view supported by the *Advertiser*,<sup>122</sup> school choirs, musical performances, dancing and recitations added to an occasion of 'superlative merit'.<sup>123</sup> Organiser pride in this as only Australia's second *Feis* was palpable, the previous one had been in much larger (and, unstated), much more Irish Melbourne.<sup>124</sup> Koerner's editorial linked the *Feis* to the Gaelic Revival and 'the grandeur of the Sinn Fein revolution', clearly endorsing South Australia's Irish identification.<sup>125</sup> Figures 84 and 85 illustrate sections from the published programme.

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<sup>118</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 October and 11 November, and *Northern Argus* of 9, 23 September, 7, 21 October and 4 November 1921. The paper was published in Clare, enjoying a wide northern circulation.

<sup>119</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1, 18 April, 18 May, 18 June and 29 August 1921.

<sup>120</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 February 1921. The AGM reported outstanding progress from the dancing class, regret about delays to the language class, and the dearth of male singers leading to the choral group demise.

<sup>121</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 16 September, 7 and 14 October 1921, Archbishop Spence donated £5.

<sup>122</sup> See *Advertiser* of 28, 30 November and 1 December 1921.

<sup>123</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 December 1921. Ignatius O'Sullivan, prominent in Melbourne's YIS and a previous SIB target, judged dancing and instrument items. See NAA: B741, V295. 'Ignatius O'Sullivan'. The June 1918 item involved intercepted mail referring to a protest meeting about the arrest of 7 IRB members.

<sup>124</sup> *Advocate*, 25 August 1921. Organised by the Gaelic League (Calwell's role was vital), the issue included 2 items about the event, suggesting it was smaller than Adelaide's.

<sup>125</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 December 1921.

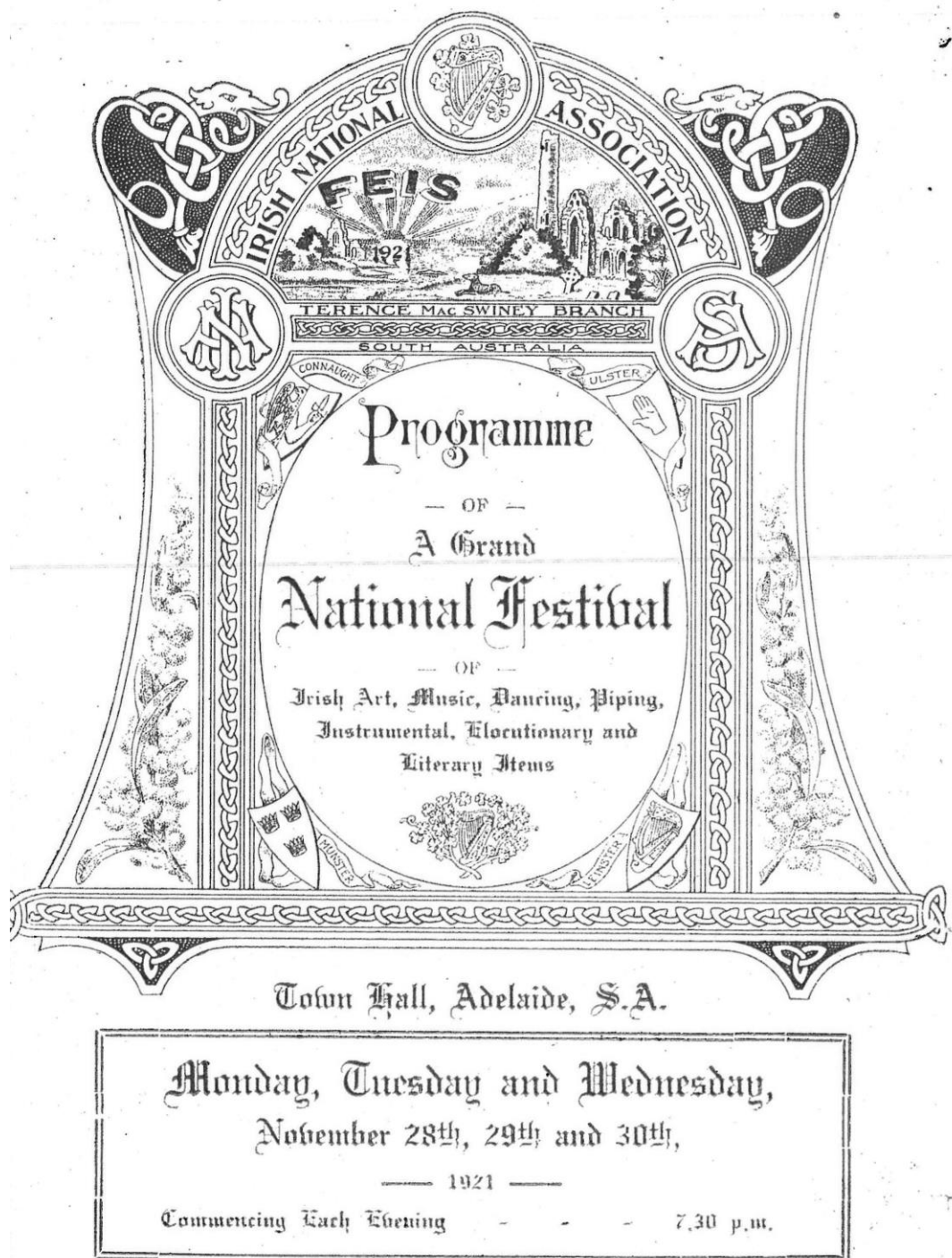


Figure 84. Programme Cover, Adelaide 1921 Feis

# Irish National Association



President—Hon. J. V. O'Loughlin.  
Vice-Presidents—Messrs. P. E. O'Leary and John McGee.  
Hon. General Secretary—Mr. J. J. Flaherty.  
Hon. Treasurer and Assistant Secretary—Mr. P. A. Greene.

Figure 85. INA Executive from Adelaide 1921 *Feis* Programme

In 1921 as Irish-Australians continued to grapple with war details from Ireland, both the SDIL and the INA provided a focus and source for Irish-Australian identity.<sup>126</sup> In Adelaide, as shown by Appendix N, the INS/INA was responsible for most of the city's public addresses about Ireland from 1920. Carmelite priest, and second-generation Irish-Australian, Fr P.J. Gearon was a popular speaker in Melbourne after his September 1919 return from twelve years of study in Ireland. Transferred in January 1920, Adelaide audiences also heard his stirring accounts of British iniquities.<sup>127</sup> His St Patrick's Day address advocating 'dismemberment of the Empire' was among those referred to the Crown Law authorities as seditious.<sup>128</sup> Gearon's dedication of his widely purchased publication, *The Truth About Ireland*, to his Carmelite superior, Irishman Fr Peter Magennis, struck a local chord. Magennis was based in Adelaide from 1898 until his elevation to a leadership position in Rome during 1906. Magennis was close to Irish-American radicals, de Valera and Mannix, and there were claims that he was a German spy.<sup>129</sup> While these accusations await research, Gearon's pointed literary association with such an individual suggests the direction of his oratory. His book quickly went into a third edition, demonstrating its appeal to many Irish-Australians. While it is unlikely that surveillance officials appreciated the sinister potential of Gearon's dedication, the local CIB inspector attempted to ban the book. Arguing it was calculated 'to excite disaffection against the connection of the King's Dominions under the Crown', he attempted to have it put on the prohibited list, using the framework of the 1921 Customs Prohibition, then the Post and

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<sup>126</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 January, 23 September and 7 October 1921 for reports of INF functions which also promoted Irish identity.

<sup>127</sup> See *Advocate* of 27 September, 25 October, 15 November and 22 November 1919, and *Southern Cross* of 17 February, 26 March and 28 May 1921.

<sup>128</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 26 March 1920. NAA: A8911/219 for item of 22 March where the premier passed on complaints from the Royal Society of St George, the League of Loyal Women and the British Women's Auxiliary.

<sup>129</sup> See 141 above and 397 and 399 below for further reference to this cleric about whom further research is clearly necessary.

Telegraph Regulations of March 1922.<sup>130</sup> NAA files show interest to purchaser names listed inside the book – that their concerns about Gearon’s loyalty were probably justified is somewhat ironic in view of his broader links to overt disloyalty.

In the absence of ‘*Cross*’ or *Advocate* reports the about audience, it is impossible to discern whether those attending public addresses constituted only second generation Irish-Australians, or a combination including the Irish-born. In Melbourne similar meetings were more consistently reported in 1921. Fr Kennedy DSO, an Irishman from Kerry, who had previously been accused of disloyalty despite his war chaplaincy, was a popular speaker.<sup>131</sup> His play, ‘Advance Australia’ had attracted intense protest in 1920.<sup>132</sup> Another priest, Fr M.D. Forrest, presented graphic accounts of what he had seen of ‘Black and Tan’ action in Ireland to at least three Melbourne audiences.<sup>133</sup> SDIL meetings invariably incorporated addresses about Ireland, so participants became better informed. In addition to the potential for a disloyal network to circulate banned material, both these Irish-focussed organisations provided spaces for discussion of Irish affairs, invariably hostile to British policy.<sup>134</sup>

*How did Church figures and community leaders negotiate the unprecedented challenges to their loyalties?*

Given the overwhelmingly Irish profile of Australia’s Catholic priests and bishops, a large percentage of whom were Irish-born or of Irish descent, their attitude to war in Ireland

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<sup>130</sup> See Cain, *The Origins*, 196-8 for explanation of February 1921 Customs department proclamation banning entry of texts advocating the violent overthrow of governments, O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 281.

<sup>131</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 March, 9 June, 1, 8 September and 1 December 1921.

<sup>132</sup> See *Advocate* of 8, 15 July and *Southern Cross* of 6 August 1920. The RSL, Freemasons and PM Hughes protested against the play’s depiction of an Australian soldier’s imperial military disillusion.

<sup>133</sup> See *Advocate* of 20, 27 January, 10 February 1921. See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 281-2 for discussion of his pamphlets, *Atrocities in Ireland – What an Australian has seen*, *Ireland’s Deathless Agony* and *Ireland’s Darkest and Brightest Year*.

<sup>134</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 January 1921 for ‘Sinn Fein Song Banned by Commonwealth Czars’, explaining that ‘Sinn Fein Volunteers’ from the Gaelic Language Fund Committee was a prohibited import.

inevitably impacted on their followers.<sup>135</sup> Previous chapters have highlighted the ways in which Archbishop Mannix represented loyalty challenges to the Commonwealth Government.<sup>136</sup> As Irishmen, prelates were in particularly powerful positions, and in 1920 and 1921 at least eleven visited Ireland, and their outspoken responses to witness of English policy in Ireland provided good newspaper copy as well as validating the horrors to individual dioceses; in January 1921 the *'Cross'* included comments from four.<sup>137</sup> And when Archbishop Clune clarified his 1920 failure to broker Irish peace,<sup>138</sup> (criticising the unreliability of English politicians),<sup>139</sup> his 'awful revelations' received publicity far beyond his Perth archdiocese.<sup>140</sup> This section will focus on another two Irish Archbishops, Kelly of Sydney and Spence of Adelaide. In addition, individuals such as Cyril Bryan, Hugh Mahon and Irish-Australian cleric, Fr O'Donnell will be discussed to illustrate the nature of some challenges associated with being Irish in Australia during the Anglo-Irish War.

Cyril Bryan, already mentioned as a Mannix supporter, elicited fulsome reviews and ongoing publicity in Irish-Australian publications for his book, *Archbishop Mannix: Champion of Australian Democracy*, published in late 1918.<sup>141</sup> Bryan, of Irish descent, a former Perth Christian Brother's student, had impeccable military service credentials.<sup>142</sup> Presenting lectures on his wartime experiences and the nature of the war, he also spoke at meetings

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<sup>135</sup> McKernan, *Australian Churches*, 19-20.

<sup>136</sup> At the NAA Mannix earns his own fact sheet stating there are 11,961 items held about him.

<sup>137</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 January 1921. Interviews with returned Bishops Heavey (Cooktown), McCarthy (Sandhurst) and Shiels (Rockhampton) were summarised. Broken Hill's Bishop Hayden's letter was quoted; he went to Ireland in April 1920 and returned in 1921, see issue of 1 April 1921. See NAA: D1915, SA 29, Pt.1. 11 November 1918, 24 February, 24 March, 12, 14, 27 April 1919, 12 January 1920 for SIB interest in Hayden.

<sup>138</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 4 February 1921 for Cyril Bryan's letter about the 'Government's bad faith'.

<sup>139</sup> See Michael Hopkinson, 'The Peace Mission of Archbishop Clune' in Laurence M Geary and Andrew J McCarthy (eds.), *Ireland, Australia and New Zealand*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2008, 199-209.

<sup>140</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21, 28 January, 4 March, 15 April, 6 May, *Advocate*, 13 January, 10 February 1921. See also SA *Register* of 21 February 1921.

<sup>141</sup> Published by the *Advocate* Press categorised as 'Suspicious' on the list of Melbourne Printers compiled by the SIB in July 1918, (see NAA: MP16/1 1915/3/1790B), see also *Advocate* of 4 January, *Southern Cross* of 14 February and *Australia, Review of the Month*, February 1919 for reviews. The *Advocate* advertised the book on its editorial page throughout January; it became smaller in February 1919. See Figure 55 above.

<sup>142</sup> See Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, passim for importance of Christian Brothers in fostering Irish nationalism.

devoted to Irish causes.<sup>143</sup> His prominence, in addition to close association with the disloyal Mannix, alerted security authorities to his 1919 departure for medical study in Edinburgh and Ireland, via America. Ciphers reported his presence in Chicago, his boast of evading censorship, and contact with the editor of the San Francisco *Leader* about lecturing. Surveillance authorities probably misjudged his role. No evidence for his operation ‘as a likely agent for Australia’s Irish extremists’ has been located.<sup>144</sup> However, his previously mentioned regular, widely published observations from Dublin about the daily impact of the Anglo-Irish War probably generated more general Irish-Australian disloyalty due to their publication in the trusted Irish-Catholic press.<sup>145</sup>

Archbishops Kelly and Spence represent Irish Churchmen whose wartime role caused few security concerns. Thus their visible attitude shifts during the Anglo-Irish War triggered official anxieties. As a recruiting supporter and senior NSW military chaplain, Kelly’s activities were often reported in the *Advocate* and *Cross*. In 1919 publicity associated with his St Patrick’s Day address, in particular his endorsement of Irish self-determination, and declaration that ‘England Must Wash Her Hands’, attracted Irish-Catholic press attention alongside negative CIB interest. Officials were disappointed there was no shorthand record of his disloyalty.<sup>146</sup> His 1920 visit to Ireland moved him further towards overt criticism of Britain. Although he disagreed with the protest strategy adopted by other visiting Australian bishops about Mannix’s exclusion from Ireland,<sup>147</sup> when he returned to Sydney in December (having briefly met an unyielding Lloyd George), Kelly was ‘highly critical of

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<sup>143</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 January 1919. The YIS were celebrating Sinn Féin’s electoral victory.

<sup>144</sup> NAA: A367, 1919/1158. ‘Bryan, Captain Cyril Philip Late AIF Melbourne and USA – Sinn Féin and Alleged Carrier for Irish Extremists’, 11 and 14 June 1919, and MP16/1, 1919/2023, ‘Captain Cyril Bryan’.

<sup>145</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 February 1920 for first mention of his material. Much of the *Advocate* Dublin material is without attribution.

<sup>146</sup> Patrick O’Farrell, ‘Archbishop Kelly and the Irish Question’, in *Journal of Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 1V, Pt 3, 1974, 9. See NAA: A8911/217. ‘Sinn Féin, New South Wales’. 24 March, 1 and 3 April 1919.

<sup>147</sup> O’Farrell, ‘Archbishop Kelly’, 9-11.



the British government's failure to resolve the Irish question'.<sup>148</sup> He thus represented a more covert threat in terms of diffusing disloyalty than Mannix whose wartime reputation preceded him.

Archbishop Spence's journey towards imperial disloyalty was comparable. Apprehensive before his 1920 visit to Ireland, appalled while there, and impelled towards gestures of loyalty to Sinn Fein, he then refused to speak in 'God's house' on his return to Adelaide about what he had witnessed in Ireland.<sup>149</sup> The CIB followed his transformation through the pages of the *Southern Cross*. In September, after saluting the Irish flag at Newry, Spence was seen as 'marching in step with other local clerics in his attitude towards Sinn Fein'.

Significantly, Connard commented that:

[t]his was the first occasion on which ... Spence has been noticed as adopting any such attitude as prior to his departure ... it was noticed that Sinn Fein was a topic which ... he [had] left severely alone.<sup>150</sup>

But he told Adelaide's assembled CBC students they could not possibly imagine what he had seen. He summarised aspects of British policy designed 'to break the spirit of the people'.<sup>151</sup> If that event alarmed the CIB, his May visit to the Kapunda convent exacerbated matters. The children, taught largely by first or second generation Irish nuns, sang a medley of Irish Songs, including 'Ireland a Nation', 'The Soldier's Song', and 'God Save Ireland'. Although Spence was clearly delighted, he emphasised that the freedom enjoyed by local choristers was unavailable in Ireland where the penalty for singing 'Ireland a Nation' was five years in jail. To the 'rapt attention of his listeners he described Black and Tan treatment of the Irish', matching it against their faith and courage. Encouraging the children to question what they read or heard about Sinn Fein, he urged them to maintain

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>149</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 February 1921.

<sup>150</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt. 1. 27 September 1920.

<sup>151</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1 27 March 1921.

their Irish spirit and ‘uphold Sinn Fein colours to the end’. Connard’s dry conclusion was of Spence’s ‘decided Sinn Fein leanings’, while his dissemination of propaganda ‘stamps him as a pronounced Sinn Feiner’.<sup>152</sup> Spence’s dramatic shift from apparent dislike of Sinn Fein, public neutrality, and determination to keep the peace, now signified deep Church disloyalty.



The Rev. T. J. O'Donnell giving evidence before the court-martial, which acquitted him of the charge of disloyal language.

**Figure 86.** Photograph, *Advocate*, 7 February 1920

The experiences of Irish-Australian priest, Fr T.J. O'Donnell (Figure 86), provided unexpected insights into the state of Ireland in 1919.<sup>153</sup> Based in Tasmania, and a public champion of conscription,<sup>154</sup> he was appointed as a captain-chaplain in February 1918.<sup>155</sup> But his 1919 arrest in Ireland ultimately led to military embarrassment. From the first cable

<sup>152</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. 10 June 1921. His visit of 23 May was reported in the *Southern Cross*.

<sup>153</sup> See Appendix C for details about Fr O'Donnell.

<sup>154</sup> See Figure 52 above and *Southern Cross* of 7 December 1917 for use of Fr O'Donnell in pro-conscription advertisements; he spoke publicly in Victoria and South Australia.

<sup>155</sup> See Tom Johnstone, 'The Court Martial of an AIF Catholic Chaplain' in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, 2001, 71-80.

news in October,<sup>156</sup> until his American and Australian lectures of 1920-21, details of his arrest and treatment displayed the worst of Britain in Ireland. Claims of being shadowed by British spies, the nature of his imprisonment (filth and few blankets), the flimsy and contradictory evidence at his court martial,<sup>157</sup> and then his exoneration<sup>158</sup> all reinforced Britain's Irish perfidy.<sup>159</sup> Not only was he a priest, but if *his* imperial loyalty was questioned, no one was safe: 'The whole incident...throws a lurid light on British methods in Ireland'.<sup>160</sup> News of his lectures in both America and Britain ensured he remained visible in 1920, raising questions about whether his return would be sanctioned.<sup>161</sup> And, back on Australian soil in 1921, O'Donnell's lecture programme further enlightened many Irish-Australians about the daily experience of British military rule in Ireland.<sup>162</sup>

In Australia, public concentration on Irish-Australians' imperial loyalty, particularly individuals like Mannix, was a consequence of the intensifying conflict in Ireland. Mannix was associated with a variety of issues which provoked loyalists. One example involved a tussle with PM Hughes just before the Federal election of December 1919. This clash anticipated aspects of the later terminal parliamentary variety encounter between Hugh Mahon and the Prime Minister. When Mannix recounted a ministerial approach seeking support 'for [the] English-made policy' of conscription in 1916, Hughes dismissed this as 'an absolute falsehood'. Mahon responded by telegraphing details of *his* visit to Mannix.<sup>163</sup>

The episode had been raised during the 1917 election campaign and no one had denied

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<sup>156</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 October 1919.

<sup>157</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7, 14 November 1919.

<sup>158</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 December 1919.

<sup>159</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 December 1919. This item dealt with discussion at Westminster.

<sup>160</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 December 1919. See *Advocate* of 19 February 1920 in 'Our London Letter' for report of former IPP delegate Joseph Devlin MP asking questions at Westminster referring to 'unquestionably indignant feelings amongst Australian people' about his treatment.

<sup>161</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 (announcement of an American lecture tour), 19 March ('English Huns'), 18 June (lecturing in regional Britain for ISDL), and 29 October 1920; the possibility he might have to take the oath of allegiance was voiced.

<sup>162</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14, 21, 28 January 1921.

<sup>163</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 November 1919 for huge headlines of Hugh Mahon's 'Crushing Reply to Mr Hughes: Mr Mahon Gives Some Important Facts'. The election of 17 December was won by Hughes.

it.<sup>164</sup> But now, Hughes retaliated by claiming Mahon had supported conscription in 1916,<sup>165</sup> and was currently breaching cabinet confidentiality.<sup>166</sup> Koerner's contrast of Hughes – 'untrustworthy, shifty and unscrupulous' – with Mahon – having 'a highly honourable record as an Irish patriot and an Australian public man' – deftly reminded Irish-Australians of history, reliability, and their place in society.<sup>167</sup>

**Departure of His Grace the Archbishop**  
 With the Departure of His Grace the Most Reverend  
**DR. MANNIX**  
 a desire has been expressed to have His Grace's Latest Portrait

For a short period we are now offering a Beautiful Lifelike Portrait of Dr. Mannix, framed in Gilt or Dark Brown, for **10/6** (complete)

Customers' orders will be sent in rotation. We anticipate a great demand, so fill Coupon NOW!

To be obtained only from  
**LIVINGSTONS**  
 PHOTO. ENLARGERS  
 and FRAMERS,  
 244-G BRIDGE ROAD,  
 RICHMOND, VICTORIA.  
 'Phone, Central 1430.

[COUPON]  
 Name.....  
 Address.....  
 Nearest R.S.....

Figure 87. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 13 May 1920

## The Archbishop Farewelled

GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN THE  
EXHIBITION

OVER 30,000 PRESENT

Remarkable Scenes of Enthusiasm

Figure 88. Headline, *Advocate*, 20 May 1920

<sup>164</sup> See *Advocate* of 5 May 1917. This item included Mahon's claims of Hughes support for Critchley Parker's distribution of insulting material about Catholics until recognition this could harm him electorally.

<sup>165</sup> Mahon argued that in cabinet he supported the conscription issue going to the people, and when caucus decided against, he joined the majority position. For opposition to Mahon's 1916 stand, see Agnes Murphy to Hugh Mahon, Letter, 1 October 1916, NLA, Hugh Mahon Papers, MS937/8/196 – 'I am sorry most of all to find you among conscription's supporters'.

<sup>166</sup> Mahon's defence against this charge was that in 1917 Hughes' mention of his vote over conscription released him from cabinet confidentiality because the PM set the agenda.

<sup>167</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 December 1919. See *Advocate* of 27 December 1919 for an interview with Mahon about these tactics, the election results and his expectations of parliament.

Mannix left Australia in May 1920, planning to visit America, Ireland and Britain.<sup>168</sup> Figures 87 and 88 – a pre-departure portrait offer and an *Advocate* headline – reveal something of Melbourne’s atmosphere prior to his embarkation. Despite vowing he had no ‘mission to break up the British Empire’, Mannix symbolised treachery and attracted intense scrutiny from authorities.<sup>169</sup> The Irish-Catholic press provided updates about his views and progress, greater density of coverage in the *Advocate*.<sup>170</sup> Intense publicity about his opinions on Ireland, meeting de Valera,<sup>171</sup> and delivery of more inflammatory speeches than Britain could tolerate, led to unprecedented security concerns, culminating in the decision to exclude him from Ireland, then to proscribe movement in Britain.<sup>172</sup> In Melbourne, his forced British landing (Figures 89 and 90) was marked by a “Huge Democratic Protest” of 60,000 at Richmond, and ‘Indignation’ meetings across the state and in many interstate centres.<sup>173</sup> While these were reported in the ‘*Cross*’, there were no Adelaide protest meetings, presumably an example of Spence rectitude in relation to Mannix.<sup>174</sup> Figures 91 and 92 illustrate *Advocate* coverage of aspects of his time in England where his presence coincided with the death of Terence MacSwiney, a prominent hunger-striker. Mannix, with an unerring instinct for blending theatre, emotion and Irish nationalist agenda, capitalised on the tragedy, and achieved maximum publicity. In Australia too, the prison death received wide and sorrowful coverage, and it also had major local consequences.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 283-4 for brief reference to his visit.

<sup>169</sup> See NAA: A8911/240, ‘Rev Dr Mannix (Anti-Conscription and Anti-British Utterances) Sinn Feiner, 1918-24’.

<sup>170</sup> See *Advocate*, 20 May, 3, 10, 17, 24 June, 22, 29 July, 5 August, 30 September, 7, 14 October and *Southern Cross*, 21 May, 4, 18, 25 June, 9, 16, 30 July, 1, 8, 15 October 1920.

<sup>171</sup> *Advocate*, 8 July, 23 September, *Southern Cross*, 3, 10 September 1920. Significantly, Mannix was photographed here with De Valera. See Mannix, *The Belligerent Prelate*, 71-80 for the beginnings of their ‘alliance’ in America during 1920.

<sup>172</sup> See NLA: MS9958. Great Britain. Ministry of Home Security. ‘Activities of Sinn Fein Supporter Dr Mannix, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne’. This provides details about British centres where Mannix was barred from speaking. See *Southern Cross* of 6, 13, 20 August and 3, 10 September, and *Advocate* of 12, 19, 26 August and 2, 9 September 1920.

<sup>173</sup> The *Advocate* of 19 August 1920 reported over 40 Victorian protest meetings.

<sup>174</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 and 27 August 1920.

<sup>175</sup> See *Advocate* of 28 October, 4, 11 November, *Southern Cross* of 29 October, 5, 12, 19, 26 November 1920.

## Destroyer Intercepts the Baltic

### Archbishop Mannix Forced to Leave Mail-boat

In a British destroyer, which intercepted the White Star liner "Baltic" at sea on Sunday night, Archbishop Mannix, who was ordered to quit the steamer by a naval officer from the destroyer, was taken to Penzance, in Cornwall, near Land's End. Afterwards the Archbishop went to Plymouth, and spent the night as the guest of the Catholic Bishop. He left for London at midnight on Monday, and proceeded to Nazareth House.

When the naval officer boarded the "Baltic," he conveyed to Dr. Mannix the prohibition of the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland (Sir Cecil Macready) against his landing in Ireland, and the prohibition of the chief of the Imperial General Staff in England (Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson) against his visiting Liverpool, Manchester or Glasgow.

His Lordship the Bishop of Ballarat, the Right Rev. Dr. Foley, who is accompanying the Archbishop, in an interview, said that Dr. Mannix twice refused to leave the "Baltic" when the naval officer approached him. The officer thereupon put his hand on the shoulder of the Archbishop, who, deeming this to be equivalent to legal arrest, went on to the destroyer. Bishop Foley said that the action of the Government was stupid and foolish.

Fr. Vaughan also transferred to the destroyer.

### LORD MAYOR CONFIDENT.

The Mayor of Dublin, who had visited Liverpool to welcome Dr. Mannix, said:—"Don't worry, we'll get him to Ireland all right."

### IRELAND HAS MADE UP ITS MIND.

In an interview at Plymouth, the Archbishop is reported to have said:—"The Ministry was making itself very silly. I was not going to Ireland to tell Irishmen my views; they had made up their own minds."

The Irish Self-Determination League has sent to Dr. Mannix an address couched in warm terms.

### PROOF OF THE WORTH OF DR. MANNIX.

The students of Maynooth College view the action of the Government as proof of the value of Dr. Mannix's services to Ireland and the cause of democracy in Australia.

Many bonfires were lighted in Dublin, and there is a widespread feeling in Ireland that Dr. Mannix will find means to visit that country.

### ARCHBISHOP WILL TAKE LEGAL ADVICE.

Archbishop Mannix, in a press interview in London, said he was seeking legal advice to determine if the authorities were within their rights in excluding him from Ireland. He intended to press for his rights of admittance. He did not consider that he was bound not to go to Liverpool, Glasgow, or Manchester. The action of the Government, he said, had made it the laughing-stock of the world.

### CABLE TO HIS GRACE

The following cable has been despatched to Archbishop Mannix in London, by the Very Rev. J. Barry, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Melbourne:—

Archbishop Mannix,  
Nazareth House,  
Hammersmith,  
London.

Bishops, clergy, laity, Victoria, most indignant at your treatment by British Government. Monster meeting protest Sunday.  
FR. BARRY.

## The Vatican and Dr. Mannix

### CABLE TO "THE ADVOCATE."

The Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome, has cabled to us as follows:—

"The rumour that the Vatican has condemned the Archbishop's utterances is absolutely false and without foundation."

Figure 89. Item, *Advocate*, 12 August 1920

## RICHMOND RESERVE

(at rear of Town Hall)

## SUNDAY AUGUST 15

at 3 p.m.

## MONSTER MEETING

TO

## PROTEST

AGAINST THE ACTION OF

THE

British Government

IN

## Denying

## DR. MANNIX

## the Right to Visit His NATIVE LAND

J. H. KENNEDY,  
J. L. CHANCY, Secy.

Figure 90. Advertisement, *Advocate*,  
12 August 1920

Direct from London

**Personal**  
**Greetings and Autographed Photo**  
(IN CALENDAR FORM, 1921)

To all his Australian Friends from

HIS GRACE  
**Most Rev. D. MANNIX**  
 Archbishop of Melbourne

Every Catholic Home should have  
 one of these mementoes of His Grace  
 during his enforced stay in London in  
 the historic year of 1920.

To be on Sale at all Catholic Booksellers or direct from

**JOHN X. BOURKE,**  
 32 Collins Place, Melbourne, Victoria

PRICE, 2/- each.      2/2 Posted

Enlarged Copies of these Photographs may  
 be had on application to the above Address

Figure 91. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 11 November 1920

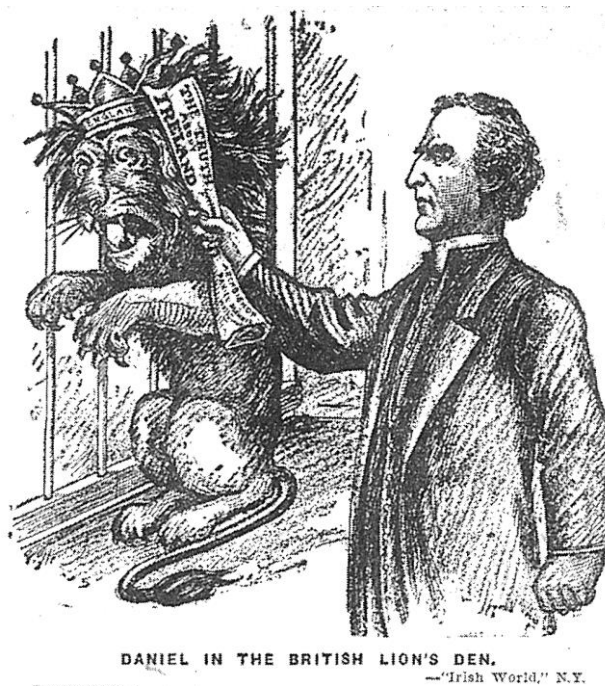


Figure 92. Cartoon, *Advocate*, 23 September 1920

Hugh Mahon, applauded by Irish-Australians for bringing a motion about Ireland to Parliament in March,<sup>176</sup> became a casualty of the MacSwiney saga, providing a salutary lesson about Irish-Australians and disloyalty. He made parliamentary history when Hughes expelled him for a strident, ‘disloyal’ critique of British policy to the 5,000 who attended Melbourne’s MacSwiney protest.<sup>177</sup> A photo in the *Advocate* was accompanied by the statement that Mahon’s:

plain speaking has annoyed those ‘loyalists’ who regard the British outrages in Ireland with remarkable complacency, but cannot tolerate the disloyalty of an Irishman who protests against the murder of his kith and kin.<sup>178</sup>



**Figure 93.** William Morris Hughes (1862-1952), c.1919 (nla.pic-vn4831473-v)



**Figure 94.** Hugh Mahon (1857-1931), nd (nla.pic-an23198631-v)

But, as previously indicated, the seeds of conflict between Mahon and Prime Minister Hughes (Figures 93 and 94) germinated during the 1916 conscription campaign,<sup>179</sup> were fertilised in 1917 over Critchley Parker,<sup>180</sup> and nurtured by Mahon’s publication of

<sup>176</sup> *Advocate*, 13 March 1920. He was commended by Victoria’s Irish-Ireland League. See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 242 for dismissive reference to his role in the 1905 parliamentary motions about Home Rule.

<sup>177</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12, 19, 26 November, 3, 10, 17 and 24 December 1920. As President of Irish-Ireland League, Mahon further irritated Hughes.

<sup>178</sup> *Advocate*, 25 November 1920.

<sup>179</sup> See 328 above.

<sup>180</sup> See above 362 fn163.



correspondence relating to Fr Jerger, an internee.<sup>181</sup> Another Irish-Australian MP, Michael Patrick Considine, was jailed in 1919 (but not expelled from parliament) after being found guilty (under the WPA) of 'statements likely to cause disaffection among His Majesty's subjects'. Reported after an argument at a Melbourne club with returned soldiers, Considine claimed not only that strong language had been used, but he was accused of being a Sinn Feiner, and confronted about his parliamentary oath. He denied mentioning the King's name 'coupled with offensive terms' but was disbelieved and jailed for three weeks.<sup>182</sup> Differential treatment seemed obvious. The Irish-Catholic press saw Hughes targeting Mahon, aware that capture of his Kalgoorlie seat equalled a needed Nationalist electoral safeguard.<sup>183</sup> O'Farrell's summary reads as disparaging: that expulsion protests were 'nothing massive, and they soon ceased ... and another cause around which the Australian Irish might have rallied disappeared'.<sup>184</sup> In this way he recalls earlier chidings that Irish-Australians disconnected from Ireland when Irish Envoys departed.<sup>185</sup> But he totally overlooks the persistence of WPA controls in 1920, and Cain's research about levels of surveillance.<sup>186</sup> Irish-Australians were loyalty targets by default. If widespread protest had developed over Mahon (or Grattan Esmonde before him), greater intensification of surveillance was inevitable.

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<sup>181</sup> See *Advocate* of 28 February and *Southern Cross* of 3 March 1920 re details of treatment of interned priests, including Jerger. See O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church*, 140-1. Fr Jerger, German-born but Australian educated was interned in 1916 over alleged disloyalty.

<sup>182</sup> *Advocate*, 2 August 1919. According to his *ADB* entry, Considine said 'Bugger the King, he is a bloody German bastard'. The prosecution raised a previous NSW court case involving offensive language. Despite the services of Frank Brennan, Considine was jailed and required to enter a good behaviour bond of £100 for 12 months. See Frank Farrell, 'Considine, Michael Patrick (1885-1959)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/considine-michael-patrick-5758/text9755>, accessed 14 December 2013.

<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 18, 25, November, 2, 9, 16 December, *Southern Cross*, 19, 26 November, 10 December, 1920. See also Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger*, 452-6 for Hughes possible motives including conciliation of 'the ultra-Protestant sections of the public'.

<sup>184</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 284.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 229, 231-2.

<sup>186</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, is listed in O'Farrell's bibliography.

To return to Mannix, his extended overseas trip, and the extent to which his loyalty perspectives were locally supported. Despite his Australian absence during the first half of 1921, he remained firmly in the public mind, with detailed coverage of all his movements and plans in both papers.<sup>187</sup> His opinions were sought,<sup>188</sup> questions about his ecclesiastical future<sup>189</sup> and about potential conditions attached to his return – whether he would be required to take the loyalty oath<sup>190</sup> – plans for his welcome, in particular his Melbourne arrival,<sup>191</sup> were the stuff of both Catholic papers, and, more obsessively, the mainstream daily press.<sup>192</sup> Both the ‘*Cross*’ and *Advocate* provide detailed evidence of outspoken public expressions of support from other bishops. While broader, complex questions about the degree of ecclesiastical criticism or backing are beyond this research, the revelation in these papers of overt approval from some prelates suggests the need for further investigation. For example, Bishop Hayden’s comments in October 1919 reinforced earlier evidence indicating Mannix did speak for many Irish-Australians across the community spectrum, as well as endorsement from a clerical colleague. Hayden described finding photographs of Mannix:

everywhere [he] went in Australia’. He was ‘tacking great things ... one of the greatest was the Irish Convention .... Its influence would be felt not only [in Australia], but far beyond the seas.’<sup>193</sup>

The subsequent success of Melbourne’s Convention in terms of a firm Irish-Australian statement about an Irish republic, as already outlined, validates Hayden’s prophecy. In 1921 Koerner stated Mannix ‘has the unqualified support of the Hierarchy throughout Australia’.<sup>194</sup> For Irish-Australians, being typically associated with a Church, both Irish

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<sup>187</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 11 March and 8 April and *Advocate* of 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 June.

<sup>188</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 July 1921.

<sup>189</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 August, 17 June, 1 and 29 July 1921.

<sup>190</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 April, 10 June, 29 July and 5 August 1921. See O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 284.

<sup>191</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 15 and 29 July 1921.

<sup>192</sup> See for example the *Argus* of 27, 29 July, 1 and 5 August, *Register* of 2 and 4 August 1921.

<sup>193</sup> *Advocate*, 11 October 1919. Hayden, Bishop of Broken Hill, was speaking at Geelong.

<sup>194</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 August 1921.

oriented and staffed, compounded fears of their loyalty, especially when foremost clerical leaders increasingly personified imperial disloyalty during this war.

*How did issues, including those relating to flags and Imperial symbolism, emerge as increasingly divisive between 1919 and 1921?*

Irish-Australians experienced multiple local implications of Ireland and related issues between 1919 and 1921. Among numerous press examples, one effectively makes the point. Editor of Adelaide's *Register*, a former Home Rule supporter,<sup>195</sup> Sir William Sowden, prominent in the local Freemasons, was among 12 Australian journalists who participated in a late 1918 British Ministry of Information tour ('under Jingoistic and Imperialistic auspices') to see 'war activities' in Europe.<sup>196</sup> Koerner's summary was scathing: apart from Frank Anstey MHR,<sup>197</sup> they 'represent[ed] conscriptionist and Imperialistic journals'.<sup>198</sup> Koerner incorporated transnational sources, including Joseph Devlin's disparaging parliamentary précis of tour members' opportunistic spending variation between Belfast and Dublin.<sup>199</sup> J.F. Hogan doubted 'whether any useful...results are achieved by lightning journalistic campaigns'.<sup>200</sup> But, claiming 'complete truthfulness', Sowden's impressions first appeared in the *Register*,<sup>201</sup> then in book form.<sup>202</sup> A clever writer, his views were clear, although couched.

[I]n politics – if many [Irishmen] are like wayward children, under the sway of clever leaders who know how to play upon their emotions, and do it', 'eliminate the professional agitator and extremist, leave the average Irishman to do his practical

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<sup>195</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 25 and 22 March 1904 and 1912 for account of Sowden speaking at Adelaide's UIL St Patrick's Day Social in his role as ANA President.

<sup>196</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 February 1919. The editorial was titled 'Ireland and the *Register*'. See WJ Sowden, 'Masonry Abroad' (A Lecture) in *The South Australian Freemason*, South Australian Freemason Newspaper Company, Adelaide, 1924.

<sup>197</sup> See *Advocate* of 16 August and *Southern Cross* of 29 August 1919 for Anstey's Melbourne address about Ireland. Anstey was editor of Melbourne's *Labour Call*. See Appendix C.

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 February 1919. See Putnis, 'Reuters, Propaganda', 298 for claim from Beaverbrook that making 'leaders of the Imperial...press themselves the propagandists ... produced a great effect ...'.

<sup>199</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 February 1919. For Devlin they were 'shepherded by an English Unionist propagandist', only drinking lemonade and smoking Woodbines in Belfast but in Dublin spending £31 on drink and £5 on cigars, because they 'might hear the truth [there]'.  
<sup>200</sup> *Advocate*, 18 January 1919. ('Our Letter from London' dated 14 October 1918).

<sup>201</sup> See *Register* of 4 and 6 February 1919 for 'The Distressful Country' and 'More About Ireland'.  
<sup>202</sup> WJ Sowden, *The Roving Editors*, WK Thomas and Co, Adelaide, 1919.

everyday work...and much less would be heard of the grievances of Ireland,' and 'Sinn Feiners are quite exceptional gentlemen – or otherwise.'<sup>203</sup>

Outraged Irish-Australians reacted against his 'sneering' blend of description. Koerner critiqued his use of 'adverse comments by ... opponents' – about Sinn Fein adherents for example – in quotation marks 'while pretending to be impartial'. Snide comments about South Ireland were noted alongside Sowden's overlooking any Northern provocation. He was advised to read Alice Stopford Green's book, *The Making of Ireland*,<sup>204</sup> a text of great significance in understanding Ireland's claims to nationhood.<sup>205</sup> Koerner judged Sowden's bias as 'insidious' and 'dangerous'.<sup>206</sup> *Register* reader responses were either framed by imperial loyalty and prejudice,<sup>207</sup> or by Irish-Australian defensiveness.<sup>208</sup> From the St Patrick's Day committee came the 'emphatic protest' that Sowden's material 'insult[ed] the Irish people at home and abroad'.<sup>209</sup> Most correspondents however applauded his 'accurate ... and very educational' and 'most excellent and instructive' material. One suggested that:

the more the truth is spread the more will Britain be cleared of the mud of calumny and detraction so plentifully bestowed by those enjoying liberty and prosperity under her flag.<sup>210</sup>

Local Irish-Australian, Frank Colgan, opened the attack on the editor – and had the last word, restating his view that Sowden had 'no intention to hurt Irish feelings'. Focussing on his mistaken view of Ireland, readers had 'more to laugh at than get mad'.<sup>211</sup> The nature of

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<sup>203</sup> *Register*, 4 February 1919.

<sup>204</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 and 21 February 1919. See also *Advocate* of 21 April and 30 June 1921. See Appendix C for details of Green's life. The text was published in 1908.

<sup>205</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish*, 254 for reference to local significance of another Green text, *Irish Nationality*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1911. See O'Farrell, 254, for statement that AT Dryer, Hubert Murray (Lieutenant Governor of Papua) and Hugh Mahon read it. Reflecting its perceived significance, Adelaide University's Barr Smith library purchased a copy in 1911.

<sup>206</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 February 1919.

<sup>207</sup> See *Register* of 24, 25, 27 February 1919. Letters included in 'Notes and Queries'.

<sup>208</sup> See *Register* of 11, 18, 21, 25 27 February 1919. Letters included in 'Notes and Queries'. See *Southern Cross* of 7 February, and issue of 21 February for reference to *Register* items.

<sup>209</sup> *Register*, 27 February 1919.

<sup>210</sup> *Register*, 25 February 1919.

<sup>211</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 April 1919. On 18 April, Colgan's poem 'The Men of Easter Week' was published, including photos of Pearse, Plunkett, Connolly and McDonough. This was noted by the SIB, see NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt. 1. 14 April 1919.

Sowden's attack and the ferocity of some correspondence demonstrated increased Irish-Australian vulnerability as targets for accusations of disloyalty.

Visiting celebrities easily offended local loyalists. John McCormack, a noted Irish tenor, proved the sensitivity of Adelaide's loyal sensibilities when his 1920 programme did not include the National Anthem. On his third national tour, four concerts were scheduled in Adelaide, but at the third, audience members loudly sang the anthem as a 'deliberate and prearranged insult' to reproach McCormack.<sup>212</sup> The issue was hotly contested: did vice-regal attendance determine inclusion, or was it an Adelaide custom?<sup>213</sup> McCormack's cancellation of the last concert and the tour revealed the provocation was his Irishness.<sup>214</sup> He told the Irish-Ireland League that he had endured 'thousands [of] petty annoyances and insults', later stating 'I was not welcome in Australia so I came away'.<sup>215</sup> No doubt loyalists interpreted his retreat as a victory but its unintended impact was to encourage greater solidarity among many Irish-Australians since the teeth of their enemy were fully revealed in such encounters.

There were however, additional examples of prominent individuals, like Sowden, moving from pre-war support and close association with Irish-Catholics to intensely critical positions. Irish-born retired public servant, Owen Smyth (Figure 95), formerly close to Archbishop O'Reily, made public accusations of Irish disloyalty in Adelaide in 1921.<sup>216</sup> Specifically charging priests with recruiting 'disaffected Catholic Irish' for Ireland, and claiming 'common knowledge of at least 200 AIF fighting with Sinn Fein in 1916', the CIB

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<sup>212</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 August, 3, 10, 17 September 1920. His 1913 tour included 65 concerts.

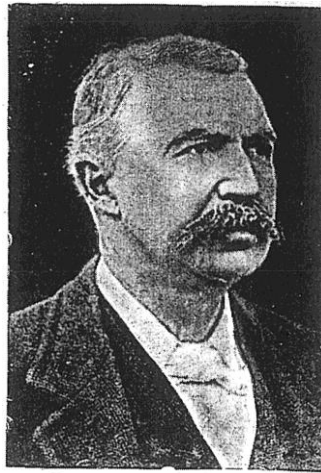
<sup>213</sup> See *Advertiser* of 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 September 1920.

<sup>214</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 September 1920.

<sup>215</sup> See *Advocate* of 14 and *Southern Cross* of 22 October and 26 November 1920.

<sup>216</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 July 1901 and 13 March 1903 for Smyth's involvement in a Gaelic spelling discussion, and presentation of an early photo to O'Reily. See issue of 24 March 1909 for his attendance at Adelaide's St Patrick's Day. See Darcy Woodards, 'Memoir, Notes re Archbishop O'Reily' for comment re 'great friendship' between O'Reily and Smyth. Woodards was private secretary to Adelaide's archbishops between 1912 and 1964. ACDA Archives.

took his charges seriously enough to interview him about any evidence.<sup>217</sup> The subsequent report was ambiguous: circulation of Mannix's speeches (possibly in Cyril Bryan's book) showed disloyalty requiring more investigation, but details from Smyth were judged as vague in relation to 'what was known officially about Sinn Fein'.<sup>218</sup> The saga underlines how conclusions about Empire loyalty could be drawn from disparate information. In addition, it reveals the extent of CIB willingness to pursue disloyalty, and the consequent vulnerability of Irish-Australian.



**Figure 95.** Owen Smyth, *Adelaide Observer*, 20 July 1901

Historian Elizabeth Kwan documented Australia's sense of ambiguity and confusion over the nation's flag long before the Great War. In particular, she emphasises that those committed to the Union Jack objected to *any* promotion of the as yet undecided Australian flag.<sup>219</sup> In this context and intensified by wartime steps through which, according to Kwan, 'Australian flags became ambiguous markers in a volatile political landscape', the furore precipitated by Mannix became more understandable.<sup>220</sup> Kwan argues that the Union Jack

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<sup>217</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 3 June and *Register* of 30 September 1921.

<sup>218</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. 6 October 1921.

<sup>219</sup> Elizabeth Kwan, *Flag and Nation: Australians and their National Flags since 1901*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2006, 4-5, 13-33.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 55-77.

became central in defining loyalty: as it became supreme, there were no other options.<sup>221</sup> As already discussed, that outlook resulted in WPA Regulation 27A banning all Sinn Féin symbols after St Patrick's Day in 1918, a ban that rankled after Sinn Féin's electoral success of December 1918.<sup>222</sup> John Ryan asked *Advocate* readers 'what respect the Irish people should have for the English flag?' His dialogue between 'John Bull' and 'Kathleen ni Houlihan' asserted none was deserved.<sup>223</sup> Table Seven shows the range of Mannix-dominated events where flags – Australian, Irish, and Papal but not the Union Jack – figured prominently, suggesting organisers clearly understood their symbolic value. But as Figure 96 shows in relation to Irish-born McMahon Glynn, even within the Irish-Australian community, contestation over the Union Jack was evident. This image reinforces his ambivalence about imperial identification in 1919, an aspect noted previously in relation to his views during the Anglo-Boer War, and about conscription.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 February 1900 for prophetic comment about the place of the Union Jack: it 'is looked upon by the lip loyalists of Victoria as a sacred emblem'.

<sup>222</sup> See *Advocate* of 25 February and 3 March 1919. See 313-4 above for WPA changes in 1918.

<sup>223</sup> *Advocate*, 8 February 1919. Ryan, already noted by the SIB for his radical position, was a frequent correspondent. Kathleen ni Houlihan was the symbol and emblem of Irish nationalism, sometimes representing Ireland as a woman. WB Yeats and Lady Gregory used it in their 1902 play of the same name.

<sup>224</sup> See 141-2 and 297 above.



**Figure 96.** Photograph, McMahon Glynn addressing an Adelaide Wattle Day audience in front of Union Jack, 1919 (PRG 280 1 23 399)

In 1919 Melbourne's St Patrick's Day procession was cancelled: variously ascribed to the flag issue<sup>225</sup> or the influenza epidemic.<sup>226</sup> In the *Advocate*, both reasons featured.<sup>227</sup> The *Advocate* St Patrick's Day cover featured an explanation of 'Ireland's National Flag: the Banner of Green'.<sup>228</sup> (See Figure 97) At the concert, 'Sinn Fein flags, hats and handkerchiefs were waved by men and women' when Mannix arrived.<sup>229</sup> Raffling a 'Mannix flag' (see Figure 98) showing his coat of arms, autograph, the Harp of Erin, the Australian flag and wattle, represented clear defiance in the symbolism contest.<sup>230</sup> At Sale in April, Mannix and Bishop Phelan basked in symbols: 'two Papal flags of large dimensions and streamers of Irish national bunting' on both sides of the Cathedral 'forming an effective emblem of Catholicity and Irish Nationalism'.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, 70. *Advocate*, 8, 22 March 1919.

<sup>226</sup> See *Advocate*, 1 March 1919. Griffin in *John Wren*, 240, states Council refusal and the organisers' wish to avoid confrontation led to the 'excuse of the then-current influenza pandemic to save face'.

<sup>227</sup> See *Advocate* of 12 April 1919 for Mannix's explanation at Sale: referring to demands for a Union Jack of specified proportions he said, '[t]he influenza epidemic settled the controversy'.

<sup>228</sup> *Advocate*, 15 March 1919.

<sup>229</sup> *Advocate*, 22 March 1919.

<sup>230</sup> See *Advocate* of 1 March for the flag photograph and 22 March 1919 for raffle details.

<sup>231</sup> *Advocate*, 12 April 1919. Phelan was Sale's bishop. Table Seven provides other examples of the Papal and Irish flags flying in combination, sometimes the Australian flag was also there.





Figure 97. Item, *Advocate*, 10 May 1919

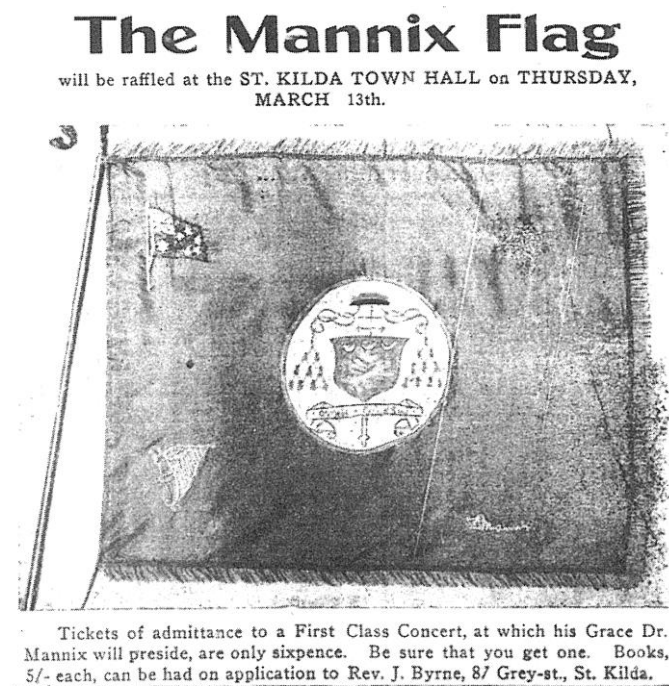


Figure 98. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 15 February 1919

Adelaide readers received many details from Melbourne and read about challenges to Irish-Australians.<sup>232</sup> They learned about the meaning of colours on Sinn Fein's flag,<sup>233</sup> that Mannix had identified both the absence, and subsequent presence of the Union Jack at Town Hall events,<sup>234</sup> that the Lord Mayor prevented the Celtic Club from flying its national flag,<sup>235</sup> and finally, Mannix's view that 'to ask an Irishman to be proud of [the Union Jack] is to ask him something impossible'.<sup>236</sup> Adelaide's July Peace Celebration overlooked Ireland's flag; according to Koerner it was 'hastily run up', but 'barely noticeable'. He concluded that despite war service, the Irish flag is '[a]pparently ... without honour in official circles in Australia'.<sup>237</sup> In December, Mannix stated his determination to promote Australia's flag ahead of any other, despite 'how old its history or whatever its pretensions'.<sup>238</sup> Although his primary target was Union Jack loyalism, in favouring this flag, Mannix was nevertheless defining an Australian identity for some Irish-Australians.

Flag ambiguities persisted in 1920. For example, questions about flying the Union Jack on 26 January, decisions about whether to display the Australian flag or the Union Jack, and the symbolism and role of the latter for Irish-Australians, represented serious issues.<sup>239</sup> So when General Birdwood visited CBC in Adelaide, two flags flew. As he spoke about education, linking it to duty and the Empire, Australia's flag fluttered from the flagpole, and 'over the platform', Ireland's.<sup>240</sup> Mannix continued to dispute Union Jack appearance in preference to Australia's flag, joined by the ANA which also approached Hughes about the

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<sup>232</sup> Including news items from Melbourne formed a consistent proportion of '*Cross*' content, the reverse was less true.

<sup>233</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 May, *Advocate*, 3 May 1919.

<sup>234</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 May and *Advocate*, 10 May 1919.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* The rationale was that the green flag included a harp but no crown; see also 16 May 1919.

<sup>236</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 May 1919. See Table Seven for Mannix references to the Union Jack.

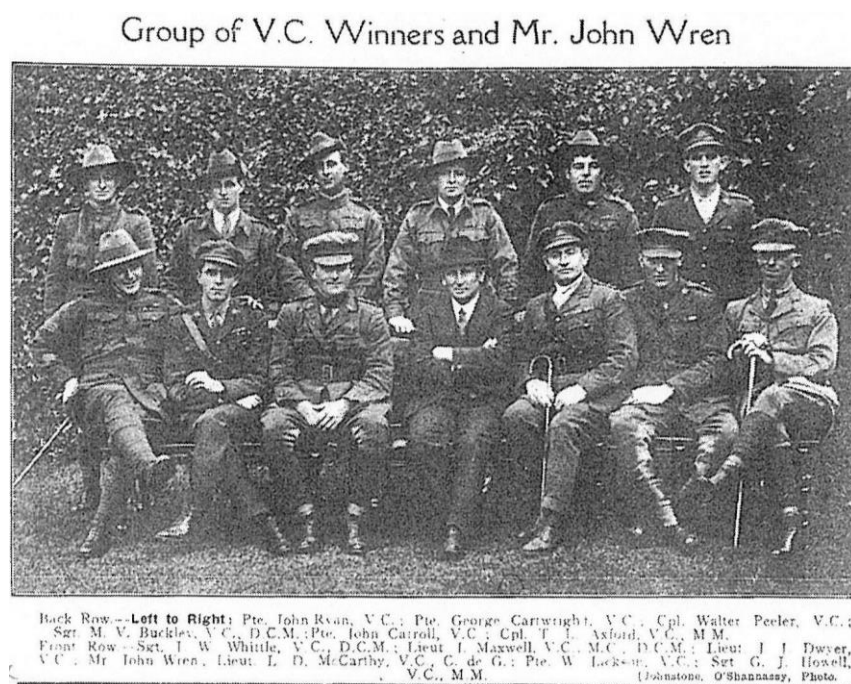
<sup>237</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 July 1919.

<sup>238</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 December 1919.

<sup>239</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 January 1920 for a 'Prominent Topic' discussion 'What's Wrong with the Australian Flag?' which listed Melbourne's public buildings flying this flag on 'Foundation Day'.

<sup>240</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1920. Greeted by the school cadets and ex-AIF officer old scholars, the visit combined aspects of Irish-Australian loyalty.

‘non-recognition of the Australian flag on public occasions’, citing Armistice Day and Foundation Day.<sup>241</sup> In 1920, the sole Union Jack in Melbourne’s St Patrick’s Day procession<sup>242</sup> was on the small Australian flag ‘attached to St Patrick’s banner’, two large Australian flags headed the march.<sup>243</sup> This infuriated Empire loyalists such as Brookes. Many Irish-Australians however revelled in John Wren’s patriotic extravaganza.<sup>244</sup> Fourteen VC winners on white horses surrounded Mannix, and 10,000 returned soldiers marched.<sup>245</sup> (Figures 99 and 100) Filming the event enabled national and international dissemination.<sup>246</sup>



**Figure 99.** Photograph, *Advocate*, 25 March 1920

<sup>241</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9 April 1920. The item reported the ANA conference. See also *Advocate*, 25 March for mention by Mannix in his speech at the St Patrick’s Day Concert. In an *Advocate* ‘Prominent Topic’ of 3 May 1919, the writer queried why the ANA was acquiescing in these ‘denationalising tendencies’ so 1920 did witness policy changes.

<sup>242</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 January, 14, 21, 28 February, 1, 8, 15 March 1920.

<sup>243</sup> Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, 70.

<sup>244</sup> See Kwan, ‘The Australian Flag’, 287, for claim that Wren aimed to demonstrate Catholic Irish-Australian loyalty and to honour Mannix.

<sup>245</sup> See Wren-Spence Correspondence, 17 and 20 February 1920, Spence Papers OO38, ACDA for Wren’s request for names of SA VC winners, Spence replied one was dead, the other had moved interstate.

<sup>246</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 May for the film’s first advertisement, and issue of 13 May 1920 for reference to the film’s ‘March Round the World’. Remaining a powerful evocation of Irish-Australian commitment to their identity, it is available for viewing at the National Film and Sound Archives in Canberra.



Figure 100. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 25 March 1920

John Wren's silent film 'Ireland Will Be Free' symbolised disloyalty. Neither public objections, which included complaints to parliament, nor intense CIB scrutiny prevented national screenings.<sup>247</sup> Irish-Australian papers conveyed 'intense impatience' about the film by covering interstate screenings and protests and featuring advertisements dominated by Mannix.<sup>248</sup> (Figures 101 and 102 show differently focussed advertisements in the *Advocate* and 'Cross'). In Adelaide, claims that 'no one with Irish blood in their veins should miss' the film, enticed audiences.<sup>249</sup> Koerner dismissed the *Register's* refusal to advertise the film, and its publication of a letter from 'British Australia' claiming 'indignation and apprehension about use of the Town Hall 'for Sinn Fein propaganda', as 'a dud' aiming to prevent screening.<sup>250</sup> Large and enthusiastic audiences were reported around the country; loyalist hopes of Commonwealth action against screening were frustrated.<sup>251</sup> Overall, the film

<sup>247</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14, 28 May 1920 for reports of parliamentary discussion, NAA: A8911/248, 'Ireland Will Be Free – Disloyal Sinn Fein Motion Picture', and *Advocate* of 13, *Southern Cross* of 21 May 1920 for first showing.

<sup>248</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 July (previewed Sydney opening), *Advocate*, 14, 22 October 1920 (reports of protests in Hobart *Mercury*).

<sup>249</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 30 July and 22 October 1920 for this wording.

<sup>250</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 October 1922.

<sup>251</sup> Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, 72-3.

represented a simultaneous success for most Irish-Australians in 1920, and a proclamation of imperial disloyalty.

Archbishop Mannix,  
who appears in the Pictures.



*Ireland will be free*

**Sensational Pictures!**  
Stirring Irish Music and Songs  
*The most unique entertainment ever presented*

**Adelaide Town Hall  
Adelaide Town Hall  
Monday, October 25  
Monday, October 25  
to Saturday, November 6, (inclusive)**

ST PATRICK'S DAY CELEBRATIONS.  
VICTORIA CROSS WINNERS IN MELBOURNE.  
HISTORIC VIEWS.  
An Entertainment no Lover of Ireland Should Miss.  
Scenes That Will Live for Ever.  
Come and Hear

**Mr. Ambrose McMahon**  
(Melbourne's Leading Baritone)  
Sing "O'Donnell Abou," "The West's Asleep," "Ireland  
A Nation," "Wearing of the Green," &c., &c.

Adelaide Town Hall, Tuesday, October the 26th  
and following nights  
Popular Prices, 2/ 1/ (Plus Tax).

**Be up and doing—Ireland will be free!**  
Direction ——— JOSEPH S. SHEDDY.

Figure 101. Advertisement, *Southern Cross*, 22 October 1920

# IRELAND WILL BE FREE

## A Nation's Sad Story

TOLD IN PICTURE AND SONG.

## Unique Irish Entertainment



## Melbourne Town Hall

**Monday Night  
August 2**

At 8 o'Clock,

AND FOUR FOLLOWING NIGHTS.

AN ENTERTAINMENT NO FRIEND OF  
IRELAND SHOULD MISS.



**Prices 3/6, 2/6, 1/6 (plus Tax)**

Book your seats at Linsahan's, 300 Little Collins Street.



Archbishop Mannix (saying farewell to his Escort of Fourteen Victoria Cross Winners) :—

"I thank you, gallant soldiers, for your devotion to my country. Ireland is grateful to you, England cannot ignore you."

### A CALL TO IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN.

"The Irish Will be Free" Picture will show:

Arrivals and Receptions to the Visiting Victoria Cross Winners; Archbishop Mannix and His Escort of Fourteen Victoria Cross Winners; St. Patrick's Procession Through the City; Crowds Waiting in the Streets; Breaking of Barriers by Dense Throng; Passing of Procession; Enthusiasm of Spectators; Archbishop Mannix's Triumphant Progress; March of Ten Thousand Returned Australian Soldiers and Sailors; Magnificent Banners; Irish and Catholic Societies Marching; Fine Display of Boys from the Catholic Schools; Archbishop Mannix Taking the Salute from the Soldiers and Sailors Opposite Federal Parliament House; The Enormous Crowds in the City After the Procession has Passed; In the Arena at the Exhibition; National Dancing by Children of the Catholic Schools.

### Other Views of Historic Interest will include:

Victoria Cross Winners at "Raheen"; Heroes Presented to Archbishop Mannix; Victoria Cross Winners Carrying a Motion Demanding Justice for Ireland; Terms of Motion Sent to English Leaders; Ireland's Most Illustrious Patriots; Champions of Ireland's Cause in Australia; Martyrs of Easter Week; Leaders in the Irish Rebellion of 1910; Heroic Young Irishmen who Gave Their Lives for Their Country; Victims of the Oppressor's Bullets; Brilliant Sinn Féin Leaders who Faced English Executioners; How Ireland is Governed; Proclamation of the Irish Republic; The Shooting of Padraic Pearse, First President of the Irish Republic.

### SCENES THAT WILL LIVE FOR EVER.

Archbishop Mannix's Departure from Melbourne for Sydney en route to America and Ireland; Joining Express at Essendon; Arrival at Sydney; Wonderful Reception at the Railway Station; Archbishop Boarding the American Mail Steamer Ventura; Remarkable Scenes on the Wharf; Archbishop's Farewell Message to Australia; Sailing of the Ventura.

### RECENTLY-ADDED VIEWS.

Mountjoy Prison; Thousands Outside Mountjoy Devoutly Reciting the Rosary while Gallant Irishmen are Inside Dying; Jail Gates Thrown Open; Sinn Féin Volunteers Entering Prison and Carrying Country-map to Hospitals.

### HEAR TALENTED SINGERS OF IRISH SONGS.

Ambrose McMahon—

"Ireland a Nation"; "God Save Ireland"; "O'Donnell Aboo"; "The West's Asleep."

Pat Ryan—

"Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week?" "Ireland's Best"; "Wearing o' the Green."

### MISS VALERIE WALSH

(Assisted by the Boys' Choir from the Christian Brothers' Schools) will sing—

### "COME BACK TO AUSTRALIA"

(Dedicated to His Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne. Words by John Wren)

"NEARER, MY GOD, TO THEE"

"MY ROSARY"

PROCEEDS IN AID OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES.

**Melbourne Town Hall Monday, August 2, 8 p.m.**

Direction JOSEPH S. SHEEDY

AND FOUR FOLLOWING EVENINGS.

Figure 102. Advertisement, *Advocate*, 29 July 1920

Intended as a statement about Irish-Australian patriotism while the Irish suffered under the Union Jack, the 1920 procession served its purpose.<sup>252</sup> Or did it? Kwan argues that what was really a ‘military parade was an exercise in legitimising Irish protest against English rule; a show of force for the Irish point of view’.<sup>253</sup> In this context, Australia’s flag could seem simultaneously ‘loyal and disloyal’.<sup>254</sup> The flag was an increasingly ambiguous symbol – not viewed by loyalists as loyal enough without a separate Union Jack, but for Mannix, Australia and its flag had priority over the Empire and flag.<sup>255</sup> Kwan also argues that the prelate’s ‘rhetoric made him sound like an Australian nationalist ... [but this] serv[ed] Irish and Catholic Irish-Australian interests against Protestant England and the Protestant Anglo-Australian elite’.<sup>256</sup> Distant from Ireland, and amidst a determinedly British society, Mannix’s endorsement of Australia and its symbols over Union Jack and Empire, made great sense to many Irish-Australians.

Mannix was not alone in promoting Australia first. But Koerner’s discussion of loyalty reflected the breadth and divisiveness of this promotion.<sup>257</sup> Addressing accusations about Catholic wartime participation, he quoted statistics before challenging occasions when the ‘Empire’ flag was flown instead of Australia’s.<sup>258</sup> He also disputed the ‘reprehensible practice’ of saluting the flag (with a loyalty statement) promoted in state schools, a practice Kwan charts in some detail.<sup>259</sup> Education’s role in implanting imperial loyalty was reflected

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<sup>252</sup> See *Advocate* of 17 January, 14, 21, 28 February, 6, 13, 18, 25 March (this included many photographs), and 1 April 1920. The procession, particularly the ‘patriotic’ elements received extensive local focus.

<sup>253</sup> Kwan, ‘The Australian Flag’, 290.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>255</sup> Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, 73.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>257</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 22 October 1920 for editorial titled ‘The Cant of Loyalty’, and *Advocate* of 31 January for ‘Prominent Topic’ definition of loyalty ‘as understood by some Australians meant willingness to sacrifice their country – and abuse ... fellow Australians’.

<sup>258</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 October 1920. Mannix referred to Catholic officer statistics of 9.9% and other ranks at 18.9%; he combined Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists at 10.5 and 13.8%. Koerner reminded readers that the ‘wrongly termed ... ‘Empire flag’ ... signalizes the so-called Union of Great Britain and Ireland...’.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.* Koerner quoted words: ‘I love my country, the British Empire; I honour her King, King George V; I salute her flag, the Union Jack. I will cheerfully obey her laws’. See Kwan, *Flag and Nation*, 55-69.

in censor comments on a letter (intercepted from an Adelaide Irish nun) which referred to the reading of banned Irish material about Thomas MacDonagh (executed after the Easter Rising). Recognising the network circulating these disloyal texts included clergy and ‘the instructresses of thousands of Irish children, there is no doubt as to the[ir] kind of teaching ... it will not be love for British citizenship’.<sup>260</sup> Close monitoring of Catholic schools with strong Irish links was demonstrated in 1918 moves to close Christian Brothers College; the mail interception shown here reinforces CIB concern about schools as sites of disloyalty.

Archbishop Spence was interviewed by a reporter from Adelaide’s *Register* soon after his return from Ireland.<sup>261</sup> Presentation of his responses implied qualified loyalty. Koerner seized on these inferences. Questioning whether loyalty to ‘Throne and Empire’ involves ‘the sanction and support of every act of aggression or atrocity that may be perpetrated under the British flag’, his editorial extended the loyalty continuum. He reminded readers about wider imperial violence and disorder.<sup>262</sup> And he used Smuts’ recent electoral victory to remind readers of the post-1902 Boer ‘legislative independence,’ without which South Africa would be ‘lost to the Empire’. Meanwhile, Bonar Law was reported elsewhere as stating the Empire’s future was risked by ‘yielding’ to Irish ‘crime’.<sup>263</sup> Koerner’s sensitivity to public contestation of Irish-Catholic loyalty was reflected in three editorials within six weeks; he stated that ‘loyalists’ viewed ‘all the sympathisers with Ireland ... [as] disloyal’.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> See NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt. 1. 22 April 1919.

<sup>261</sup> See *Register* of 3 March 1921.

<sup>262</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 March 1921. This reproduced the interview, and included an editorial.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>264</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 May (‘The Loyalty Stunt’), 10 June (‘Religion and Loyalty’) and 17 June (‘What is ‘Loyalty’ and ‘Disloyalty’?’).



Imperial solidarity was closely related to its symbols.<sup>265</sup> The Union Jack reappeared as a source of discontent on St Patrick's Day in 1921. In both Melbourne and Adelaide there were moves to limit processions. Some heated correspondence in the *'Cross'* debated whether the day should be celebrated or marked as a day of mourning. This public contestation highlighted divisions among Irish-Australians about whether the scale of contemporary Irish horrors outweighed the importance of honouring tradition.<sup>266</sup> To meet City Council requirements, the Union Jack headed Melbourne's march, but the bearer required payment, the flag was 'jeered,' and both Irish and Australian flags were flaunted.<sup>267</sup> In the absence of Mannix, Bishop Phelan applauded Irish-Australian loyalty, and provocatively disputed the right of Union Jack inclusion in the public marking of Ireland's National day.<sup>268</sup> Adelaide's City Council proposed mandating the Union Jack and Australian flag by stipulating their size, providing these items to head processions, but charging organisers for their use.<sup>269</sup> Irish-Australian City Councillors opposed these moves, arguing they targeted their community. Although both councils subsequently withdrew or clarified such decisions, the recurring public disputation over flag legitimacy continued to position many Irish-Australians as, sometimes disloyal outsiders within an imperially focussed society.<sup>270</sup>

*How did authorities respond to increasing 'evidence' about Irish-Australian disloyalty?*

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<sup>265</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 27 May 1921 where Koerner referred to 'the attempted suppression of Australian emblems in the shape of flags, coats of arms, and designs on postage stamps and banknotes in favour of purely British or Imperial devices'.

<sup>266</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11, 18 February 1921.

<sup>267</sup> See *Argus* of 22, 23, 24 and 26 March 1921 for charges against 2 men for provoking a breach of the peace by seizing the Union Jack and setting it alight during the procession. Both were fined £5; in 1923 the charge prevented one from being granted a hotel license. See *Argus* report of 17 April 1923 which included evidence from 1921, a copy of the Melbourne IRA branch declamation against the Union Jack.

<sup>268</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 April 1921.

<sup>269</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8, 15 April 1921. The Council meeting transcript 'Flag Fanaticism: City Council Captured by Flag-Flappers', indicated the move was 'racial'.

<sup>270</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 July 1921.

Surveillance of Irish-Australians continued beyond World War One. From March 1919 however, the former SIB handed over its files to the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB).<sup>271</sup> Inheriting a clearly established monitoring framework coincided with a framework within which Irish-Australian concern and support for Ireland was equated with imperial disloyalty. This placed many under suspicion. Remaining CIB files correlate closely with ‘*Cross*’ and *Advocate* reports of public meetings, and reveal otherwise unrecorded details of Irish-Australian individuals, organisations and both newspapers. That these newspapers had great value for surveillance authorities has already been mentioned. In 1919, records not only reinforce this point, but also clarify official concern about their influence. Due to mail interception, Mannix’s plans to purchase the *Advocate* were ‘among the Bureau’s concerns’ in 1918, months before any public announcement.<sup>272</sup> In Adelaide, the extent of CIB alarm about the ‘*Cross*’ in 1919 was disclosed in attempts to add it to the ‘Most Secret’ list of ‘Revolutionary Papers’.<sup>273</sup> The quoted justification for its inclusion was Koerner’s 22 August publication of ‘the words of a proscribed Irish song’.<sup>274</sup> These newspapers’ receipt both of Irish and Irish-American ‘exchanges’ also facilitated judgement of their disloyalty.

CIB files feature prominent individuals who attended functions associated with disloyalty. Many Melbourne pro-Ireland demonstrations, for example, attracted surveillance attention. No file has been located for Senator J.V. O’Loghlin, but in February 1919, Major Smeaton, South Australia’s Censor (and a former parliamentary colleague) wrote to the DCC about O’Loghlin’s ‘thinly veiled advocacy of an Irish Republic’.<sup>275</sup> Alleging that his address showed ‘a want of respect for the oath which binds him as an Australian soldier and ...

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<sup>271</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 41, 70, 73.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-1.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-6.

<sup>274</sup> NAA: D1915/143/6, ‘Socialistic and Revolutionary Newspapers Published in Australia’, Connard sought to add 5 SA publications to the original 19. See *Southern Cross* of 22 August 1919 for Koerner’s comment that ‘The Felons of Our Land’ was ‘the proscribed song, for singing of which men and women are being imprisoned in Ireland. It was written before the war’. See also Appendix D for words.

<sup>275</sup> See Appendix C for Smeaton’s life. He and O’Loghlin were colleagues in SA’s Irish and Scottish Corps.

Senator', Smeaton insisted this could not 'be overlooked'.<sup>276</sup> O'Loughlin was thus neither protected by position nor wartime service.<sup>277</sup> In December, publicly accused of disloyalty following his contribution to Melbourne's Irish Race Convention, his succinct letter demonstrated many examples of the opposite, while asserting his right to support Irish self-determination:

I have sworn allegiance to the sovereign of these realms in various capacities – as a magistrate, as a soldier, and as a Member of Parliament, State and Federal, and as a Minister of the Crown. I hold his Majesty's commission in the Australian and Imperial army, and gave my services unconditionally and unreservedly on active service during the war.<sup>278</sup>

The November Irish Race Convention enabled surveillance authorities to easily capture different examples of disloyal evidence. An undated report about the gathering includes extracts from speeches made by Archbishops Mannix and Spence. But its conclusion reveals that strong sense of group solidarity which worried the CIB. When someone alerted the crowd to the presence of 'police reporters', others

became antagonistic ... interrupting us in every possible way, two priests holding their hats between us and the electric light, thereby rendering it impossible to get ... an accurate report.<sup>279</sup>

The Convention was also notable for the distribution of *The Republic*, a pamphlet promoting Irish self-determination. Files illustrate strenuous CIB efforts to discover the genesis of the publication.<sup>280</sup> While the avowedly disloyal YIS and INA were generally held responsible, this could not be proved, and despite claiming ignorance about those who commissioned 7,000 copies of the four page pamphlet, printers Fraser and Jenkinson were

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<sup>276</sup> Wartime use of SIB number code 02191 and 19250 to refer to O'Loughlin suggest he was monitored. See NAA: A8911/219, the letter was dated 12 February 1919.

<sup>277</sup> O'Loughlin was in the SA militia from 1883, as the only Senator on active service after enlisting at 63, he commanded reinforcements on troopships in 1915 and 1916.

<sup>278</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 12 December 1919. The letter was also published in the *Advertiser* of 10 December in response to charges made by Rev O Lake. See issue of 30 March 1906 for his statement 'Loyalty is the result of free institutions and equal laws. These are not the characteristics of the Dublin Castle rule'.

<sup>279</sup> NAA: A8911/218, 'SF Victoria'.

<sup>280</sup> See NAA: A8911/255, 'The Republic, Disloyal and Seditious Sinn Fein Rag prosecuted and died young', hardly a neutral description.

committed for trial in 1920. Previously on the SIB 1918 list of ‘Suspicious’ Printers, they were now charged with ‘wickedly, maliciously and seditiously’ publishing an item capable of damaging ‘His Majesty’s Government Crown and Realm’.<sup>281</sup> This was a WPA-related legal duel and its early publicity reinforced the disloyal and outsider status of a broad cross section of Irish-Australians within explicitly British oriented Australia. Thus printer acquittal in April 1920 embodied a significant psychological boost for these Irish-Australians. The prosecution *was* politically motivated.<sup>282</sup> The court’s description provides only limited understanding of *The Republic*’s transgression: a cover photo of de Valera as ‘president of the Irish Republic’, and content, some of which was read out. The prosecution claimed this might have a ‘very serious effect on hot-headed and emotional people’.<sup>283</sup> Defence arguments insisted the prosecution had not defined loyalty, and promoted the importance of free speech, even if critical, intemperate and utopian, in the British and Australian system. Sedition and the pamphlet’s capacity to ‘inflame passions’ were equally disputed. Directed to distinguish between libel, seditious and ordinary, the jury took 45 minutes to find the defendants ‘not guilty’. Mannix made much of this victory but its Adelaide coverage was limited.<sup>284</sup> And the files are frustratingly silent about CIB reaction to the trial outcome.

The underground Convention dinner hosted by the INA, was another occasion where careful planning paid off; many present were CIB targets. While links between Brookes and CIB personnel are clear,<sup>285</sup> the process of inserting the uninvited dinner guest remains a mystery. ‘The utmost secrecy marked the proceedings’. Entrance was monitored, the doors watched, food was served by the INA ‘Ladies Committee’, and before speech making ‘the

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<sup>281</sup> See NAA: MP 16/1, 1915/3/1790B. On 25 July 1918 Melbourne’s printers were categorised as ‘Reliable’, ‘Doubtful’ or ‘Suspicious’. The *Advocate* printer was among the ‘Suspicious’.

<sup>282</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 April 1920.

<sup>283</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 April 1920. See Appendix M for surviving text.

<sup>284</sup> See *Advocate* of 8, 15 April, 6 May and *Southern Cross* of 16 April 1920.

<sup>285</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 169-72.

hall was cleared of all but ‘the chosen’. Yet the limitations of the witness were evident in his being unable to name senior INA officeholders, particularly former internee A.T.

Dryer. Those named included chairman W.J. Fegan (jailed in Queensland for sedition) and, Fr Prendergast, introduced as ‘the father’ of the INA in South Australia. A dual sense of outrage and alarm pervaded the account – outrage about disloyalty, sedition and hatred, and alarm about, for example, the response to a toast. It reported the speaker stating:

that the idea of the Convention was the amalgamation of the whole of the Irish parties of Australia, which, at the present time, were split up into small sections. When that amalgamation had taken place it was proposed that they should come boldly into the open and proclaim themselves the Sinn Feiners of Australia, without making any apology to Billy Hughes or anyone else.<sup>286</sup>

The observer conveyed a determined sense of conspiracy which, within the inflamed loyalty framework of late 1919 (and beyond), served to justify continued surveillance of Irish-Australians. Although Cain suggests that ‘fear of Irish nationalism was not widely spread throughout the surveillance world in Australia even during the war years’, the scope of monitoring reflected in remaining files, does not fully support this claim.<sup>287</sup>

Many prominent Irish-Australians attracted surveillance attention. Archbishop Mannix and Queensland premier, T.J. Ryan were noteworthy targets.<sup>288</sup> But, focussing again on Adelaide’s Archbishop Spence, hardly controversial during the War of Independence, illustrates how closely his words and deeds were observed. Spence was just one of eleven Irish-born Australian prelates who visited Ireland during 1920 and 1921. And, like others, his anxieties and experiences at both ends of his stay were well publicised. His opinions, as with those of his Episcopal colleagues, were accorded greater reliability than daily press accounts of Ireland by all Irish-Australians, and such potential influence worried CIB staff.

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<sup>286</sup> See ‘The Irish Convention. The History of its Origin: Speeches Made in Secret Recorded’. (nd and no author), NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/21/1027-30.

<sup>287</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 198.

<sup>288</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 53, refers to a NAA file titled ‘Summary of Ryan’s Disloyal Associations 1915 to 1918’.

At the 1920 St Patrick's Day National Concert, when he was about to go 'home', Spence hoped his 'Irish feelings, sentiments, almost passions ... would cool down before he reached Ireland, as Irishmen ... were thrown into gaol, and were ignorant of the cause'.<sup>289</sup> Cabled accounts of his return to Kilkenny (where he had been as a young priest) and Newry attracted CIB attention. Presented with the freedom of Kilkenny, he spoke of Irish-Australian inability to fully grasp the Irish reality from afar, criticising restrictions on Mannix which 'have given a greater advertisement to the cause' than money could have achieved. In an interview with the conservative *Irish Independent*, Spence described Irish-Australia's sympathy with Sinn Fein, referring to Melbourne's 1919 Convention as evidence (excepting 'the *shoneen* Irishmen') for support of self-determination. He affirmed hierarchical sympathy for Ireland, dismissed questions of imperial disloyalty by describing Melbourne's 1920 St Patrick's Day with VC winner participation, asserting that 'English propaganda stuff [in the press] ... misrepresented ...' Ireland.<sup>290</sup> But a cable from Newry reported him as asking 'permission to salute Ireland's flag'.<sup>291</sup> The 'exchange' reported<sup>292</sup> 'he raised his hand' to the Sinn Fein tricolour, before discussing Mannix's exclusion from Ireland, press bias in general, Cyril Bryan's book about Mannix,<sup>293</sup> and Irish disturbances, which he likened to Armenian atrocities. In Adelaide, CIB monitoring of Spence's Irish visit from the '*Cross*', found he was now 'marching in step with other local clerics in his attitude to Sinn Fein'.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1920. Issue of 9 July shows a testimonial fund raised almost £998 for Spence.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.* See *Southern Cross* of 29 October for brief details from the *Kilkenny Journal* of 23 August, and 5 November for a fuller account, including Spence's 'stirring speech'.

<sup>291</sup> *Advocate*, 30 September and *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1920.

<sup>292</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 November 1920.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.* Spence claimed the 'result of this book was so great that not only did [some] people become political converts but actually became Catholics'. Individuals decided the need to discover the truth having learned the extent of press misrepresentation about Catholicism.

<sup>294</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29 Pt.1. 27 September 1920.

Possibilities for achieving peace recurred as a theme throughout 1921. Following Archbishop Clune's failed negotiations prospects seemed vague<sup>295</sup> until 20 July. George V urged compromise when opening Ulster's parliament, real proposals led to regular discussion.<sup>296</sup> Irish-Australians were guided along the torturous path from truce,<sup>297</sup> abandoned then resumed negotiations, to early December's treaty signing. Editorials and cables along with statements and crises littered the weekly editions.<sup>298</sup> 'Cross' headlines of 'Is It Peace At Last? Irish Settlement Reported' reflected caution, disbelief and relief, almost.<sup>299</sup> Irish-South Australians were overjoyed – Spence, INA and SDIL President, J.V. O'Loughlin,<sup>300</sup> and ex-SDIL President Glynn.<sup>301</sup> However, Mannix was cautious, Ireland had not been offered a republic, and Irish leaders were divided. The final editions reflected great apprehension about the extent of the disagreement.

The Anglo-Irish War propelled many Irish-Australians towards a greater and more uncomfortable awareness of the dominant culture's perception of them as disloyal. Irish-Australians did not believe their community was disloyal, yet that was the wider judgement. Much evidence portrays the group, both Church personnel and their flocks, as significantly united, and visible, in their position on Ireland. Shifts and adjustments were inevitable in the new Sinn Fein environment, discomfort as the old guard was moved aside by transnational forces. The *Advocate* and 'Cross' played a critical role in providing information and interpretations, challenging daily paper emphasis. Appendices H-1 and N demonstrate their editorial coverage and presentation of public addresses about Irish matters, both of

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<sup>295</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 25 February, 18 March, 8 April, 6, 20 May and 17 June 1921.

<sup>296</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 1, 7, 28 July 1921. See Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 136-141.

<sup>297</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 July 1921.

<sup>298</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12, 26 August, 14 October, 25 November and 2 December 1921. See Boyce, *Englishmen and Irish Troubles*, 142-155.

<sup>299</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 December 1921.

<sup>300</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 17 June and 5 August 1921 for INA President JG Murphy's relocation to Melbourne, O'Loughlin was then nominated and elected as President, having lost his Senate seat in December 1919, allegedly for his support of Ireland.

<sup>301</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 December 1921.

which guaranteed Irish-Australians could access different input to other Australians. Many Irish-Australians' commitment to Ireland and its desire for freedom was judged harshly, equated with disloyalty and active imperial deconstruction. Campbell quotes Hughes' justification for expelling Mahon to underline 'the primacy of the imperial context within which Australia's Irish were still judged'. The Irish question was irrelevant here, and 'anybody who counsels the disruption of the empire must be a traitor to this country'.<sup>302</sup>

Irish-Australian concerns, and any criticism of British military tactics, especially when coupled with reference to imperial values or symbols, were similarly viewed as treachery. In the wake of extreme wartime controls, the WPA extant until December 1920 saw Irish-Australians as legitimate security targets, with NAA files documenting the range and extent of monitoring. In December, an insightful correspondent to the *Cross* encapsulated broader opposition to 'people of Irish-Catholic parentage'. Koerner titled Geoff Kent's letter 'The Anti-Irish Conspiracy'. Kent argued there was 'a universal conspiracy' among 'loyal English Conservatives, Freemasons and Orangemen to boycott ... Irish Catholics'. He claimed everything available was used to 'oppress, to belittle, defraud, hoodwink, malign and condemn'. Irish were, he wrote, 'never debarred' from anything involving 'muck and road sweepings', but as for their opposite! Suggesting finally that mail to 'anyone with an Irish name 'received extra 'attention'', Kent's letter foregrounded important features of life for Irish-Australians in 1921.<sup>303</sup> In terms of the focus on identity, perhaps the years of Anglo-Irish warfare, combined with the atmosphere consistently judging their Australian world view as disloyal, makes Noel McLachlan's concept of reversible nationalism, applicable.<sup>304</sup> While diminishing numbers of Irish-Australians felt great loyalty to the Empire between 1919 and 1921, their identification with Ireland and Australia

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<sup>302</sup> Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*, 181.

<sup>303</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 December 1921. No information has been located about this writer.

<sup>304</sup> McLachlan, 'Irish Organs and Reversible Nationalism', 185-216.



became interchangeable. Although McLachlan was writing of the pre-Federation era (and specifically about publications), his summation that ‘Irishness enhanced one’s predisposition to national consciousness, Irish and/or Australian’, applies equally to these years. He suggests they ‘could get in each other’s way’<sup>305</sup> – by 1921 both were more stridently in the Empire’s way.

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<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.* 203.

## Irish-Australian Identity? The Irish Civil War 1922-1923.

*The dynamic of the Civil War was largely the same as the 191-21 conflict, with guerrilla warfare dominant in concentrated areas of the country.... Little changed after the British pull-out other than the intensity of the violence.<sup>1</sup>*

An Irish-Australian witness to the *Dail Eireann* Treaty debate, Fr Maurice O'Reilly relayed some of the contradictory tensions in a letter subsequently published in the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross*.

A deep sense of solemnity held everyone. Whether men favoured the treaty or opposed it, they knew that they were present at the biggest crisis in Irish history .... It was different out in the street. The expectant crowds ... gave vent to their feelings with a burst of cheering.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter deals with the difficult issue of the Civil War, which resulted from irreconcilable differences over the Anglo-Irish treaty, and its representation in these newspapers. For most Irish-Australians, the treaty of December 1921 removed contradictions about their imperial allegiance. But in Melbourne significant numbers associated pro-Treaty forces with Britain; a perspective partially reflected in the chapter's opening quotation. At the heart of this chapter, and driving the analysis, are questions about the impact of these events and divisions on Irish-Australians' sense of identity, and their relationship to Ireland, Australia and the Empire.

According to O'Farrell, the Civil War terminated Irish-Australia's interest in and identification with Ireland, simplifying assimilation into the dominant Anglo culture.<sup>3</sup> Irish

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<sup>1</sup> Tomas Kenny, *Galway: Politics and Society, 1910-23*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2011, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 February, *Advocate*, 18 February 1922. O'Reilly was en route to the Race Congress in Paris, his letter to the ISDL president was dated 10 January.

<sup>3</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 289-94.

killing, he argued, ‘also killed what remained of Australian Irish enthusiasm for Ireland’s cause – whatever that was’.<sup>4</sup> If his assessment was accurate, then some evidence of this community’s disengagement should be visible during 1922 and 1923.<sup>5</sup> However, a close study of both newspapers suggests that many Irish-Australians neither discarded their Irish identity at this time, nor retreated from the complex negotiation of loyalty issues. While the confusion, levels of embarrassment and division about Irish ‘fratricidal strife’ dominating O’Farrell’s discussion emerge in the two newspapers, avid interest, deep concern and generosity were also displayed. However, these years also document the extent to which the Mannix-owned *Advocate* and the company-directed ‘*Cross*’ diverged over Ireland.

Here the conflict which followed the treaty’s acceptance will be examined in three phases: preliminary violence after the *Dail* vote of 64 to 57 (by February the term guerrilla warfare was used),<sup>6</sup> the ‘official’ war which dated from Free State bombing of the Republican-held Four Courts on 28 June, but which from late August until the cease fire of 30 April 1923 was greatly intensified. The remainder of 1923 will also be covered; there was no negotiated peace. Examining the Irish-Australian press beyond the civil conflict provides insights into the war’s immediate legacy in Australia, and greater clarity about differences between South Australia and Victoria.

The chapter demonstrates that these newspapers used very different sources to present Ireland to Irish-Australians. In terms of editorial guidance, Fr Collins provided thirty-six editorials in 1922 and sixteen in 1923, while Adelaide numbers were seventeen in both years.<sup>7</sup> It also contrasts the positions taken by Archbishops Mannix and Spence, in the

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 289-91. While O’Farrell quotes specific instances of Irish-Australian disengagement, these lack footnotes, and contradictory examples can be easily located.

<sup>6</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 February 1922. The term was then used more frequently.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix H-2 showing that in some weeks there were several *Advocate* editorials.

context of the views of the Irish-Catholic hierarchy views, and reactions from Australian bishops. Responses from Irish-Australian organisations differed,<sup>8</sup> while the January 1923 formation of an Irish Republican Association (IRA) represented radical Melbourne support for anti-Treaty militants. Correspondence to both newspapers revealed divergent perspectives among Irish-Australians and tensions between them.. The role of significant individuals and events, domestic and overseas – St Patrick’s Day, the Paris Irish Race Congress of 1922, the Irish Envoy visit of 1923, and examples of anti-Irish prejudice – all receive attention here. Transnational issues surfaced in these discussions – including reminders of South African parallels, and the contested emigration of former ‘Black and Tans’.

#### *Use and Nature of Sources in Advocate and Southern Cross 1922 and 1923*

The editors differed significantly in their choice of Irish material in these years. Koerner regularly included three to four page segments – ‘Irish News by Cable’, ‘Irish News by Mail’, and later in the conflict, ‘Late Irish Cables’ and ‘Latest Irish Cables’. Cable unreliability remained a constant factor, and readers were urged to clarify their understanding from the greater detail presented in ‘Files to hand’ (dated) or Catholic News Service (undated).<sup>9</sup> The *Advocate* sustained its attack on ‘cable liars’.<sup>10</sup> But the volume of its news coverage was less than the ‘*Cross*’. News items figured of course:<sup>11</sup> ‘The Latest Irish News’,<sup>12</sup> then ‘Affairs in Ireland’,<sup>13</sup> and ‘Concerning Ireland’.<sup>14</sup> ‘Our Irish Letter’ (time-

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<sup>8</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 289. Inaccurate claims about the disappearance of the SA and Victorian INA (and YIS) suggest some limitations in O’Farrell’s research.

<sup>9</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 February 1922, 18 May 1923.

<sup>10</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 July 1922 for item headed: ‘The Truth about Irish Affairs – Cables that did not Appear in Local Papers’.

<sup>11</sup> See *Advocate* of 19 January, ‘The Fall of Dublin Castle’, 9 February, ‘Arthur Griffith and Eamon de Valera on the Treaty – Two Historic Speeches’.

<sup>12</sup> See *Advocate*, 26 January and 16 February 1922.

<sup>13</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1922.

<sup>14</sup> *Advocate* 23 March 1922.

delayed) did not appear after mid-1922,<sup>15</sup> but ‘Our London Letter’ often included Irish detail.<sup>16</sup> The weekly ‘Our Literary and Critical Page’ offered an eclectic mix of material for Irish-Australians,<sup>17</sup> including reviews of pro and anti-Treaty publications.<sup>18</sup> But *Advocate* exchange items were now extracted from a smaller base.<sup>19</sup> Koerner consistently accessed items from ‘our able and esteemed contemporary’<sup>20</sup> the *New Zealand Tablet*, where Irish clerical editor, James Joseph Kelly, formerly a Sinn Féin advocate,<sup>21</sup> was now staunchly pro-Treaty.<sup>22</sup> Fr Collins no longer sourced this material. As previously mentioned the *Tablet*’s presentation of ‘a distinctly Irish-Catholic culture’ to Irish New Zealanders, its role in the diaspora system of newspaper ‘exchanges’, and its prominence in Irish-Australian newspapers forms the basis of a recent study by McNamara.<sup>23</sup> Kelly’s editorial volatility made him a security target during World War One.<sup>24</sup> His adoption of a pro-Treaty position promoted the *Tablet*’s value to the ‘Cross,’ while reducing Collins’ interest in its content for republication in the *Advocate*.

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<sup>15</sup> See *Advocate*, 12 January (8 November), 19 January (29 November), 9 February (22 December), 16 February (15 December), 2 March (3 January), 9 March (17 January), 30 March (21 January), 13 April (4 February), 20 April (22 February), 27 April (1 March), 11 May (11 March), 25 May (28 March), 1 June (nd) 1922. Its demise was not explained.

<sup>16</sup> See *Advocate* of 2 February (21 December), 9 March (11 January), 11 May (23 March), 8 June (12 April) 1922, and 12 July (21 May), 22 November (7 October), 20 December (31 October), 27 December (29 November) 1923.

<sup>17</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 January, ‘Modern Irish Writers’, 9 March, ‘Irish Poets’, 23 March ‘WB Yeats on the Anglo-Irish Literary Movement’, 7 September, ‘Seek Ireland in her Songs’, 30 November 1922, Criticisms from an Irish journalist of a previous page’s review, 8 March, ‘William Butler Yeats, Senator’, 15 March, devoted to St Patrick’s Day, 12 April, a review of ‘Dark Rosaleen’, a publication of Wellington’s Irish Society, 22 November, ‘An Award and Fairies – Mr WB Yeats, Nobel Prize Winner’.

<sup>18</sup> See *Advocate* of 27 July and 31 August 1922 for ‘Apologists for the Treaty’ and ‘The Republican View of the Treaty’ (a review of pamphlets).

<sup>19</sup> See *Advocate* of 11 May 1922 for ‘The Flag of Ireland’, item from *Irish World* by Francis J Bigger.

<sup>20</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1923. The comment referred to the *Tablet*’s Golden Jubilee.

<sup>21</sup> See NAA: MP95/1, 169/1/8, April/May 1918. Fr James Kelly to Henry Stead, editor of *Stead’s Review*, itself a focus of Censor and SIB interest.

<sup>22</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 30 March 1923 for Koerner’s use of a lengthy *Tablet* item in ‘Topics’, headed ‘Republic v Free State’, and 6 July editorial about Bishop Cleary (editor 1898-1910), describing the paper ‘as a beacon and guide in stormy times’.

<sup>23</sup> McNamara, *The Sole Organ*, 105-6.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 62. Kelly’s correspondence, as indicated, was also noted by the SIB.

In the ‘*Cross*’, regular Irish news items were typically overlaid by detailed articles about specific events or individuals, with ‘exchanges’ attributed.<sup>25</sup> Both publications used personal testimony from Irish-Australian figures, by letter or stand-alone article when available, for example, Fr O’Reilly’s letter quoted above.<sup>26</sup> When Irish-Australians visited Ireland, their impressions received prominent coverage.<sup>27</sup> In a telling editorial of late 1923, Koerner recounted accessing cables, private letters and Irish papers to glean information about Ireland.<sup>28</sup> In 1922 the *Advocate* heralded securing the services of a renowned Irish journalist, Aodh De Blacam to report on the Irish Race Congress: ‘Brilliant Irish Author Specially Engaged...Early and Authentic Cable Service Arranged’.<sup>29</sup>

But distant readers faced immense difficulties in grappling with various layers of Irish violence during these years. Initially, Ulster conflict distracted attention from expanding Southern post-Treaty violence.<sup>30</sup> Editors accessed diverse sources to assist Irish-Australian understanding, especially to counter distortions from cables and the daily press. For example, when former Adelaide resident, Fr Peter Magennis (Carmelite Superior-General in Rome from 1919) described his impressions of ‘Ireland After the Reign of Terror’ in the *New Jersey Monitor*, Koerner republished this in the ‘*Cross*’.<sup>31</sup> J.J. O’Grady, an Adelaide doctor returning after three years travel and study, also enlightened ‘*Cross*’ readers about Ireland’s pre-Treaty situation. Linking the extreme behaviour of English ‘Auxiliaries’ to

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<sup>25</sup> For example, the *Southern Cross* of 12 January 1922 utilised the *Dublin Freeman’s Journal* and the *Irish Independent*, and on 27 January, the *Daily News*, *Universe* and *Catholic Times*.

<sup>26</sup> See *Advocate* of 23 February, and *Southern Cross* of 24 February 1922.

<sup>27</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 6 January 1922, 14 September, 5 October and 16 November 1923 for accounts from WJ and RP Denny.

<sup>28</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 November 1923.

<sup>29</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1922. English-born de Blacam opposed the treaty and was later interned by the Free State government; see *Advocate* of 9 November 1922.

<sup>30</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 January (‘How Catholics are Treated in Belfast’), 30 March (‘Dreadful Happenings in Belfast’) and *Southern Cross*, 13 January (‘Further Shootings in Belfast— Military Intervene’) and 17 February 1922 (‘The Ulster Crisis’).

<sup>31</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 January 1922. The Irish-born cleric was in Australia for 8 years, at Gawler and Port Adelaide; see 141 and 356 above and 399 below for other references. The issue of 2 June 1922 included a photo. It is unclear whether Koerner was aware of Magennis’s close association with de Valera, see Dermot Keogh, *The Vatican, the Bishops and Irish Politics 1919-39*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, 5, 19, 111-2, and Mannix, *The Belligerent Prelate*, 100, 106 and 108.

shellshock, O'Grady argued that only those who had been in Ireland 'really knew the horrors that had been enacted'. This, he wrote, was 'a strong reason ...for acceptance of [Treaty] terms currently offered'.<sup>32</sup> In mid-1922, the '*Cross*' published three commissioned articles covering 'Some Belfast Atrocities', providing Irish-Australians with a more immediate impression about post-Partition abuse of Ulster's Catholics.<sup>33</sup> Cyril Bryan, well known to readers of both newspapers, outlined his memories and interactions with four significant Irishmen dead since July. The item's subtitle – 'All Gone and Dead at the Hands of Their Fellow Irishmen', confronted readers with harsh Irish realities.<sup>34</sup>

Editorial comments increasingly revealed there were different positions about the Treaty in Melbourne and Adelaide.<sup>35</sup> Letter exchanges also indicated Irish-Australian disagreement over Ireland. The *Advocate's* featured photo collage frequently showed Irish and Irish-Australian places, events or people, keeping issues before readers, but also facilitating more engagement.<sup>36</sup> Both editors noted an important 1923 transnational compliment from New York's *Irish World*: Catholic papers in Australia were characterised as 'splendidly edited with strong literary, educational, review and political departments'.<sup>37</sup> Amidst the sensitive coverage of fraught Irish domestic affairs, requiring complex negotiation for many readers, and where reception differed from the unanimity marking the Anglo-Irish War, evidence from 1922 and 1923 indicates that Irish-Australian identity continued to be fed, affirmed and reinforced by Irish-Catholic newspapers.

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<sup>32</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 January 1922.

<sup>33</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14, 21, 28 July 1922.

<sup>34</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 October 1922. The 4 were Cathal Brugha, Harry Boland, Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins.

<sup>35</sup> See *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* of 7 and 20 April 1922 for editorials where Koerner discussed the present crisis and Fr Collins applauded Republican strength.

<sup>36</sup> See *Advocate* of 27 July and 3 August 1922 for photos showing places where Republican troops 'resisted strongly', the former issue includes a Richmond hurling match.

<sup>37</sup> *Advocate*, 1 March and *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1923.

As organs of Catholicism, these newspapers fulfilled an essential role in conveying official Church positions across a range of areas, spiritual and secular. For Irish-Catholics, hierarchical perspectives about Ireland were important. The ways in which prelates in both Ireland and Australia understood, interpreted and commented on the civil conflict was significant for Irish-Australians. However, Dermot Keogh's 'central' argument about this era, 'that the leadership of the [Irish] hierarchy was never a political monolith', accords with divergent views in Ireland.<sup>38</sup> He also documents the extent of lobbying in Rome, evidence of Britain's intrusion into Vatican diplomacy, and relationships between prominent pro-Republican clerics.<sup>39</sup> Three pro-Republicans in significant positions were the Rector of the Irish College in Rome, the already mentioned Magennis,<sup>40</sup> and Mannix.<sup>41</sup> From January 1922 '*Cross*' items reflected increasingly strongly expressed Treaty support. Irish Bishop Fogarty (former Sinn Féin supporter), was quoted as saying that: Treaty rejection would be 'an act of national madness',<sup>42</sup> and de Valera's 'dissent' came as a surprise.<sup>43</sup> Cardinal Logue's call for prayers,<sup>44</sup> the May denunciation of violence by all Bishops, and calls for peaceful June elections were highlighted.<sup>45</sup> Many smaller items were not reported in Melbourne where the perspective of Mannix prevailed.<sup>46</sup>

Irish hierarchical views were thus fore-grounded for '*Cross*' readers so when sustained, as opposed to sporadic, violence emerged after the Government's June attack on the

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<sup>38</sup> Keogh, *The Vatican*, 5, 45-7.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20, 34-5, 39, 42, 46-7.

<sup>40</sup> Keogh, *The Vatican*, 5, 13-14, 26-7. Fr John Hagan, Vice-Rector of Rome's Irish College 1904-1919, and Rector 1919-1930, unlike his predecessor, was committed to radical nationalist politics, and convinced that 'Irish interests at Rome had been neglected'. Keogh emphasises his role as 'agent for the Irish bishops in Rome...a free agent'.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-9, 69-70. Keogh's references relate to Mannix-de Valera correspondence.

<sup>42</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 January 1922.

<sup>43</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 February 1922.

<sup>44</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 March 1922.

<sup>45</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1922.

<sup>46</sup> See Table Eight for range of Church events where Mannix presented his views about Ireland.



Republican-occupied Four Courts, Free State rather than Republican support had been clearly established.<sup>47</sup> During the war's greatest intensity – June 1922 to January 1923 – Irish polarities were reflected in, and reinforced by, publication of two Hierarchical Pastoral letters, and, in response, a Republican appeal to the Vatican. Many Irish-Australians found hierarchical judgements persuasive, but this was not universal, especially in Melbourne.<sup>48</sup> Conviction and sensitivity were revealed equally in Koerner's reaction to the local Protestant Federation resolution criticising Irish Bishops' alleged failure to condemn crimes like the murder of Michael Collins.<sup>49</sup> He used the *Tablet's* contradiction of October's Pastoral as the first pro-Treaty document,<sup>50</sup> forcefully reminding readers of previous items detailing Irish Episcopal opposition. For most Irish-Australians, discovering the extent of the Irish Church's condemnation of Republicans was confronting: 'grave sinners ... lay people beyond absolution and priests prohibited from functioning as such while persist[ing] in ... evil courses'.<sup>51</sup> Explanation of the *Advocate's* minimal coverage emerges from an examination of de Valera's correspondence to Mannix – he decries the absence of 'charity of judgement' in the 'most unfortunate' Pastoral.<sup>52</sup> In Ireland, enforcement of this Pastoral was difficult; it did not come from Rome, and was not seen as impartial.<sup>53</sup> But in Australia where the immediate Church reality was Irish, distance, not its qualified impact in Ireland helped determine impact of the message.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Southern Cross*, 7 and 14 July 1922.

<sup>48</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 July 1922 for 'Irish Hierarchy's Pronouncement', printed without comment.

<sup>49</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 September 1922.

<sup>50</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 November 1922. See Keogh, *The Vatican*, 95 for details of the pro-Treaty government's approach to the Irish hierarchy for this 'strong statement'.

<sup>51</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1922.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Keogh, *The Vatican*, 96.

<sup>53</sup> See Patrick Murray, *Oracles of God. The Roman Catholic Church and Irish Politics, 1922-37*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 2000, 176-8, 406-17.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Hopkinson, *Green Against Green*, 182.

When the Republicans subsequently appealed to Rome, Koerner published this without comment.<sup>55</sup> The appeal questioned bishops ‘using the sanction of religion to enforce their own political views’. The papal response: dispatching an envoy, supposedly well-informed about Ireland,<sup>56</sup> was welcomed by most Irish-Australians.<sup>57</sup> Publicity around Mgr Luzio’s visit coincided with protracted concern (in some Protestant circles) about George V’s visit to the Vatican.<sup>58</sup> This intersection of issues reminded Irish-Australians of their ‘Otherness’, and vulnerability to misunderstanding and claims of disloyalty. O’Loghlin’s column refuted cable suggestions of Luzio’s failure to broker peace,<sup>59</sup> defining his task as ‘moral and theological’, not political.<sup>60</sup> While O’Loghlin’s interpretation seemed validated by mail news,<sup>61</sup> the goal *was* mediation.<sup>62</sup> Ultimately, Luzio’s intervention was eclipsed by negotiations to end the conflict. Keogh emphasises friction surrounding his visit: the ‘secretive way’ the ‘mission was organised’, the concern of most Irish bishops about ulterior motives, and the contrast between Luzio’s contact with Republicans and distance from the Free State Government.<sup>63</sup> Keogh situates these Civil War interactions within the complex world of Roman diplomacy, Vatican politics, the Irish College in Rome, and the Irish hierarchy. While his detailed explanation helps to explain different perspectives within the Church in 1922-3, this also clarifies the minimal presentation of Irish hierarchical attitudes in the *Advocate*. But at Irish-Australia’s remove from these sophisticated transnational exchanges, few readers could grasp the context or meaning of items of news about Church judgement.

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<sup>55</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 November 1922. On the same page, a letter from Cork’s Bishop Cohalan (dated 30 September) disputed claims of Ireland being a Republic since 1919, challenged the insurgents, and appealed for peace.

<sup>56</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 4 May 1923 for reference to Luzio as Maynooth Professor of Canon Law from 1897 to 1910.

<sup>57</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 16, 23 March 1923.

<sup>58</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 6, 13, 20 April, 11, 18 May, 22 June and *Advocate*, 22 March, 5 April 1922.

<sup>59</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 May 1923.

<sup>60</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1923.

<sup>61</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 June 1923.

<sup>62</sup> Keogh, *The Vatican*, 108-9. Apprehension about sending a peace mission came from the Irish hierarchy’s anxiety about a permanent Vatican appointment in Ireland.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-21.

Victoria's larger Irish population, and perhaps Mannix's more extroverted nature, ensured his more visible public role in comparison to Archbishop Spence. The material presented in Tables Seven and Eight reflects his frequent attendance at Melbourne events. In January 1922 three occasions summarised his style and Treaty position. Remarks at a bazaar established his attitude. Acknowledging the audience's sympathetic response to an Irish reference, and welcoming recent improvement in Ireland, he declared the country 'had not been offered all that she was entitled to ... independence'. Answering the rhetorical question about Treaty acceptance allowed him to recapitulate its signing conditions, and to insist that the Irish must decide the issue.<sup>64</sup> His address reflected implicit arguments against signing; he re-presented these at other functions to different audiences.<sup>65</sup> A second instance eulogised the Irish Pipers' performance of 'militant Irish songs'. Mannix suggested they could 'convert the whole of the *Dail*' if performing during the 'great [Treaty] debate'. Then, at Melbourne's Annual Catholic Excursion, waving a Sinn Fein flag before a crowd of 15,000, he predicted 'discontent and trouble' if the *Dail* signed. He also summarised Ireland's 750 year struggle and repeated the Treaty-signing scenario. Using a cable which had depicted his appraisal of Treaty terms as 'extremely liberal, Mannix reinforced the unreliability of such sources'.<sup>66</sup> Arguably his stance could not have been clearer. Many communities heard his views directly, while *Advocate* readers received them in many instalments.<sup>67</sup>

Archbishop Spence's attitude to the Treaty was not revealed publicly until late January (and then only obliquely) when he urged Adelaide's Catholics to support the Irish Mission for

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<sup>64</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1922.

<sup>65</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 March (at Seymour and Nagambie), 16 March (at Cobram) and 23 March 1922 (at Flemington).

<sup>66</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1922. Prior to Mannix becoming Archbishop in 1917, the UIL had organised the event, but it became an ACF responsibility.

<sup>67</sup> See *Advocate* of 9, 16, 23, 30 March, 13, 20 April, 4 May 1922.

China Appeal.<sup>68</sup> Emphasising the Mission's 1916 origins, 'when Ireland found her soul – that soul which is now vibrating and pulsating in a Free State', he interpreted the 'blessing of freedom' as rewarding Ireland for missionary endeavours.<sup>69</sup> This was a pro-Treaty position. The '*Cross*' quoted other Irish-Australian bishops; Archbishop Duhig's Dublin interview with an *Irish Independent* representative revealed both newspaper and opinion exchanges. Duhig outlined his perceptions of Irish-Australian responses to Irish conflict. Speaking of Irish-Australian love for Ireland, he blamed British actions (in 1916, and the 'Black and Tans') for Home Rule losing support. But he insisted Irish-Australians found de Valera's 'present struggle...injurious to the best interests of the country'.<sup>70</sup> Duhig thus represented the Irish-Australian community as monolithic, a perspective far from the truth during the Civil War.

The pattern in Melbourne continued. Mannix was typically acclaimed at parish functions.<sup>71</sup> His Irish position was evident in his contribution to St Patrick's Day planning in 1922.<sup>72</sup> The City Council's refusal to allow the traditional procession without conditions produced an unremitting *Advocate* campaign. While the specifics will be discussed below, here it is suggested that this newspaper assault, and intense pressure for Irish-Australian participation, located St Patrick's Day as a distant Irish stalking-horse, possibly obviating emphasis on Irish bishops and Treaty.<sup>73</sup> Local events took precedence – the Council named Mannix for defying the ban.<sup>74</sup> At Adelaide's concert, Spence contrasted 'Ireland's dawning happiness and peace' as citizens of a Free State with previous 'gloom', begging that former

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<sup>68</sup> See *Advocate* of 13 March 1920 for reference to this appeal in Melbourne.

<sup>69</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 February 1921. (Supplement) Fr Maguire, visiting to raise awareness, stated that 'in no centre had he witnessed greater enthusiasm for the cause'.

<sup>70</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 October 1922.

<sup>71</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 January (laying foundation stone), 30 March (Preston), 18 May (Old Boys Association, North Melbourne), 10 August (visiting Geelong) and 7 September 1922 (Hibernian Breakfast).

<sup>72</sup> *Advocate*, 27 January 1922.

<sup>73</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 February – 'A Challenge that Must Be Accepted', 23 February – 'A Procession that Will Be Held', 9 March – 'No Sectarian Provocation Can Make St Patrick's Day Procession Disorderly', and 23 March – 'The Great Procession of 1923'.

<sup>74</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1921.

bitterness be forgotten in friendship.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, in New Zealand, moves towards prosecuting Auckland's Bishop Liston for 'alleged seditious utterances' in a St Patrick's Day address, thrust the issue of imperial loyalty and Catholic Church leaders into the spotlight.<sup>76</sup> Rory Sweetman's detailed examination of this episode – the speech, its reporting, responses, trial and the bishop's acquittal – reveal the depth of anti-Irish Catholic sentiment in the adjacent, and more pro-British, dominion.<sup>77</sup> Both newspapers documented the bishop's ordeal between April and December 1922, heightening Irish-Australians' sense of vulnerability.<sup>78</sup> If antipodean bishops were liable to prosecution while Ireland was descending into civil violence, perhaps Spence's reticence on Irish affairs represented his best protection.

But from Mannix, throughout 1922 and into 1923, the message remained constant: cables misrepresenting Ireland,<sup>79</sup> the Irish awaiting their deserved outcome,<sup>80</sup> and the need for 'discreet silence' from Irish-Australians.<sup>81</sup> From June 1922 while he articulated regrets about Irish violence more frequently,<sup>82</sup> September's *Advocate* headlines confirmed his stance: 'I would not have put my signature to the Treaty'.<sup>83</sup> He employed additional tactics to counter cable bias – incorporating secular Irish newspaper items into his public addresses.<sup>84</sup> When Republican delegates arrived in March 1923, tasked with presenting the 'truth' about Ireland, Mannix's welcome was singular within Australia's hierarchy. Various

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 March 1922. Liston's parents had emigrated separately from Co Clare in the 1850s; his address was precipitated by recent reading about Irish violence.

<sup>77</sup> See Rory Sweetman, *Bishop in the Dock: The Sedition Trial of James Liston*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1997.

<sup>78</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 7, 14 April, 5, 19, 26 May, 9, 30 June, 21 July and 18 August, and *Advocate*, 20 April, 4, 11, 18 May, 18 October and 21 December 1922.

<sup>79</sup> *Advocate*, 30 March, 4, 11 May, 29 June 1922 and 5 April, 6 December 1923.

<sup>80</sup> *Advocate*, 13, 20 April 1922 and 22 March, 6 December 1923.

<sup>81</sup> *Advocate*, 1 June, 18 October 1922.

<sup>82</sup> *Advocate*, 1, 15 June, 16 November 1922.

<sup>83</sup> *Advocate*, 14 September and *Southern Cross*, 15 September 1922. In Adelaide, speaking at the Exhibition Building, Mannix was reported in full by the *Southern Cross* – his Treaty comment was one sub-heading in a lengthy speech, the headline was 'Dr Mannix in Adelaide'.

<sup>84</sup> *Advocate*, 8, 15 June 1922.

difficulties emerged; intemperate remarks about Melbourne's *Tribune* editor appeared in the *Advocate*, forcing an apology.<sup>85</sup> Subsequent indiscretions in Brisbane and complex legal issues preceded the July deportation of the delegates. These events will be analysed further, here their mention draws attention to the different roles taken by Melbourne and Adelaide prelates – Spence made no public reference to their visit.<sup>86</sup> The subsequent launch of the Irish Distress Appeal (linked to pleas from three Irishwomen) provided Mannix with a platform from which to criticise Free State actions, especially in relation to political prisoners, without overtly identifying with their opponents.<sup>87</sup> In the appeal (Figure 103) his name appeared first, over three clerics, and representatives of Irish organisations, the most provocative being the YIS. The letter was brief, connected Ireland's condition to 1916, provided two examples of intense suffering and poverty, and reminded Irish-Australians of earlier generosity, while emphasising the absence of party/political divisions in the appeal.

<sup>88</sup> The Fund's consistent mention till December reflects the continuation of some Irish-Australian support for Ireland.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> *Advocate*, 12 April 1923. JA Alexander retired as editor after 4 years according to the edition of 1 March; Fr Mangan was later described as Managing Director and Editor.

<sup>86</sup> See O'Farrell, 'Archbishop Kelly,' 13, fn.79 for mention of Spence's letter of 31 March 'advis[ing] Kelly that he had already acted to make the republican delegates unwelcome'.

<sup>87</sup> See *Advocate* of 16, 23, 30 August, 18 October, 6 December, and *Southern Cross* of 24 August 1923.

<sup>88</sup> *Advocate*, 16 August 1923. ACF, INF, HACBS and St Patrick's Society representatives were listed. Federal MHR's, Frank Brennan and JH Scullin were also shown. See John Robertson, *JH Scullin. A Political Biography*, University of Western Australia Press, Adelaide, 41-2, 60-2 for Scullin's attitude to Ireland,

<sup>89</sup> See *Advocate* of 16, 23, 30 August, 6, 13, 27 September, 4, 11, 18 October, 1 November, 6 and 20 December 1923.

## “... THE GREATEST OF THESE IS CHARITY.”

### APPEAL TO RELIEVE DISTRESS IN IRELAND.

The condition of Ireland has been for some time a source of pain and distress to us all, even to those who were quite detached from the merits of the issues which plunged Irishmen into war with England in 1916, and, later, into a disastrous war among themselves. We are all intensely relieved that violence has now ceased, and we earnestly hope and pray that, whatever may befall, Irishmen will never again turn their arms against each other.

Unfortunately, though hostilities have ceased, there is appalling distress over a wide area in Ireland. A truly heartrending appeal has just come to Australia, signed by three well-known Irishwomen, Mrs. Pearse, Mrs. Brugha, and Mrs. O'Rahilly, who represent a Relief Committee, which is said to be the only thing that stands between some tens of thousands of Irish women and children and sheer starvation. The committee has appealed in Ireland; and distracted, tortured Ireland has tried to do her duty. The appeal has reached America, and America has been, and is, generous. The Bishops, the clergy, and the people of the United States have done their part nobly. But, in spite of all efforts, there are in Ireland women and children by the thousand who want for the bare necessities of life. The writers of the appeal tell us—we just take a typical case from among many—of a widowed mother, who has lost three sons in the troubled days through which Ireland has been passing, and who now, sorrowing and lonely, has to support herself and her only remaining child upon 10/- a week from the Relief Fund. We are told of another poor woman, the wife of an officer, who, when the rent of her little house is paid, has to find food and fuel and clothing for herself and four small children out of 10/- a week granted by the Relief Committee. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely; and it seems literally true that there is nothing between these innocent women and children and starvation but the pitiful dolé of the Relief Committee, which has now sent its appeal to Australia.

Australia did not turn a deaf ear to the cry of distress that came from France, or Belgium, or Austria, or Poland, or Russia, or Germany; she did not stop to weigh the evidence of the guilt or innocence of the suffering before coming to their aid. It was enough that women and children cried for bread and that their men had no bread to give. And the good, kind ladies who have now written from suffering Ireland profess to be confident that their appeal also will not go unheeded. That appeal is not addressed to those of any particular class or race or creed; it is above all party or political divisions; it is simply the appeal of kind, motherly Irishwomen, whose hearts bleed at the sight of women and children starving all around them, and who believe that there are hearts in Australia as tender and as generous as their own.

The undersigned, therefore, desire to bring their urgent appeal under the notice of all those who can afford to help. The Archbishop of Melbourne has consented to act as treasurer of the Irish Distress Fund provisionally, and contributions may be sent to him, to Mr. J. H. Kennedy, Block Buildings, Elizabeth-street, or to the Editor of "The Advocate."

(Signed)

✠ D. MANNIX.

J. L. HEGARTY, D.D., P.P., V.F., Sacred Heart Church, Carlton.

M. CAREY, P.P., St. Mary's Church, West Melbourne.

T. LYNCH, P.P., St. Mary's Church, East St. Kilda.

D. SLATTERY.

T. M. BURKE, 340 Collins-street, Melbourne.

T. J. LANDRIGAN, General Secretary, Irish National Foresters, St. Patrick's Hall, 470 Bourke-street.

J. H. KENNEDY, General Secretary A.C.F., Block Buildings, Elizabeth-st.

J. W. RYAN, Grand Sec. H.A.C.B.S., Robb's Buildings, 533 Collins-street.

J. C. NOLAN, St. Patrick's Society, St. Patrick's Hall, Bourke-street.

D. G. CARTER, J.P., President Young Ireland Society.

FRANK BRENNAN, M.H.R.

J. H. SCULLIN, M.H.R.

Figure 103. Letter, *Advocate*, 23 August 1923

In Adelaide a committee was quickly named,<sup>90</sup> but the appeal was delayed until after October's Cathedral ceremony.<sup>91</sup> An eloquent, carefully crafted plea (Figure 104), longer and more detailed than Melbourne's, Spence the leading signatory, was circulated prior to November's public meeting.<sup>92</sup> In urging support for Ireland, previous examples of local generosity for overseas appeals were cited, the debt owed to Ireland both by the British Empire (Irish General William Butler quoted, linked to the Anglo-Boer War),<sup>93</sup> and by

<sup>90</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 August 1923.

<sup>91</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 October 1923.

<sup>92</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1923. Signatories in addition to Spence, such as Mgr Hourigan, Fr Gearon, JV O'Loughlin, P and PE O'Leary, JJ Flaherty, JJ Daly and FM Koerner had all been targets of SIB surveillance.

<sup>93</sup> See 130, fn.34 and 140, fn.84 above and see Appendix C.

Australian Catholicity, were all highlighted.<sup>94</sup> Spence presided, reminding listeners of helping Armenians<sup>95</sup> and Russians, and the greater debt to Ireland, but stressed the appeal's non-religious and non-political nature. Spence's capacity to engage the audience was in no small measure linked to the sensitivity of his previous articulation of Ireland's situation.<sup>96</sup> In December 1923, when a 'monster meeting' was held in Melbourne to demand the unconditional release of Irish political prisoners, Mannix presided. Republican sympathies were explicit in his 'review of the whole [Irish] situation', and the reported audience of 3,000 responded to his exposition of issues and consequences with applause and laughter.<sup>97</sup> Keogh's thesis that the Irish Church reflected Irish society's divisions during the Civil War is helpful in explaining the different perspectives adopted by these Irish-Catholic newspapers. As a Church-owned institution from 1919, the *Advocate* inevitably reflected the views of its archbishop, and his views gradually became more explicit. While this inevitably complicates understanding of *Advocate* readers in terms of identity and loyalty issues, the fact that Table 8 reflects some measure of Mannix's popularity at this time, suggests 'his' newspaper retains its usefulness as evidence. Although links between Spence and the '*Cross*' (with a company structure) were less direct, and reserve marked his position on the Civil War, the paper's pro-Treaty attitude gradually became clearer. In the absence of evidence from directors' meetings, it is impossible to identify any pressure from Spence on '*Cross*' policy. But his alignment with his brother bishops is documented; Mannix was increasingly isolated within the Australian hierarchy.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1923. Previous appeals for French, Belgians, Armenians, Poles and Germans were mentioned.

<sup>95</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 June 1923 for an appeal from the SA Auxiliary of the Armenian Relief Fund 'on behalf of thousands of sufferers in the Near East.' This group announced its intention of raising £25,000 in 1923, requesting 'money and left-off garments,' stating that £10 would clothe and feed a child for a year. See 198, fn.110 above for reference to Spence's support for this group.

<sup>96</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1923.

<sup>97</sup> *Advocate*, 6 December 1923.

<sup>98</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 290-1, Boland, *Dubig*, 164-5.



# Distress in Ireland

## CASE FOR THE SUFFERERS

### Urgent Appeal for Financial Help

The South Australian Committee recently formed, at the request of his Grace the Archbishop, to help the suffering in Ireland, now at his Grace's request address themselves to all lovers of humanity.

The object of this appeal is that of Charity. It is not a political or party appeal. It is for charity alone, and charity knows no distinction of class or creed.

Scarcely a day passes but we have an opportunity of helping our fellow men in some way or other. In times of industrial upheaval and consequent dire distress men of all shades of thought take united action to lift the burden from the shoulders of those who are weighed down with sorrow.

Appeals were made during the war and since the cessation of hostilities for the various suffering nations in Europe. Such appeals reached Australia. The answer was ready: it was in the affirmative, for no country ever appealed in vain to Australia if the cause were just.

Appeals have been made for French, Belgians, Poles, and quite recently there was an account of an appeal in England to help the distressed Germans.

All Sufferers Claim Sympathy. Why have we helped those various nations, including those on the other side, during the recent struggle? Because we are all members of one great family, with the same love for parents, home, for relatives; we all have the same desires for human sympathy; and although accident of wealth or place of birth may separate us, still we are all children of one great family bound together by the tie of universal brotherhood.

Especially the Suffering Irish. But what are the poles to us compared with the Irish? What are the Belgians, the French, the Armenians, to us, when put alongside of the Irish? To them all, including Austrians, Germans, Bulgarians, we wish good cheer, but our own kith and kin in Ireland, those from whom we have the honor of being descended, surely these should come before the stranger!

Appeal Above Politics. We have already mentioned that this is not a political appeal. We are not going to say a hard word about anyone in Ireland. We are not going to blame anyone in particular for recent events.

Some may be in sympathy with the Free Staters; others may incline towards the Republicans. Some may take no side; this by reason of the distance between us and the old country and the uncertain nature of the information supplied to us. Verily, it seems that few of us are in the position to take a definite stand with any feeling of security. Why do we make this statement? Because history, when it is written, will undoubtedly revise much which at present we are asked to accept as if it were Gospel truth.

Whatever may be the views on the political aspect in Ireland, none will be asked to abandon their opinions, because the appeal for help is above all political interests.

Thousands of people in Ireland are to-day in need of urgent succor. They are on the verge of starvation, and all are asked to intervene and satisfy their pangs of hunger.

The appeal is endorsed by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who, in the recent struggle, has not identified himself with any party in Ireland.

Why is there distress in Ireland? Why are the women and children on the verge of starvation? Because the breadwinners have been either shot or maimed, or because they are at present in prison.

Story of Good Samaritan. Some may be inclined to enquire whether the sufferers are not to blame for the present plight. This would

be a difficult point to discuss. But, in this juncture, we should remember the story of the Good Samaritan.

All are reverently familiar with the story of the good Samaritan. The Jewish Levite and the Jewish priest gave no attention to their countryman, but passed him by although he was on the roadside suffering. The Samaritan passing by bound his wounds, pouring in oil and balm. Moreover, he put him in a place of safety. Notice that the Good Samaritan did not question the stranger as to creed or politics. He did not ask whether or not he had been the aggressor in the struggle. For him it was quite sufficient to know that a fellow-creature was in need of help. For us it should be sufficient to know that the Irish women and children want our immediate assistance.

It might be said that Ireland should look after its own. In the first place, the Irish are endeavoring to care for their own, but their efforts are not adequate to meet the situation. In the second place, was it asked why strangers like the French, the Belgians, the Poles did not help their own? And if not in their case surely not when we are dealing with our own kith and kin!

We should help the Irish women and children because they are suffering; we should help them because the sufferers are our own kith and kin. There is another reason why we should help them.

World's Debt to Ireland. The world at large owes much to the Irish. The love of faith and letters was a passion that burned in the souls of the Irish people. Her missionaries did not limit their efforts to their own narrow island confines. In an intensely sacrificial spirit they

broke the strong ties of home and family and friendship; with a sort of noble rage they carried the torchlight of faith and letters into many lands, enriching them, and founding everywhere from Biscay to the Baltic, from Iceland to Africa, on Alps and Apennines, by Rhone and Rhine fruitful schools of arts and varied learning. There flowed on with unflinching abundance that generous stream of missionaries and teachers fertilising every corner of the then known globe; planting the trees of learning and faith, from whose fair and fruitful branches were cast seeds not only of piety, but of prosperity also, of true culture as well as of true holiness.

British Empire's Debt. The British Empire owes much to the Irish. Here are the words of a man of longer and wider experience than we can presume to have—one of Nature's gentlemen, and one of the bravest soldiers who ever wore a British uniform—the late General Sir William Butler. These are his words:—"If it had not been for the blood and brain and brawn which Ireland had given to England, neither England nor her Empire would be what they are to-day. I doubt, indeed, if the Empire, as distinct from England, would have any existence at all."

Australia's Debt. What would Catholicity be in Australia were it not for Irish priests and nuns? It is no exaggeration to say that were it not for the Irish people and their children we would have very few Catholic churches, schools, presbyteries, or convents in Australia.

There is pinching poverty which, like a hungry wolf, is preying upon Irish women and Irish children. There are Irish orphans who know not the warm love of father. Are we going to help these, our own kith and kin?

The Irish women and children are stretching out their hands to us to help them. They are heartbroken, are tearful, are sorrowful, and they want us to dry their tears, to brighten their days, to relieve their distress. Their bodies must be protected against the inclemency of the Irish winter. In their famished emaciated faces we could read the long story of untold suffering. Here there is need of immediate help, for nothing clamors so loud for speedy relief as hunger and thirst.

By giving assistance to Ireland in the past Australia has given proof that she has a compassionate heart

and a generous soul. The present, we feel sure, will not be an exception, because we know that really her duty she will perform it.

- Signed
- †ROBERT W. SPENCE, O.P., Archbishop of Adelaide.
  - P. HURLEY, P.P., V.G., Our Lady Help of Christians, Lower North Adelaide.
  - M. HOURIGAN, P.P., Holy Cross, Goodwood.
  - E. CORISH, S.J. (Superior), St. Ignatius, Norwood.
  - P. GEARON, O.C.C., D.D., B.A. (Prior), Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Alberton.
  - I. M. DOYLE, O.P., B.A., St. Lawrence's, North Adelaide.
  - C. B. CROWLEY, P.P., Our Lady of Dolours, Kingswood.
  - D. O'CONNELL, C.C., Archbishop's House, West Terrace, Adelaide.
  - J. V. O'LOUGHLIN, Senator, Hawthorn.
  - C. S. McHUGH, Senator, Currie Street, Adelaide.
  - F. W. LUNDIE, Councillor, Flinders Street, Adelaide.
  - P. F. KILLY, Grand Secretary H.A.C.E.S., Pirie Street, Adelaide.
  - J. J. FLAHERTY, General Secretary, Irish National Foresters, Svidenham Road, Norwood.
  - P. O'LEARY, Irish National Association, Eastwood.
  - P. E. O'LEARY, Irish Pipe Band, Eastwood.
  - J. J. DALY, Solicitor, Currie Street, Adelaide.
  - P. M. KOERNER, Editor "The Southern Cross," Grenfell Street, Adelaide.

Figure 104. Letter, *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1923

### *Responses of Irish-Australian Organisations*

Confusion best describes reactions from Irish-Australian leadership to division in Ireland. The 'old guard' of constitutional nationalists (many but not all were Irish-born), having struggled with Sinn Féin's post-1918 success, welcomed the Treaty as redefined Home Rule.<sup>99</sup> When the Treaty brought not tranquillity but fratricidal violence, disillusion and despair prevailed among surviving conservative leaders. In Melbourne, after 40 years of Home Rule agitation, the last branch of the UIL disappeared;<sup>100</sup> in January 1923, Melbourne's Irish Republican Association (IRA) emerged.<sup>101</sup> The '*Cross*' noted national discussions about the future of the SDIL in February 1922.<sup>102</sup> The *Advocate* later described organisers working voluntarily, awaiting the outcome of the Irish election and Paris delegates' opinion.<sup>103</sup> Adelaide's branch, the last to disband, lay dormant until 1923.<sup>104</sup> As indicated, the '*Cross*' always featured INA meetings, while Melbourne's INA,<sup>105</sup> and Gaelic League<sup>106</sup> posted irregular, brief items. Geelong's YIS appeared occasionally.<sup>107</sup> Bodies less political, the Irish Pipers for example, generally surmounted the divisive years because their contribution was primarily cultural.<sup>108</sup> During 1922 and 1923 coverage of Irish-Australian organisations (and events) gave readers consistent and often detailed information.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> See Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 December 1922, TCD, Dillon Papers, MS6849/275.

<sup>100</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 13 July. See issue of 24 August 1923 for report of dissolution of Britain's UIL after 40 years, paving the way for the Irish Democratic League.

<sup>101</sup> See *Advocate* of 18 January 1923 for announcement of a meeting to establish IRA.

<sup>102</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 February 1922. Perth's Walter Dwyer was reported as planning to meet eastern states organisers to discuss the League's future.

<sup>103</sup> *Advocate*, 2 March and *Southern Cross*, 10 March 1922.

<sup>104</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1923.

<sup>105</sup> *Advocate*, 15 February, 1 March, 17, 31 May, 26 July, 4 October, 8 November 1923; see O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 289 for explicit reference to its 'death' in 1920.

<sup>106</sup> *Advocate*, 26 January, 2 February, 2 March, 6 April, 4, 25 May, 8 June, 13 July, 21 September, 19, 26 October 1922, and 25 January, 8, 15, February, 5 April, 17 May, 28 June, 26 July, 9, 16 August, 4, 11, 18 October, 8 November, 13 December 1923.

<sup>107</sup> *Advocate*, 20 July, 2, 30 (an unnamed photo of the group) November 1922, 1 August 1923.

<sup>108</sup> *Advocate*, 8, 22 February (photos of new office bearers) and *Southern Cross*, 21 October 1923.

<sup>109</sup> See 'Among Our Societies' page for regular reports from the INF and HACBS. But see *Advocate*, 1 March 1923 for report of St Patrick's Society AGM.

Of Melbourne's cluster of possibilities for Irish-Australians, the Gaelic League, on *Advocate* evidence, seemed the most prominent. Its brief reports suggested cultural preoccupation, especially language classes. Changes to its monthly *ceilidhe* in December 1922 announced 'a fine programme of traditional Irish music, dancing, recitation and singing by well known artists will be presented'.<sup>110</sup> But, details of its leading members (A.A. Calwell, former IRB internee Frank McKeown, and Fr J.J. O'Dwyer), alongside recently documented evidence, establishes a broader political orientation.<sup>111</sup> Attitudes to Ireland were discussed in October 1922,<sup>112</sup> and in August 1923 'Cheers for the Irish Republic and President de Valera' were given.<sup>113</sup>

Evidence of Victoria's INA was diverse. Not only did the James Connolly branch hold weekly meetings, but Gaelic football was revived,<sup>114</sup> and an INA hurling club established.<sup>115</sup> In Adelaide, notwithstanding O'Farrell's claim of the INA 'last[ing] about a year',<sup>116</sup> detailed reports from April 1922 (when monthly lectures resumed)<sup>117</sup> portrayed the Terence MacSwiney branch as healthy, although membership numbers of 109 in contrast to 600 in 1921 reflected the decision to defer to the SDIL.<sup>118</sup>

Correspondence between Victorian UIL veteran, Jageurs and both Justice H.B Higgins (in Melbourne) and John Dillon (in Ireland) adds crucial connections to newspaper evidence.

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<sup>110</sup> *Advocate*, 7 December 1922.

<sup>111</sup> Noone, *Hidden Ireland*, 123-9. See *Advocate*, 26 October 1922 for League-initiated visit to the grave of John MacSwiney (father of Terence), and 29 March 1923 for memorial's unveiling and oration from visiting Irish Delegate, JJ O'Kelly. See also *Advocate*, 18, 25 October 1923.

<sup>112</sup> *Advocate*, 19 October 1922.

<sup>113</sup> *Advocate*, 16 August 1923.

<sup>114</sup> *Advocate*, 5, 12 October 1922; in this issue the cover was devoted to teams participating in the Allen Doone Hurling competition, Mannix was reported to have thrown the opening ball. The issue of 16 August 1923 reported fund-raising dances. The team captain's move to Sydney led to a farewell from INA colleagues and presentation of an original hurling team photo; see *Advocate*, 23 August, and 4 October 1923 for photos of Allen Doone competitors.

<sup>115</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 August 1923 for INA meeting where Hurling Club dance and match were promoted.

<sup>116</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 289-90.

<sup>117</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 April 1922.

<sup>118</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 February 1922.

Letters reflect increasing despair about the isolation of Melbourne's UIL, from mid-1920 the survivor. Elsewhere, deaths of old (Irish-born) leaders – Martin Ryan in Hobart,<sup>119</sup> Charles McCarthy in Sydney<sup>120</sup> and Patrick Healy in Adelaide<sup>121</sup> – confirmed the generational dead-end. Late in 1922, interpreting the Treaty as 'Home Rule,' Jageurs confirmed UIL dissolution to Higgins<sup>122</sup> and Dillon:

'There was no use carrying on ... but in bidding 'goodbye' to you, and the surviving members of the Party, we do so with the greatest regret. We shall serve no new leaders. Our energies are exhausted. We are proud to have seen service under the old flag and are pleased that the old time principles of the Party have been vindicated.'<sup>123</sup>

*Advocate* silence about the demise was explained here, no report was sent to Victoria's Catholic press 'which heaped ridicule on the Party when it was considered the proper! (sic) thing to do'. Jageurs hoped that Sydney's *Catholic Press*, 'turned Free State' and now Australia's 'leading Catholic organ', would publish it fully.<sup>124</sup> In January 1923, Celtic Club members, former UIL stalwarts, even some who 'did not see eye to eye with him from a political point of view', honoured Jageurs with an illustrated address and 'a wallet of notes'. His contributions were acknowledged: to Home Rule, and to 'Irish music, national games and dances'. Responding, Jageurs confessed his object in life had been to 'make up for the bad treatment meted out to Ireland by his ancestors, the Hessians ...'. In addition, he summarised his life in Australia, asserted he 'was a Free-Stater' who anticipated the coming Irish election would bring a final settlement.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Martin Ryan died in September 1919 from influenza.

<sup>120</sup> Charles McCarthy died in June 1919. See *Advocate* of 5 April 1923 for report of a memorial to him (in the shadow of Michael Dwyer's grave) at Sydney's Glen Waverley Cemetery.

<sup>121</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 12 December 1919 for his resignation as President; he died on 17 August 1920; see issues of 20 and 27 August for obituary and JV O'Loughlin's 'Appreciation'.

<sup>122</sup> See MP Jageurs to Judge Higgins, 15 and 21 November 1922, Letters, NLA, HB Higgins Papers, MS1057/478A. For Higgins Dillon relationship see John Dillon to Mr Higgins, 20 June 1918 and 8 September 1919, Letters, NLA, Higgins Papers, MS1057/325 and 368.

<sup>123</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 December 1922, TCD, Dillon Papers, MS6849/275. He told Higgins that the chosen date, 14 December, was 'the 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the original organisation – the Irish National Land League'.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* Copies of the report were sent to the *Age* and *Argus* which both condensed them. The 1922 death of *Catholic Press* editor, Tighe Ryan possibly explains Jageurs' positive view; the new editor was PS Cleary.

<sup>125</sup> *Advocate*, 11, 25 January 1923. Despite hostility to Mannix, Jageurs wrote occasional items, for example, on 6 April 1922 an article on 'Ireland's Olympic Competition', and on 5 April 1923 an obituary for FJ Tucker,

A product of the War of Independence, South Australia's section of the SDIL (the nation's last branch), was officially terminated in March 1923.<sup>126</sup> At that point Koerner disclosed reservations about the 'cut and dried scheme' imposed by Canadian, Katherine Hughes. Irish-Australian leaders felt local societies promoted Irish self-government adequately, although 'there were ... some advantages in linking up with a world-wide Irish movement'. Koerner's review of the scheme showed it as 'cumbersome and unworkable:' two non-productive Conventions, a farcical Federal Executive (where SA delegates were ignored), and the Paris Irish Race Convention which 'degenerated into a [Treaty] wrangle'. The 'elaborate machinery' cost beyond anything previous, and he endorsed the style and results of earlier volunteer organisations when 'many thousands were collected and remitted to the old land'.<sup>127</sup> He acknowledged the State Council's work, its organisation of September 1921's Botanic Park rally, and Irish organiser Mrs Mott's sterling contribution.<sup>128</sup> The final SDIL meeting's discussion of possibilities for fund disbursement was heated: suggestions included a memorial window to Ireland's 'martyred dead' in the Cathedral (against the non-sectarian constitution), or a monument elsewhere (inadequate amount), a scholarship in the same cause, a *Féis* to promote Irish ideals, or a donation to Dublin's Red Cross for relief. According to Koerner 'The contentious spirit which is unfortunately dividing Irishmen in the old land appeared to have been wafted across the ocean'. Four were appointed to explore incorporating Irish ideals – Senators O'Loughlin and McHugh, and J.J. Daly plus

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'An Ardent Supporter of Irish Movements'. But advertisements for his monumental works, previously on the editorial page, were irregular in 1919, the last on 6 March 1920, suggesting a response to Mannix ownership.

<sup>126</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 7 April 1922 for publication of February correspondence from Paris-based, Katherine Hughes, Organising Secretary of the World Congress of the Irish Race – the letter to the State Council of the ISDL, Adelaide.

<sup>127</sup> See JV O'Loughlin to Dr M O'Reilly, Letter, 12 October 1923, NLA, O'Loughlin Papers, MS5420/3.

Revealing some hostility to the national body, O'Loughlin decried the lack of consultation with states about O'Reilly as national delegate and SA's £44 account for its share. Despite requests, the National Executive had not clarified whether O'Reilly had received the money, and he was seeking reassurance.

<sup>128</sup> See 352 above for reference to founding role of Katherine Hughes.

Koerner. The 'lively' meeting closed,<sup>129</sup> but demonstrated the strength rather than the decline of Irish-Australian interest in the public display of their Irish identification.

The greater neutrality of the Irish Pipers was reflected at Melbourne's twelfth AGM in 1922. There was no political reference. Morgan Jageurs, associated with the Pipers from the outset, but by then in conflict with many Irish-Australians, spoke in support of the group. It boasted raising more than £2000 for Catholic charities in 1921 and of having acquired 228 new members.<sup>130</sup> From Mannix came voluble support, and as shown in Tables Seven and Eight, the Pipers frequently played in his presence. Adelaide's Pipers reported on a successful year in October 1923. Two Irish clerics endorsed their high performance standards as the 'best heard' in the city, and 'finest heard outside of the green shores of Erin', gratifying members. The Pipers were eagerly awaiting their forthcoming privilege of meeting and escorting Spence and Mannix (when he visited for the Cathedral celebration).<sup>131</sup> In Adelaide when Mannix attended a Queen Coronation<sup>132</sup> involving the Pipers, he diplomatically described them 'as equal to anything he had heard in any part of Australia'.<sup>133</sup> Melbourne's Piper advertising of a 'Grand Concert Tour of the Western Districts' promised 'A Feast of Irish Song, Music and Dancing' in late 1923.<sup>134</sup> Staging concerts in five locations between Christmas and New Year suggests the widespread cultural appeal of the group. The AGM reported 'that the band never performed to better

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<sup>129</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1923. The scholarship was later decided.

<sup>130</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February, 23, 30 March, 8, 22 June, 6 July, 5 October 1922 and 19 July, 20 December 1923.

<sup>131</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 October 1923.

<sup>132</sup> Queen competitions and coronations represented a widespread fundraising initiative of these years.

Queens collected money, sometimes there were community voting schemes, but the crowning represented a major social event. See *Advocate* of 25 November 1920 and *Southern Cross* of 14 January 1921 for just two of many earlier examples.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Advocate*, 20 December 1923. Dates were provided for Cororooke, Warnambool, Port Fairy, Koroit and Noorat.

advantage than on the last Western district tour'.<sup>135</sup> Melbourne's IRA was also supported by Mannix; its political flavour was overt.

IRA Promoters included T.P. Walsh, T.J. Ryan (not the Queensland/Federal politician) and Agnes Murphy. Walsh, the former Geelong YIS President,<sup>136</sup> was also prominent in the ACF and Hibernians.<sup>137</sup> Ryan was dismissed by Jageurs as a 'vulgar upstart and mischief-monger'.<sup>138</sup> Jageurs was outraged when Ryan became South Australia's accredited representative at the Paris Congress.<sup>139</sup> Murphy, a journalist and celebrity manager, was well known to *Advocate* readers.<sup>140</sup> In 1922 Walsh participated in a spirited exchange of *Advocate* letters about the Treaty and the Constitution,<sup>141</sup> and chaired a December protest meeting against Free State executions.<sup>142</sup> Beyond 'a crowded attendance', numbers at January's founding IRA meeting remain unclear. Music framed the event: 'The Soldier's Song' and 'Easter Week'.<sup>143</sup> Gathering four years after the *Dail's* Proclamation of the 1916 Declaration of Independence on 21 January, Walsh explained the IRA's rationale demonstrated that Irish-Australians 'were with their kith and kin' in the ideal of establishing an Irish Republic: 'They did not recognise the authority of the Free State Government'. Three resolutions were passed unanimously, one proclaiming allegiance to the Republic, critiquing the Treaty-signing process and abhorring Free State atrocities, another pledged

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<sup>135</sup> *Advocate*, 8 February 1923.

<sup>136</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 December 1921 for Walsh's move from Geelong to Melbourne, 6 July 1922 for his retirement from Geelong's Association of Stock Agents after 43 years, and 8 August 1922 for advertisement as a Melbourne Auctioneer and Land Salesman.

<sup>137</sup> See *Advocate*, 18 January and 26 April 1923.

<sup>138</sup> See *Advocate* of 6 October 1917 for their attendance at a Hurling dinner where they both spoke, Ryan was described as President of the Irish Pipers and the Irish Musical Society.

<sup>139</sup> See *Advocate* of 5 April 1923 (letter re press and Ireland).

<sup>140</sup> See Murphy's letters in the *Advocate* of 31 August, 21 September, 5, 26 October, 23 November 1922 and 25 January, 5 April 1923. In 1922, several items about Catholic women were also published; see *Advocate* of 7 August and 5 October. For reference to her involvement in the Sistine Choir tour, see *Advocate* of 27 July and 27 September 1923. She also wrote to Duhig in January 1923 about his treaty support, quoting Mannix's remark that it was endorsed by all Ireland's enemies, see Boland, *Duhig*, 162-3. See Agnes Murphy to John Dillon, Letters, 22 May 1918, TCD, Dillon Papers, MS6848/193a.

<sup>141</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 and 23 November 1922.

<sup>142</sup> *Advocate*, 14 December 1922.

<sup>143</sup> See Appendix D for words.

moral and financial support, while the third endorsed cabling Ireland about the meeting. A 'large number' reportedly enrolled.<sup>144</sup> Jageurs dismissed the group as consisting 'mainly of youthful non-entities and half a dozen elderly cranks'.<sup>145</sup> He was disparaging about its success: 'People go out of curiosity to their meetings but the collections are small'.<sup>146</sup> However his comment about a 'small mob of Irish Republicans' going to Sandringham 'to terrorise little Father Mangan' about *Tribune* opposition to their movement, indicated greater IRA strength.<sup>147</sup> By mid-May country meetings were announced to allow 'all fair-minded and impartial people...the opportunity of hearing the truth' from the Irish Delegates.<sup>148</sup> Walsh presided at meetings where the delegates spoke.<sup>149</sup> An August suburban meeting protested against de Valera's arrest.<sup>150</sup> And, in September, Walsh announced public meetings aimed to secure the release of thousands of Irish political prisoners.<sup>151</sup> Attendance figures were not shown, but Calwell was listed as seconding a motion demanding 'immediate release'.<sup>152</sup> As a Mannix publication, the *Advocate's* promotion of IRA meetings and activities may not provide adequate evidence of the extent to which this organisation represented Irish-Australian opinion and identity.

In early December, 'Catholic and Irish National' Society representatives staged the previously mentioned 'monster meeting' where Mannix officiated. He opened proceedings by reading a letter from the Irish Distress Committee expressing their appreciation for the donation of £3,400 in 1916/7. Kathleen Barry (sister of Kevin executed by the British in November 1920) wrote the letter which thus skirted contemporary divisions over Ireland. Calwell spoke 'forcibl[y] in support of a resolution' about ending the civil war and gaining

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<sup>144</sup> *Advocate*, 25 January 1923.

<sup>145</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 18 February 1923, TCD, Dillon Papers, MS849/288.

<sup>146</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Papers, MS 6849/293.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> See *Advocate* of 17 May for meeting dates at Albury, Benalla, Yarrawonga, Mansfield and Echuca.

<sup>149</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 April, 17 May and 26 July 1923, the last was a farewell meeting.

<sup>150</sup> *Advocate*, 23 August 1923. De Valera was arrested while campaigning in Ireland.

<sup>151</sup> *Advocate*, 20 September 1923.

<sup>152</sup> *Advocate*, 4 October 1923.



justice for the detained. Although he claimed to ‘represent ... all shades of Irish national opinion’ in Australia, his speech went unreported. Agnes Murphy characterised Mannix as ‘the champion of liberty and justice’ in her support for a vote of thanks prior to ‘The Soldier’s Song’.<sup>153</sup> The *Advocate* judged the event as ‘in every way successful [and] added another to the many noteworthy Irish demonstrations held in Melbourne’.<sup>154</sup> Here, the *Advocate*’s summary presented success and an apparently verbatim account of a Mannix address on a topic of concern to his listeners. But from mid-1923, following Church acquisition of the *Tribune* (discussed below), Melbourne lacked a neutral Irish-Catholic medium for expression or examination of views about Ireland.

Correspondence columns became the only avenue where exploration of alternative opinion about Ireland was theoretically possible. In the Civil War years, it is argued here, published letters in these newspapers represent different and more significant sources than in previous years of this study. Formerly their importance lay in generally highlighting individual opinions relating to loyalty or identity issues, occasionally pinpointing alternative views to those preferred by the newspapers when further letters appeared.<sup>155</sup> But during 1922 and 1923 when Irish issues polarised Irish-Australians in unprecedented ways, when there were hierarchical divisions, and the *Advocate* and ‘*Cross*’ occupied pro-Republican and pro-Free State corners, the correspondence assumes a different position.

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<sup>153</sup> Written in 1907, it became the Irish Volunteers’ marching song from 1914, then the republican’s ‘national anthem’ after 1916. In July 1926 it became the Irish Free State’s official anthem. See Appendix D for words.

<sup>154</sup> *Advocate*, 6 December 1923.

<sup>155</sup> See 187-8 and 235-6 above for 1914 and 1916 letter exchanges in the *Advocate*.

Using correspondence as a source has intrinsic problems.<sup>156</sup> Denny imposed ‘editorial censorship’ in 1900,<sup>157</sup> Koerner informed Fr Prendergast in 1919 that editors have choices about what letters they include, so the mere presence or absence of letters has multiple interpretations.<sup>158</sup> In discussing the *Tablet*, McNamara stresses the ‘obvious silence and absence of those Irish Catholics who may have read the newspaper and never featured in its pages as a correspondent’, such views and reactions to both Ireland and newspaper material about events and local issues, are extinct. More importantly, she emphasises the possibility of being ‘misled’ by the *Tablet*’s potential portrayal of ‘its readers for its own purposes’.<sup>159</sup> Thus publication of letters cannot be interpreted as evidence of Irish-Australian community sentiment beyond that of individual writers. Nevertheless, here, letters generally demonstrating a persisting Irish identity among readers and those displaying Irish-Australian differences over Ireland will be examined. The *Advocate* published more letters than the ‘*Cross*,’ with thirty-five and twelve letters in 1922 and 1923, while in Adelaide, there were five in 1922 and ten in 1923. Whether the published letters represent all those received, or an editorial selection, is impossible to judge, but as far as the *Advocate* is concerned the discrepancies between 1922 and 1923, suggests applied censorship.

Adelaide ‘Irish identity’ letters included one which welcomed ‘*Cross*’ reference to ongoing, unacceptable silence about Irish participation at Gallipoli,<sup>160</sup> (British prejudice was the

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<sup>156</sup> See Nord, ‘Reading the Newspaper’, 66-93 for analysis of letters, editorial responses and reader strategies.

<sup>157</sup> See 155 above for evidence of WJ Denny’s use of editorial position not to print a letter in 1901.

<sup>158</sup> See NAA, D1915, SA 29 Pt 1. FM Koerner’s letter of 30 May 1918 to Fr Prendergast states that the ‘editor always has the last word .... If you think you were misrepresented, I will allow you ... a personal explanation in our news column .... and of course the editor will insert letters criticising the conduct and policy of his paper without a reply’.

<sup>159</sup> See McNamara, *The Sole Organ*, 38 where she describes *Tablet* editor Kelly as ‘tightly control[ling] any correspondence published ...’.

<sup>160</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 April 1922 for ‘Topics’ discussion of Irish at Gallipoli.

explanation),<sup>161</sup> others about the Irish derivation of names,<sup>162</sup> and proposals for local Irish cultural activity.<sup>163</sup> Following a Pipers' performance, one enthusiast, having attended concerts in Melbourne 'which is supposed to be the Australian centre of Irish effort and development', argued that Adelaide had greater choice and a more 'fervently rendered list of gems'.<sup>164</sup> St Patrick's Day generated letters demonstrating that 1880s Home Rule Orations and disputed memories of elderly gentlemen about prizes maintained their significance.<sup>165</sup> Another letter responded to an article about early Ireland-Scotland relationships.<sup>166</sup> There were only two conflict-related letters in 1922, one from Agnes Murphy about Ireland's consistent misrepresentation after Sir Henry Wilson's assassination,<sup>167</sup> the other from T.J. Ryan, the state's representative at the Irish Race Congress. Responding from Dublin on 29 April, to a '*Cross*' item of 10 March (reproduced in Dublin's *Young Ireland*), Ryan disputed the account of Dublin Castle's surrender and described that city's disturbed atmosphere. The complex interchange of material –Dublin to Adelaide to Dublin to Adelaide – presents a striking example of transnational information flows.<sup>168</sup> Between April and July 1923, seven letters debating 'Troubled Ireland' equally demonstrated historical knowledge and extreme views. M.T. Smith's terminology about de Valera's forces – 'cut throats and incendiaries' and 'Bolshevist', offended P. McGowran as much as 'brave legislators' to describe the Free State Government.<sup>169</sup> The letters revealed close scrutiny of Ireland as details and perspectives contained in published

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<sup>161</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 May 1922. The correspondent queried the potential impact if Australia's Gallipoli participation being ignored throughout the Empire.

<sup>162</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1923. The name Rostrevor was given to the new Christian Brothers' school, Bro Purton was founding principal; there were queries over the name.

<sup>163</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 April 1923. Piper Patrick O'Leary's letter followed 1923's ISDL disbanding, and questions about fund surplus; he wanted Irish culture to be supported. See Appendix K for his SIB intercepted letter.

<sup>164</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1923.

<sup>165</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March, 6, 20, 27 April, 4 May 1923.

<sup>166</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 April 1923.

<sup>167</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 July and *Advocate*, 20 July 1922.

<sup>168</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1922.

<sup>169</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 April, 4 May 1923.

reports were disputed; Koerner terminated the exchange.<sup>170</sup> Without any group more radical than the INA, these letters represent the only evidence of Adelaide conflict over Ireland during the Civil War.

Melbourne's atmosphere differed. In 1922 letters addressed local issues and provided international perspectives. Former *Advocate* editor, Shorthill, T.P. Walsh and Agnes Murphy were regular correspondents. Cultural matters were examined less frequently.<sup>171</sup> Letters revealed interstate readership, for example, a correspondent from Perth contrasting 'reliable *Advocate* [Republic] news' with local sources.<sup>172</sup> The pattern in published letters from 1922 mirrored Ireland's rising tensions. Shorthill's offering resonated with previous Irish-Australian struggles to demonstrate imperial loyalty, the loyalty continuum. He objected to reports of 'lip-loyalty' towards the king at a Communion Breakfast, disputing any Catholic need 'to indulge in fulsome [praise] to prove they are loyal to the country and the institutions under which they live'.<sup>173</sup> Predictably, outrage over St Patrick's Day was reflected in letters, one decried resort to the Privy Council, given the 'weary' repetition 'of full nationhood since the Great War'.<sup>174</sup> Murphy consistently decried Irish-Australian acceptance of 'malicious' cables about Ireland.<sup>175</sup>

But the murder of Michael Collins in August proved a turning point – letters increased and divisions were greater. 'Self-Determination' suggested Ireland needed his leadership,

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<sup>170</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 May, 1, 8, 22 June and 6 July 1923. See issues of 2, 9, 16 November 1923 for further letters from MT Smith about Empire and trade; there were no responses.

<sup>171</sup> See *Advocate* of 20 April for a letter about Walter Scott in Ireland, and 3 August 1922 for a letter discussing 'Young Irelander,' Thomas Davis, and Arthur Griffith.

<sup>172</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 February 1923, this may have linked to an item of 8 February mentioning proprietorship of WA's *Catholic Record* had passed from Patrick Bryan to Archbishop Clune. See also 19 October 1922 when 'Republic' entered the exchange in strong support of de Valera during the vigorous exchange of opinions discussed below. See issues of 5 and 19 October 1923 for letters from Sydney.

<sup>173</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February 1922. Two letters supporting him appeared the following week.

<sup>174</sup> See *Advocate* of 2 April and 13 July 1922.

<sup>175</sup> See *Advocate* of 31 August 1922 for letter 'The Irish Tragedy: What Enemy Hath Done This?' And her opinion piece of 21 September declared 'insidious propaganda' was suppressing Ireland and that this constituted a crisis.

dismissing other views as faulty, arguing unity and self-determination were essential.<sup>176</sup> Invited to submit a column – ‘The Consistency of de Valera’<sup>177</sup> – his views provoked exchanges which increasingly delineated Irish-Australian differences.<sup>178</sup> Shorthill’s Treaty letter provoked a carefully constructed riposte from his ‘old friend’ T.P. Walsh, their interchange dominated columns until December.<sup>179</sup> Murphy consistently disputed any Treaty legitimacy and support;<sup>180</sup> ‘DMR’ however castigated all anti-Treaty letters as ‘illogical, irrelevant and inconclusive’.<sup>181</sup> Analysis reveals twenty-four pro-Republican letters, with eleven for the Treaty, but as mentioned, the role of editorial selection remains unclear. Interstate correspondents documented allegiance to de Valera,<sup>182</sup> and proposed Mannix as mediator – the only ‘man in the world who possesses the confidence of the conflicting parties’.<sup>183</sup> Twelve letters came from Victorian Republicans, including an English Protestant.<sup>184</sup> There were only four Treaty supporters in addition to Shorthill and ‘DMR’.<sup>185</sup> The *Advocate* thus reflected Victoria’s Irish-Australian battlelines by mid-1922, but whether this reflected the community’s attitude is questioned by the Jageurs-Dillon correspondence which suggests the existence of alternative opinions and robust debate.<sup>186</sup>

The 1923 *Advocate* did not publish correspondent exchanges about Ireland. Letters raised cultural issues: the Gaelic League *Feis*,<sup>187</sup> and Irish Dancing in preference to ‘Modern’, for

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<sup>176</sup> *Advocate*, 31 August 1922.

<sup>177</sup> *Advocate*, 21 September 1922.

<sup>178</sup> See *Advocate* of 2 November and 14 December 1922 for more ‘Self-Determination’ letters.

<sup>179</sup> See *Advocate* of 5, 19 October and 2, 23 November for Shorthill’s letters and 12, 26 October, 9 November and 7 December 1922 for letters from Walsh.

<sup>180</sup> See *Advocate* of 5, 26 October and 2, 23 November 1922.

<sup>181</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 October, 9 November and 7 December 1922.

<sup>182</sup> See *Advocate* of 5 October (Sydney) and 19 October 1922 (Perth).

<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 9 November 1922 (‘Ross’).

<sup>184</sup> See *Advocate* of 23 March (MP Crowley), 27 April (?), 12 (‘Semper Fideles’), 19 (‘DN’) and 26 October (‘To the Day’), 9 (‘Ross’) and 23 November (Thomas ?), 7 (AD Moore, the Protestant, ‘Speco,’ John Ryan and Paul Brady) and 28 December 1922 (Thomas Crennan).

<sup>185</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 November (‘Innisfail’), and 7 December 1922 (‘Mr Collins Mourned’, J Lynch and Jas P Power).

<sup>186</sup> *Tribune* correspondence columns could reflect alternative divisions, but including another Victorian Irish-Catholic paper would present balance issues.

<sup>187</sup> *Advocate*, 1 March 1923.

example.<sup>188</sup> Contemporary emigration,<sup>189</sup> historical issues,<sup>190</sup> and ideas of a pilgrimage to Ireland and Lourdes were addressed.<sup>191</sup> Twelve pro-Republican letters can be identified, four relating to the Irish Envoys,<sup>192</sup> with one opposing their mission. Claiming to follow Irish bishops, not parties, the writer asserted 'I would sooner see every [Catholic church, school and hall] razed to the ground than let to the Republican envoys'.<sup>193</sup> Walsh and Murphy<sup>194</sup> (both actively identified with Melbourne's IRA and the visiting Republicans), penned three<sup>195</sup> and two respectively,<sup>196</sup> but others seemed 'single issue' correspondents.<sup>197</sup> The imbalance suggests editorial censorship, or recognition by correspondents that after the emergence of the IRA and the atmosphere generated by the Envoys, public discussion was futile. The Jageurs-Dillon correspondence supports this interpretation, but as suggested, Jageurs was hardly objective. While his perspective presents important insights, these emanated from the discarded 'old guard' representing constitutional nationalism, antagonism towards Sinn Féin, Treaty support, and personal irrelevance as leader.

### *Role of Individuals*

Any attempt to identify significant individuals during years of crisis risks excluding important persons. Here, however, it is argued that three Melbourne men, Fr William Hackett, Archbishop Mannix and Morgan Jageurs, require additional discussion. Melbourne's attitude towards Ireland distinguished it from other Australian cities: Mannix was synonymous with imperial disloyalty before the Civil War; his espousal of de Valera's position cemented this. Thus examining Mannix's relationship with a newly arrived

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<sup>188</sup> *Advocate*, 1 and 28 March 1923. See 1 March for queries about the reporting of 'Forty-Fives'.

<sup>189</sup> *Advocate*, 14 June 1923.

<sup>190</sup> *Advocate*, 10 May 1923. Britain's responsibility for Irish poverty was examined.

<sup>191</sup> See *Advocate* of 24 and 31 May and 19 July 1923.

<sup>192</sup> See *Advocate* of 5, 19 and 30 April and 9 August 1923.

<sup>193</sup> See *Advocate* of 3 May 1923.

<sup>194</sup> In her letter of 26 January, Murphy also discussed Mannix as possible Irish mediator.

<sup>195</sup> See *Advocate* of 30 August, 25 October and 20 December 1923.

<sup>196</sup> See *Advocate* of 26 January and 5 April 1923.

<sup>197</sup> See *Advocate* of 22 February, 20 September, 18 October and 22 November 1923.

Irishman prominent in Irish struggles, and the prelate's links to Jageurs (as the public remnant of IPP nationalism), casts light on the city where disloyalty flourished, and hierarchical control and Irish opinion bore little resemblance to other Australian locations. Adelaide's Archbishop Spence presents a different model, discussing his espousal and definition of imperial loyalty during the Civil War suggests an alternative perspective about the concept's application to Irish-Australians. Finally, measuring the contribution to Irish-Australian identity by poet 'John O'Brien', allows examination of an important contemporary perspective.

At the beginning of 1923, months after arriving in Australia,<sup>198</sup> Irish Jesuit, William Hackett, began teaching in Melbourne.<sup>199</sup> When he visited Mannix in mid-March the pair established a long friendship; Hackett's need 'to tell someone how it really was in Ireland' directly informed the prelate of more horrifying Civil War details.<sup>200</sup> While further information about Fr Hackett's life is located in Appendix C, here his Kilkenny family's political activism and his apparent detachment until his 1912 post-ordination transfer to a Limerick school need emphasis.<sup>201</sup> He formed connections with extremists, and actively prepared his students for roles in a new Ireland.<sup>202</sup> Following the Easter Rising and intensifying British violence, the cleric's Republican activism expanded.<sup>203</sup> Support of Republicans during 1922 necessitated his removal from Ireland, whether by his request or Jesuit decree remains unclear.<sup>204</sup> In Australia Hackett was distant from friends and family,

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<sup>198</sup> *Advocate*, 12 October and *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1922. He had embarked in early September.

<sup>199</sup> Niall, *The Riddle of Father Hackett*, 110.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-7.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 38. See also 24, 54, 55, 64-66 for details of Limerick's Bishop Edward O'Dwyer distance from other prelates in 1890 judgements against CS Parnell, war-time challenges to Redmond over Irish enlistment in 1915, and dismissal of General Maxwell's post-Easter Rising queries re priests. See 302 above for reference to O'Dwyer's post-Rising comments reported in Australia. See Appendix C for details of O'Dwyer's life.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-2.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-6.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-4.

deeply troubled about Ireland, and politically isolated within his Jesuit community.<sup>205</sup>

Mannix was also isolated within the hierarchy, equally troubled about Ireland, and a de Valera enthusiast.<sup>206</sup> Their need was mutual; their friendship persisted until Hackett's death.<sup>207</sup>



Figure 105. Advertisement, *Tribune*, 8 February 1923

Bishop Phelan commented in 1922 that ‘no one in Australia could draw such crowds [as Mannix]’.<sup>208</sup> Crowd sizes at functions attended by Mannix attest to his popularity.<sup>209</sup> (Figure 105 advertises one event patronised by Mannix.) His theatrical willingness to provoke headlines, while loudly proclaiming his neutrality on Ireland, ensured receptive audiences.<sup>210</sup> The *Advocate*’s adulatory tone reinforces its ecclesiastical links. The Jageurs-Dillon correspondence provides very specific and different perceptions of Mannix, and, by default, powerful impressions of Jageurs. As first generation members, they could scarcely have been more different. Predating Mannix in Melbourne by three decades Jageurs was

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-126.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-7.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 4, 174, 188, 191, 195, 215-7, 255-65, 267, 269, 274 and 276. Fr Hackett died on 9 July 1954 as the result of a tram accident.

<sup>208</sup> *Advocate*, 11 May 1922. On that occasion Mannix spoke for 45 minutes.

<sup>209</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 March 1923 for account of Mannix visiting a visiting production ‘The Irish Village’ – because his visit was announced, the audience was larger and ‘more enthusiastic’.

<sup>210</sup> See Tables Seven and Eight for details of Mannix in public with references to his Irish comments, see also Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix.*, 151-4 for discussion of his style.



contemptuous of his understanding: 'His knowledge of past political events is very limited, and consequently his utterances deal largely with generalities'.<sup>211</sup> More significantly, he held Mannix accountable for much damage:

Church leadership has destroyed all sense of personal responsibility with most of the [Irish] societies and it has disgusted others whose political views do not accord with those held by a certain ecclesiastic.<sup>212</sup>

Jageurs described the 1922 High Court victory over the legality of the St Patrick's Day procession as 'a feather to Dr Mannix's cap', averring that 'Many believe him to be invincible'.<sup>213</sup> In relating widespread fear of Mannix 'and his fire eaters,' Jageurs disclosed he received great private support, but not public. Describing requests from Celtic Club stalwarts to tone down his statements, he insisted that he and others were 'marked out for abuse and attacks of all kinds'.<sup>214</sup> This correspondence reveals difficult times; referring often to the 'Rebs', Jageurs recounts various property attacks (frequently necessitating police protection),<sup>215</sup> night-time serenades 'with loud cries of 'Up de Valera' for example,<sup>216</sup> and 'scurrilous letters'. He also describes earlier threats against Nicholas O'Donnell. Magnanimously, Jageurs confides his capacity to forgive everything 'except the mock letter of condolence ... which was sent to me after my son was killed at Pozieres in 1916'.<sup>217</sup> Warned he is to be the next 'Reb' target, with a raid contemplated on his monumental works, Jageurs again sought police protection. His 'offence' was publishing Dillon's extremely negative letter about Ireland, and his own presumed support for *Tribune* editor, Fr Mangan.<sup>218</sup> Jageurs mentioned Dillon's December 1922 letter several times;<sup>219</sup> its

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<sup>211</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 18 February 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/288. See Niall, *The Riddle*, 256 for comment about Hackett bringing a box of books when he holidayed with Mannix for 6 or 7 weeks: 'because Mannix does not read much he has time for only a few'.

<sup>212</sup> MP Jageurs to Justice Higgins, Letter, 21 November 1922, NLA, Higgins Papers, MS1057/472B.

<sup>213</sup> MP Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 5 March 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/289.

<sup>214</sup> MP Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/293.

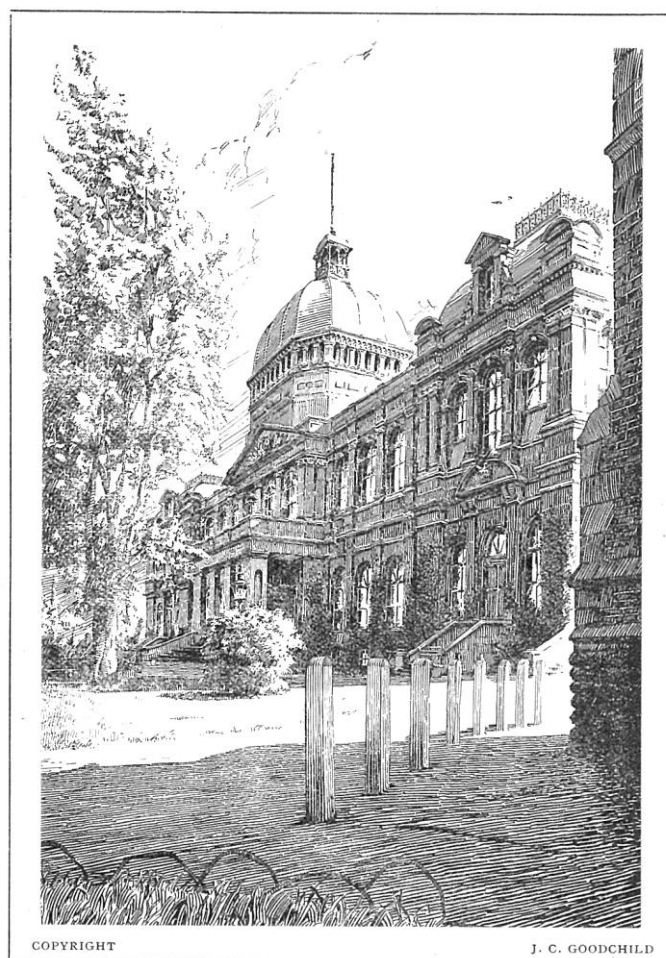
<sup>215</sup> MP Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 18 February 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS48/288.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.* See also NAA: A8911/251, 'Shamrock Club and Young Ireland Society – William McCabe and Patrick Francis O'Sullivan (Sinn Fein Organisations)', 15 April 1918 for reference to John Jageurs as the first 'Hon Secretary of the YIS, indicating he may not have shared his father's constitutional views about Ireland.

<sup>218</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/293.

publication in the *Argus* was deliberately planned to deflect attention from the Envoys.<sup>220</sup> Despite recipient anonymity, the *Advocate*<sup>221</sup> and ‘*Cross*’ both named Jageurs, Koerner’s dismissive attitude reflected in his heading ‘Dillon’s Dirge’.<sup>222</sup> By 1923 Jageurs, although marginalised among Melbourne’s Irish-Australians, was an obvious target for Civil War divisions. The tone and stridence of his post-1916 positions on Ireland had engaged him in correspondence clashes with individuals such as Dr Leeper and Dr Rentoul; his combat with Mannix was less overt but no less vicious.



**Figure 106.** Exhibition Building from J.C. Goodchild’s *Adelaide in Pen & Ink Drawings*

<sup>219</sup> See Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letters, 18 February and 5 March 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/288 and 289.

<sup>220</sup> See *Argus* of 2 April 1923; see also Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 2 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/290.

<sup>221</sup> *Advocate*, 12 April 1923. The item included Delegate responses to Dillon’s letter.

<sup>222</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 April 1923.

Archbishop Spence, a previous surveillance target,<sup>223</sup> now seemed anxious to utilise any opportunity of proving and promoting Irish-Australian loyalty. Two 1923 occasions illustrate his resolve. The May opening of the new Christian Brothers' site, Rostrevor, and October events associated with Adelaide's Cathedral extension. Complimenting the Brothers on all kinds of 'good work', Spence mentioned the war when some people 'were losing their heads', and schools were 'accused of disloyalty, and it was a pretty strong accusation, too'. Spence dismissed the unworthy detractors, explaining that after the war Christian Brothers' schools were found to have contributed 10,000 soldiers; and many had died. 'If that was not loyalty [Spence] did not know what was'.<sup>224</sup> Arguably he was referring to events in 1918 relating to the threatened closure of Adelaide's CBC.<sup>225</sup> The tenor of his comments supports the previously discussed official consideration of closing – and wider Irish-Australian awareness of the threat. Spence's determination to parade Irish-Australian wartime imperial loyalty in the post-Treaty environment was reflected in a personal assurance to the state's Governor. At the Exhibition Building (Figure 106) in front of many Irish-Australian hierarchical contemporaries (including Mannix), he reassured the Governor, despite 'rumours to the contrary,' that Irish-Australians were loyal to 'the King and the British Empire'.<sup>226</sup> Unusually, Koerner saluted Spence for juggling two citizenships, especially amidst Ireland's 'passion-stirring times'. He went further:

No clearer indication of his skilful maintaining of the balance between Ireland and the British Empire, could have been given than his being able to bring together at a public demonstration that splendidly uncompromising Irishman Archbishop Mannix and the distinguished British general and Governor of this state, Sir Thomas Bridges, and to fill the Exhibition Building with an audience which rose to the singing of 'God Save the King' and of 'God Bless the Pope.'<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> See 360-1 and 389 above for earlier discussion of SIB interest in Spence.

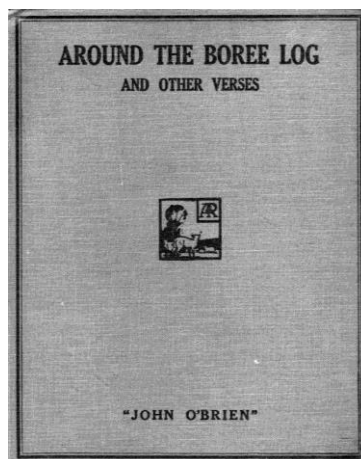
<sup>224</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 May 1923.

<sup>225</sup> See 259 and 383 above for reference to this threat.

<sup>226</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 October 1923.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

Spence personified the claim Irishmen made repeatedly: Ireland's transition from British domination to independent rule, would ensure loyalty from its leaders, citizens and diaspora residents. Mannix, however, proved the difficult exception.



**Figure 107.** Front Cover, *Around the Boree Log*

John O'Brien's poetry, *Around the Boree Log, and Other Verses* was acclaimed in the 1920s.<sup>228</sup>

First published in November 1921 (Figure 107), the book's elevation 'of the little Irish-Australians reared and raised on the bush selection [written] with such in-seeing sympathy, truth, and knowledge of character...' struck powerful chords in many families.<sup>229</sup>

Additionally, his 'Faith' allegiance, reflecting his identity as Fr Patrick Hartigan (a second generation Irish-Australian),<sup>230</sup> created an extraordinary reputation among Irish-Australians.

Sales of over 30,000 in the 1920s reflect his popularity.<sup>231</sup> Both newspapers celebrated

Angus and Robertson's 1923 publication of a selection, largely for schools, at 1/- a copy.

The '*Cross*' welcomed the opportunity for 'the rising generation' to understand the pioneer

<sup>228</sup> See Jeff Brownrigg, 'Irish Mothers and Mother Ireland in the Verses of 'John O'Brien' and Other Poetical Priests' in Jeff Brownrigg et al (eds.), *Echoes of Irish Australia: Rebellion to Republic. A Collection of Essays*, St Clement's Retreat and Conference Centre, Galong, 2007, 167-181. In 1927 *Around the Boree Log* became a major feature film. Brownrigg disputes O'Farrell's claim (192) that the poetry related to a fading 'nobler, better world', suggesting World War One's role in this process, and emphasising O'Brien's pragmatism and observational product (178-9).

<sup>229</sup> *Advocate*, 26 July, 1923. The comments were on 'The Literary and Critical Page'.

<sup>230</sup> As an Irish-Australian rather than an Irish priest, and a member of the Manly Union, an organisation of priests trained at Sydney's Manly Seminary, Hartigan reflected a future where Ireland's role in the Church would diminish. See *Advocate* of 11 May 1922 for report of Manly Union Triennial meeting.

<sup>231</sup> Brownrigg, 'Irish Mothers', 171. 5000 copies were printed in November 1921, another 3000 in 2 months, 20,000 from 1923 to August 1926, and 5,500 more between February 1928 and July 1929.

experiences only available to them through ‘the reminiscences of parents and relatives’.<sup>232</sup> O’Farrell’s summation of O’Brien locates his ‘Irish Australia[n] ambivalent affirmation of identity with the Australian experience’, arguing his literary success mirrored ‘what Irish Australians were attempting to do in life’.<sup>233</sup> This does not accord with the framework suggested by these Irish-Australian newspapers; perhaps O’Farrell’s ‘accommodationist’ perspective explains his comment. Both newspapers promoted the importance of younger Irish-Australians (generally the third generation mentioned earlier), understanding the former lifestyle, *not* its fading, nor the need for its rejection. And Irish-South Australians proudly documented Hartigan’s integration of their family experiences into his poetry.<sup>234</sup> Sales figures for O’Brien’s poetry, and its focus in the Irish-Catholic press, suggest its role in sustaining Irish-Australian identity through the turmoil of the 1920s. The Civil War years witnessed both conflict and celebration over the public display of Irish identity, St Patrick’s Day and events associated with the 1923 visit of Republican Envoys, and overseas, earlier confusion around the Irish Race Congress.

### *Role of Events*

Irish-Australian public events during these years could display overt loyalty to the Empire or strategic provocation to authorities. During the volatility, Adelaide followed the former path, while Melbourne took the latter.<sup>235</sup> In both cities, St Patrick’s Day represented a day apart, a day of unequalled symbolic importance for Irish-Australians, a day when history and nostalgia united the community, but also publicly identified it as ‘Other’. As discussed,

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<sup>232</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 July and *Advocate*, 26 July 1923.

<sup>233</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 191-2.

<sup>234</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 1 and 15 June 1923 for evidence from two Irish-South Australian families that O’Brien had based poems on their family members: the first was ‘The Old Mass Shandrydan,’ relating to the family of Limerick-born John Moloney whose clerical son had described efforts made getting the family to Mass in the poet’s hearing. The second was ‘The Trimmings on the Rosary,’ a phrase heard in the home of Patrick and Ellen Kelly (from Clare and Cavan); their son Patrick Leo was a contemporary of John Hartigan in priestly studies at Manly, and Hartigan had stayed on the Kelly’s farm at Mintaro, South Australia.

<sup>235</sup> See *Advocate* of 8 November 1923 for discussion of the planned Irish Demonstration of 11<sup>th</sup> following the previous weekend’s riots in conjunction with the police strike.

earlier, celebratory speeches alarmed security authorities (who also noted other features associated with the day),<sup>236</sup> a process reflected in Bishop Liston's apparent 1922 Auckland transgression.<sup>237</sup> Pressure from the Protestant Political Association<sup>238</sup> encouraged sedition charges against him for speaking passionately about Ireland's experiences on St Patrick's Day, but unlike Mannix his was an aberration.<sup>239</sup> Clearly, while Ireland's national day was a focus for Irish-Australians, the various guardians of loyalty particularly feared the consequences of Irish-Australian difference, and quickly translated this into disloyalty, if not assisting Empire dismemberment.

Melbourne's tradition of St Patrick's Day encompassing a political and demonstrative focus continued in 1922 and 1923. The City Council prohibited the 1922 march in response to the Procession Committee's refusal to allow the Union Jack to lead,<sup>240</sup> and subsequently it refused to meet a deputation.<sup>241</sup> This scenario handed Mannix a powerful incentive to stage an overwhelmingly successful procession. While Koerner viewed the standoff as a test of loyalty, he contended the flag demand was 'unpolitic and unjustifiable' because of the Treaty's destruction of any Union Jack symbolism, and suggested excluding all flags. Alternatively, he felt Sydney's option of avoiding a procession had merit.<sup>242</sup> Reflecting the more typical Adelaide compromise approach at its procession, Spence's remarks were limited to thanking organisers, rejoicing that 1922 'was the first in many centuries that the people in Ireland were citizens of a free state', and urging extending the hand of friendship and forgetting the past.<sup>243</sup> While the tenor of customary toasts at the banquet – 'The Day We Celebrate' and 'Ireland a Nation' – was celebratory, it also reflected belief that Ireland

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<sup>236</sup> NAA: D1915, SA129, Pt.1. 22 May 1920. See 356 above for reference to speeches made at Adelaide's 1920 luncheon and failed prosecution moves.

<sup>237</sup> See 411 above for reference to Bishop Liston's difficulties.

<sup>238</sup> See Reid, *James Michael Liston*, 64-5 for explanation of this Association's 1917 emergence from the LOL.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Liston was [not] an ardent Republican'.

<sup>240</sup> *Advocate*, 2 March 1922. This issue included protests from the Celtic Club, the ACF and country groups.

<sup>241</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1922.

<sup>242</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 March 1922.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

was in the process of achieving full and united independence.<sup>244</sup> Readers of the '*Cross*' could access alternative ways of responding to experiences of 'bigotry'. They were also informed about the drama playing out in Melbourne: the ban, its general defiance, and the extended legal consequences.<sup>245</sup> Interpretive editorial comments in 'Topics'<sup>246</sup> and in O'Loughlin's regular 'Currente Calamo' column expanded information and reader understanding.<sup>247</sup>

In Melbourne, event planning began in January.<sup>248</sup> Community interest was sustained<sup>249</sup> by *Advocate* focus on six weeks of Council persuasion,<sup>250</sup> determination to mount the procession,<sup>251</sup> and encourage huge attendance.<sup>252</sup> This interval gifted Mannix with numerous speaking opportunities.<sup>253</sup> On 20 February a meeting decided that all Returned Soldiers, Sailors and Nurses 'who are of Irish descent or who are in sympathy with Irish ideals [would be invited] ... to make this year's procession a greater success even than that of 1920'.<sup>254</sup> Involving wartime participants was masterly. Headlines proclaimed: 'Demand[ing] the Rights for which they Fought', connecting their fight for the Empire,<sup>255</sup> a theme to which Mannix frequently returned.<sup>256</sup> Thus by 23 March, 'The Procession that Was Held' headed six semi-gloating *Advocate* pages, two of photographs. Mannix headed the list of 25 names taken 'at the instigation of the City Council'.<sup>257</sup> Speculation about the

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<sup>244</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1922.

<sup>245</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 17, 31 March, 7, 14, 21 April, 9 June, 7 July, and 17 November 1922.

<sup>246</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 February, 24 March, 4, 18 August 1922.

<sup>247</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 May, 22 December 1922.

<sup>248</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February 1922.

<sup>249</sup> *Advocate*, 9 and 16 March 1922.

<sup>250</sup> *Advocate*, 9, 16, 23 February 1922.

<sup>251</sup> *Advocate*, 23 February 1922.

<sup>252</sup> See *Advocate* of 9 March 1922 for large type at top of 26: 'SEE THAT YOU MARCH IN THE PROCESSION!'

<sup>253</sup> *Advocate*, 23 February (Queenscliff), 9 March (Seymour), 16 March 1922 (Sale and South Melbourne).

<sup>254</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1922. The committee's procedural item about the march was placed within a long article presenting Mannix's Nagambie speech about Ireland.

<sup>255</sup> *Advocate*, 23 February 1922.

<sup>256</sup> See *Advocate* of 30 March, 6, 13, 20 April, 4, 11 and 18 May 1922.

<sup>257</sup> *Advocate*, 23 March and *Southern Cross*, 31 March 1922.

next instalment dominated,<sup>258</sup> prosecution was decided by April.<sup>259</sup> Issuing summonses<sup>260</sup> activated further comments from Mannix.<sup>261</sup> Legal victory and Council's challenge were fully reported,<sup>262</sup> as was July's Full Court decision (with costs) against the Council bylaw.<sup>263</sup> Appeal was soon mooted,<sup>264</sup> and progress to and through the High Court, noted.<sup>265</sup> By December's judgement, deterioration in Ireland – particularly the Free State execution horror – reduced the impact of the legal victory.<sup>266</sup>

In 1923, St Patrick's Day was heavily promoted by the *Advocate* as a 'Grand Success'.<sup>267</sup> Mannix, buoyed by 1922's unequivocal victories, seemed in an especially powerful position.<sup>268</sup> He introduced the recently arrived Republican delegates, Fr Michael O'Flanagan and John Joseph O'Kelly to the crowd. Jageurs informed Dillon that 'many Irishmen' did not march due to their presence, that the event was 'somewhat 'flat' and lacked the enthusiasm and numbers of previous years.<sup>269</sup> However the *Advocate's* celebratory photographic collage featured envoy photographs.<sup>270</sup> Public association of anti-Treaty delegates with Ireland's national day relayed a powerful symbol to Irish-Australians. 30,000 later heard Mannix speak. 'Former Enthusiasm Undiminished' summed up the day.<sup>271</sup> Broader consequences of the event will be discussed below.

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<sup>258</sup> *Advocate*, 30 March 1922. The first was at a Richmond Concert, the next at an Ivanhoe foundation-laying ceremony.

<sup>259</sup> *Advocate*, 6 April and *Southern Cross*, 14 April 1922.

<sup>260</sup> *Advocate*, 20 April 1922.

<sup>261</sup> *Advocate*, 20 April (Healesville), 25 May 1922 (Geelong).

<sup>262</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 May 1922.

<sup>263</sup> *Advocate*, 6 July 1922. This edition also published a photo of the organising committee and devoted an editorial to the victory. See also *Southern Cross*, 7 July 1922.

<sup>264</sup> *Advocate*, 27 July and *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1922.

<sup>265</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 August, 17 November and *Advocate*, 16, 23 November 1922

<sup>266</sup> *Advocate*, 21 December and *Southern Cross*, 22 December 1922.

<sup>267</sup> *Advocate*, 1, 8, 15 March 1923.

<sup>268</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 291 for claim that 1922's procession represented 'the last hurrah' for Irish-Australia.

<sup>269</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/293.

<sup>270</sup> *Advocate*, 22 March 1923.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*



In Adelaide, the '*Cross*' reported 7-8,000, 'one of the largest attendances reported', at the sports grounds. The Irish Pipers headed the procession and many wore 'Irish colours'; while Spence was named as patron, there was no reference to him speaking. At the concert, 'the audience had come prepared to enjoy' Fr T. O'Loughlin's recitation of "Old Mass Shandry-dan' from *Around the Boree Log*, 'and was not disappointed'.<sup>272</sup> When examined alongside Melbourne's pageantry, Adelaide's different pattern suggests further evidence that Spence deliberately avoided public statements during the Civil War.

Embedded within the larger imperial loyalty tableau, exploited so powerfully by Mannix, was the place of Australia's flag within the nation. The Archbishop utilised every opportunity to highlight the flag. For example, he congratulated Epping parish on having Australia's flag (alongside Sinn Fein's) in 'the right place' at the front of their welcoming procession. In terms of Australians standing to sing 'God Save the King,' he asked whether it was 'time a purely Australian national sentiment of that kind was developed'.<sup>273</sup> Such provocative remarks amidst widespread community imperial sentiment which equated royal symbolism and the Union Jack with loyalty made any Irish-Australian diversion disloyal.

As previously discussed, Melbourne's 1920 St Patrick's Day procession was framed around flag positioning.<sup>274</sup> The issue resurfaced in 1922; legal success emboldened Mannix. Arguing that **not** flying Australia's flag was disloyal, he objected to the Union Jack as the highest symbol of loyalty.<sup>275</sup> This divergence encapsulated the issue for many Irish-Australians – as Australians, they were happily loyal to the monarch and the Empire, especially in the post-Treaty atmosphere. But as the hated symbol of the historical relationship, the Union Jack

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<sup>272</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1923.

<sup>273</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1922.

<sup>274</sup> See 377-8 above.

<sup>275</sup> *Advocate*, 24 August and *Southern Cross*, 15 September 1922.

still represented domination, something they now wanted to jettison.<sup>276</sup> Australia's flag carried no baggage. But clarity for Irish-Australians in negotiating their identity was unlikely to be understood, much less shared by the majority dominant culture.

*The Irish Race Congress in Paris – the Aonac nan Gaedéal*

In late 1921, alongside preoccupation with the fading War of Independence, the SDIL Irish Race Congress was covered by both papers.<sup>277</sup> Diaspora representatives included seven Australians,<sup>278</sup> Adelaide choosing to endorse T.J. Ryan, an interstate representative as it had in 1896.<sup>279</sup> In a frank letter to Dillon, Jageurs endorsed O'Reilly, Mahon and Cleary 'as able and honest minded', others however were 'minor lights', in particular Ryan, his 'old opponent in [Melbourne's] Celtic Club'. Clearly astonished at 'the extraordinary means' inducing his selection by the Adelaide branch, he argued 'they should have made enquiries here before they committed themselves to a person whom they know very little of'.<sup>280</sup> Unfortunately, by the opening of the Congress on 21 January 1922, the Anglo-Irish War was over, and the Treaty the source of increasing Irish tension. The Paris gathering could scarcely avoid being ensnared in the discordance. In his cable survey, Jageurs disclosed the proceedings were of a 'commonplace character', arguing that '[p]eople are wondering what the Conference was really called for'.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> See *Advocate* of 18 May 1922 for discussion of compulsory flying of Union Jack in NSW schools instead of the Australian flag. See issue of 24 August for report of Fr O'Reilly's talk on 'The Aftermath of War' where he described the Union Jack as 'the emblem of sectarianism in Australia'.

<sup>277</sup> See Davis, 'Self-Determination...League', 95, 97-101 for discussion of Paris event.

<sup>278</sup> Fr Maurice O'Reilly from NSW led the delegation, others were Hugh Mahon (Victoria), PS Cleary (NSW), TJ Ryan (SA), M O'Dea (WA), Herbert Moran (Tasmania) and PJ Dillon (Queensland). Hugh Mahon became ill, was hospitalised, and did not participate. See also Archbishop Robert William Spence Correspondence and Papers for Letters of October 29 and 6 November ACDA. O'Reilly sought endorsement for his leadership. Spence could not think of anyone more suitable among 'all the prominent Irishmen of ... Australia'.

<sup>279</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 24 July 1896 for explanation of Victorian Thomas Hunt to attend Dublin's Irish Race Convention, and issue of 2 December 1921 for explanation that Ryan was chosen because 'no SA delegate could spare the necessary time to go to Paris'.

<sup>280</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter of 6 December 1921, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/266.

<sup>281</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter of 27 January 1922, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6848/268.

However, great optimism marked early *Advocate* discussion and its reporting arrangements, engaging ‘brilliant Irish author’ Aodh de Blacam. The gathering would be ‘constructive’; its deliberations would produce ‘wise measures for the future welfare of Ireland and her world-wide interests’.<sup>282</sup> The ‘*Cross*’ displayed more measured interest,<sup>283</sup> quoting from *Advocate* letters (sent by a secretary, a niece of Mannix)<sup>284</sup> and progress reports, but showing less fervour than its contemporary.<sup>285</sup> Organising Secretary, Katherine Hughes was known to Irish-Australians for earlier SDIL promotion activities. De Valera’s Paris presence enabled interviews, ‘*Cross*’ readers could take comfort from his mid-January declaration that he ‘had no intention of coming into conflict with the majority of the Irish parliament’.<sup>286</sup> They learned of 100 delegates from 14 countries.<sup>287</sup> In early February, cables reported that discussion of the ‘nationality of Irishmen living abroad’ had elicited comments from Dominion representatives acknowledging their ‘Irishness’ came second to their national identity.<sup>288</sup> By February the *Advocate*’s four pages highlighted the Convention’s opening, its cultural lectures, de Valera’s ovation, the decision to develop a world-wide Irish organisation and hold Irish Olympic Games, Who’s Who at the Conference, and de Valera’s message (as elected *Gaedeal* President).<sup>289</sup> Irish-Australians, then, had access (by mail) to complete opening speeches, planning for the international organisation (with Australian contributions highlighted), and closing sessions.<sup>290</sup>

Demonstrating again how personal communication illuminated alternative views, O’Loghlin’s receipt of a letter from P.S. Cleary (NSW’s representative), showed the Paris

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<sup>282</sup> *Advocate*, 5 January 1922.

<sup>283</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 24 March 1922 for item attributed to a ‘Special Correspondent of Catholic Press’.

<sup>284</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 January 1922.

<sup>285</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 13 January, 7 April.

<sup>286</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 January 1922.

<sup>287</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 10 March for details of SA delegate TJ Ryan’s 14 January letter – Perth’s welcome, but delegate confusion about impact of Treaty on holding the conference.

<sup>288</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 February 1922.

<sup>289</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February 1922.

<sup>290</sup> *Advocate*, 23, 30 March and 6 April 1922. The third instalment included O’Reilly’s address about Australia’s desire for Ireland to choose her own form of government.

impact of Irish disunity. Cleary wrote of this ‘militat[ing] against success’, of the Republican ‘wire pulling’ to ensure Congress help in the coming elections, but described Australian avoidance of exploitation by either Treaty faction.<sup>291</sup> The *Advocate*’s only hint of the dissension later revealed as endemic came in de Valera’s interview with de Blacam. He mentioned ‘a few hot words ... on side issues, and the dread some of us felt ... that strong feelings would result in a racial split’.<sup>292</sup> Comment on a Dublin *Freeman’s Journal* ‘mischief-making’ article about de Valera, introduced another clue.<sup>293</sup> But ‘*Cross*’ publication of that article, using the supplementary headline ‘Party Politics Introduced’, made criticism of de Valera explicit.<sup>294</sup> Ryan reported directly to O’Loghlin as ISDL President, confirming ‘dissension ... and friction’, describing the gathering as ‘most disappointing’.<sup>295</sup> Fr O’Reilly, representing overseas delegates, followed de Valera’s speech at the banquet, restating Australia’s impartial support, but somewhat overemphasising the honour he felt in speaking.<sup>296</sup> Returning from Paris, O’Reilly passed through Melbourne, meeting Mannix and talking to ISDL members; his published interview carefully promoted Australia’s non-partisan position. He argued that differences between the two Irish factions – ‘both are frankly Republican’ – were ‘more apparent than real’.<sup>297</sup> Whether this represented his view or was deliberately ameliorative, it did not assist Irish-Australian understanding of the conflict.

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<sup>291</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1922.

<sup>292</sup> *Advocate*, 30 March 1922.

<sup>293</sup> *Advocate*, 6 April 1922.

<sup>294</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 March 1922.

<sup>295</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 April 1922. See *Advocate* of 30 March for report of Ryan presenting de Valera with a walking stick and congratulating him from the Australian delegates as *Gaedeal* President. See Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon for several references to Ryan’s Paris behaviour as proving his low opinion, no explanation for these has been found.

<sup>296</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 April 1922. See issue of 24 November for report of TJ Ryan’s visit to Adelaide to meet those interested in the Irish question.

<sup>297</sup> *Advocate*, 1 June 1922.

### *The Irish Delegates*

In contrast to the positive and, by 1923, semi-mythologised history of previous Irish delegations to Australia, de Valera's emissaries (in Australia between March and July) had a negative impact. Their arrival followed a controversial American tour.<sup>298</sup> Unlike many episodes in this examination of Irish-Australian loyalty and identity, sources beyond the two newspapers allow a more complete analysis.<sup>299</sup> More typically, the *Advocate* and 'Cross' hint at other layers of responses, but evidence cannot be found. In this case, letters between Jageurs and Dillon, and Melbourne's *Argus*, combine to provide enlightenment on much *Advocate* silence.

OFlanagan and O'Kelly were prominent figures,<sup>300</sup> their commitment to extreme Irish nationalism well established, and known locally.<sup>301</sup> The visit reflected the rapport established (mentioned earlier)<sup>302</sup> between de Valera and Mannix during their 1920 American crossover.<sup>303</sup> Initially OFlanagan categorised Mannix as Ireland's 'most outstanding friend', and Australia as the world's 'most friendly nation towards Ireland'.<sup>304</sup> By March however, editorial gaze about Ireland in Melbourne and Adelaide differed. Where the *Advocate* reported meetings large and small, and Fr Collins commented positively,<sup>305</sup> the 'Cross' acknowledged the mission, but ensured readers knew of American

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<sup>298</sup> James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2002*, Vol. 7, 606, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, and *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1923.

<sup>299</sup> See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 291 where the visit is covered in one paragraph.

<sup>300</sup> See *Advocate* of 12 January 1923 for item about O'Kelly as editor of the *Irish Bulletin*, 'The Mouthpiece of Sinn Fein: *The Irish Bulletin*, A Wonderful Production' and *Southern Cross* of 3 March 1922 for item 'The *Irish Bulletin* and its Vicissitudes'.

<sup>301</sup> O'Kelly had been interned and imprisoned; a fate from which OFlanagan's clerical status had protected him. See *Advocate* of 12 January 1923 for an item about his role as Sinn Fein's Vice President, 'One of Ireland's Best-Known National Figures'. See also Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 183, 185, 186-7 for Flanagan's role in Anglo-Irish War and Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question*, 253, 261, 294 and 304 for references to OFlanagan's prominence in events from 1915 to 1918.

<sup>302</sup> See 364 above.

<sup>303</sup> For evidence about the provocative nature of the tour, and official responses, see Campbell, 'Mannix in America' 95-108, and MS 9958 NLA, Ministry of Home Security, 'Activities of Sinn Fein Supporter Dr Mannix, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne'.

<sup>304</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1923.

<sup>305</sup> See *Advocate* of 22, 29 March, 5, 12, 19, 26 April, 3, 17, 24, 31 May 1922.

controversy, and Irish President Cosgrave's depiction of the delegates as 'agents of propaganda'.<sup>306</sup> Where Spence was silent,<sup>307</sup> Mannix justified the visit as consulting with Irish-Australian leaders to find an honourable peace, and more importantly, allowing the community to hear 'the other side'. Cleverly linking the Vatican response to Republican complaints about Irish bishops – sending an envoy to investigate paths to peace – Mannix proclaimed interest in following the pope, not those who favoured delegate deportation.<sup>308</sup> The prelate's adoption of such a strong position presented a dilemma to some Irish-Australians whose judgement about Ireland differed from Mannix's Treaty antagonism.

*Argus* emphasis on protests and demands for envoy removal<sup>309</sup> was reflected in the 'Cross',<sup>310</sup> but not the *Advocate*. From a 'Melbourne Correspondent', Adelaide's Irish-Australians read of 5,000 hearing the delegates at Richmond: their delight at anti-English comments, their reserve about Free State condemnation but limited response to funding appeals. The writer opposed deportation but criticised delegate denunciation of Melbourne's *Tribune*, indicating most of their supporters were from the IRA and YIS 'which have caused so much trouble and dissension in the past'.<sup>311</sup> Writing to Dillon in early April about the 'tour of strife', Jageurs explained that while *Tribune* Managing Director and Editor, Fr Mangan (Figure 108), risked 'ecclesiastical censure' in covering opposition to the mission, his position as the largest shareholder, a parish priest supported by 'all the Irish-Australian priesthood', would protect him.<sup>312</sup> O'Flanagan's impolitic condemnation of

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<sup>306</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1923.

<sup>307</sup> See O'Farrell, 'Archbishop Kelly,' 13, fn79 for mention of Spence's letter of 31 March 'advis[ing] Kelly that he had already acted to make the republican delegates unwelcome'.

<sup>308</sup> *Advocate*, 5 April 1923.

<sup>309</sup> See *Argus* of 20, 22, 27, 29 March, 2 April 1923.

<sup>310</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6, 27 April 1923.

<sup>311</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6, 20 April 1923.

<sup>312</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 7 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/292. J. Alexander was mentioned as *Tribune* editor on 13 June and 24 August 1922, but Fr Mangan named as Managing Director and Editor in January 1924.

Mangan and its publication in the *Advocate* led to the editor's threat of legal action.<sup>313</sup>

Jageurs reported, somewhat gleefully, that Mangan 'had forced a public apology...under threat of a writ for damage', but also that Mannix was 'much annoyed' to be placed in such a 'humiliating position'.<sup>314</sup> Subsequently Dillon learnt Mangan was 'forced to sell his controlling shares...and retire to his parish',<sup>315</sup> Jageurs arguing it 'was a mean act to wipe out an opponent'. Continuing, he described both Melbourne's Irish-Catholic papers as controlled 'by the Ecclesiastical Company presided over by Dr Mannix,' with Free State/Home Rule views 'completely muzzled'.<sup>316</sup>



**Figure 108.** Fr Mangan (1879-1969), *Tribune*, 10 January 1924

In Melbourne, the envoys addressed eleven reported meetings,<sup>317</sup> gracing both the Hibernian Conference and Trades Hall.<sup>318</sup> Visiting Adelaide was never mentioned.

According to Jageurs, their time in Sydney was intended to 'browbeat Archbishop Kelly'.<sup>319</sup>

If so, arrest there in late April on charges of sedition limited their harassment opportunities

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<sup>313</sup> See *Argus* of 27 March 1923. See *Advocate* of 12 April and *Tribune* of 19 April 1923 for apology headed 'An Explanation and an Apology'. It said in part, 'In no way do we approve of such personalities, which no divergence of opinion can warrant, and we certainly have no desire to give them the publicity of our columns. Therefore we express our sincere regret for the inadvertent appearance of the passage in question'.

<sup>314</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/293.

<sup>315</sup> See *Tribune* of 10 January 1924 for carefully worded account of Fr Mangan's unexpected announcement of retirement after 10 years 'of valuable work' at the shareholder's meeting of 21 December 1923. The *Advocate* of 7 June 1923 referred to PK Sutton as *Tribune* editor.

<sup>316</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 21 October 1924, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/296.

<sup>317</sup> See *Advocate* of 5, 12, 19 and 26 April 1923.

<sup>318</sup> See *Advocate* of 19 and 26 April 1923.

<sup>319</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/293.

but maximised publicity.<sup>320</sup> The ‘*Cross*’ devoted almost a page to government statements about the legality of fund collection, the post-WPA problem of responding to ‘seditious’ utterances, and Free State support for Australian action.<sup>321</sup> Irish-Australians had many sources of information about the sequence of events. The *Advocate*’s approach focussed on Melbourne’s successful meetings, outrage replacing publicity after their arrest and court appearances; Mannix donated £10.10 to their Defence Fund.<sup>322</sup> As indicated, *Advocate* letters had overwhelmingly promoted the delegates; there was no room for any Irish-Australian resistance to the visit and message. The *Argus* displayed individuals voicing opposition to Republicans and Mannix.<sup>323</sup> Some loudly proclaimed distance from him.

‘We are Australians first, last and all the time, yielding to none in our loyalty to our country and to our church and its teaching, and it is because of that loyalty that we object to the methods which are rapidly making the name of that church a synonym for disloyalty.’<sup>324</sup>

Protests against Envoy arrival, their propaganda, and its menacing intent of ‘Empire destruction’ and community peace, intensified in combination with louder calls for official action.<sup>325</sup> Simultaneously, the Commonwealth established a Board of Enquiry to consider deportation. Inevitably this was challenged, so while NSW sedition charges were adjourned several times, O’Kelly and O’Flanagan visited Brisbane. According to Jageurs, their agenda was personal: they intended ‘to attack ... Duhig who has severely condemned [them]’.<sup>326</sup>

Duhig, reflecting hierarchical resentment of ‘Mannix’s republican coup’, and apprehensive about ‘dissension’ within and towards Church community standing, was adamant that an ‘undesirable ... delegation’ not destroy local ‘peace and harmony’.<sup>327</sup> According to his

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<sup>320</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1923.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>322</sup> See *Advocate* of 17 May 1923 for his letter to the Fund Treasurer. See issue of 24 May for photo of HV Evatt as the Junior Counsel for Fr O’Flanagan.

<sup>323</sup> See *Argus* of 16, 24, 27 March 1923.

<sup>324</sup> *Argus*, 20 March 1923. The letter was signed ‘Australian Catholic’.

<sup>325</sup> See *Argus* of 20, 22 March, 2 April and *Southern Cross* of 27 April 1923.

<sup>326</sup> Morgan Jageurs to John Dillon, Letter, 16 April 1923, TCD, Dillon Collection, MS6849/293.

<sup>327</sup> Boland, *Duhig*, 163.



clerical biographer, Duhig approached the Apostolic Delegate, insisting that Australian bishops must support Irish bishops' disavowal of de Valera, or risk undermining Church authority. This called the Delegate's power into question. In response, Rome's January 1920 ruling against 'the political activity of priests in missionary countries', was applied to Australia. Theoretically, Catholic comment was discouraged until the conclusion of the Vatican's Irish investigation.<sup>328</sup> Thus while Fr O'Flanagan, and ultimately Mannix could hypothetically be silenced, there was no such outcome. All restraint vanished, O'Flanagan rebuked Duhig's discourteous welcome, castigating Irish bishops as 'enemies of the people', while O'Kelly spoke of Free State rule as 'terrorism, deceit and treachery', and purportedly attacked the pope's lack of support for Republicans.<sup>329</sup> Duhig judged the cleric's statements as 'grossly offensive to Catholic sentiment and calculated to scandalise the young ... who owed so much to Irish Bishops at home and abroad'.<sup>330</sup> O'Loghlin's regular '*Cross*' column summarised the situation, indicating confusion about the grounds of arrest and, despite opposing the mission, rejected government interference with public meetings. O'Loghlin's attitude was demonstrated by quoting O'Kelly's earlier comments in support of the Treaty. But he located motivation for their arrest over sedition within an anti-Irish and anti-Catholic state government (with pro-LOL and Protestant Federation leanings), and coinciding with opposition to King George's visit to Rome.<sup>331</sup> Otherwise, the tenor of '*Cross*' comments was strictly factual.<sup>332</sup> While Melbourne's Gaelic League and IRA combined to raise funds for delegates' defence, and T.P. Walsh presided at a protest meeting,<sup>333</sup> comparable responses were missing in Adelaide.

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<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>330</sup> Quoted in the *Southern Cross* of 8 June 1923. In the following edition, the Brisbane *Catholic Advocate's* defence of Duhig was published. See Boland, *Duhig*, 166 for comment that delegate Brisbane 'discomfited ... made their deportation easier'.

<sup>331</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1923.

<sup>332</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 18 and 25 May 1923.

<sup>333</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 May 1923. In Sydney the INA also organised a protest meeting.

Legal proceedings became increasingly farcical. Changes to deportation regulations and the High Court's dismissal of the appeal validated the Board of Enquiry – delegate frustration and withdrawal enabled a speedy deportation decision. Sedition was 'amply proved': delegate participation in meetings to endorse a Republic and overthrow the Free State and collection of funds to further the cause.<sup>334</sup> Although voluntary departure was feasible, the pair seemed intent on magnifying the issues. O'Loughlin interpreted the Government's response as cautionary,<sup>335</sup> and a reaction to recent British deportation of Irish which required retrospective legal action.<sup>336</sup> He suggested the process (especially the Board's non-judicial status) left 'a nasty taste' even in mouths opposing the visit.<sup>337</sup> The '*Cross*' presented more detail about the envoys' Sydney departure than the *Advocate*.<sup>338</sup> Koerner's sole editorial argued their Mission should never have happened: it had neither helped the Republican cause nor 'the interests of Ireland generally in this quarter of the globe'. Reminding readers of his paper's consistent opposition, he framed the visit as moving from a mistake to a 'positive disaster', emphasising that Mannix had ultimately rebuked their 'foolish utterances'.<sup>339</sup> Irish-Australians, at least in South Australia, were fully informed about the visit's negatives, and about the gap between Mannix and his Episcopal colleagues.<sup>340</sup> For many, this drama represented unwanted national publicity.

Thus the final Irish political delegation to Australia ended ignominiously. Some earlier visitations between 1881 and 1911 encountered bigotry and generated prejudiced publicity, but such features were connected to events in Ireland, not to delegate behaviour. And previous visits raised large amounts and united most Irish-Australians, whereas the 1923

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<sup>334</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 June 1923.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>336</sup> See Hopkinson, *The Irish War*, 51-2, 55-6 for early details of Irish deportations from Britain in 1920-1.

<sup>337</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1923.

<sup>338</sup> See *Advocate* of 19 July, *Southern Cross* of 20 July 1923.

<sup>339</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1923.

<sup>340</sup> See Murray, *Oracles of God*, 463-4 Appendix Two, Part Four: 'Prominent Clergy Abroad' for names of pro and anti-Treaty supporters, numbering 6 and 10 respectively, and the date and source of their position. Mannix and the Bishop of Detroit are the only named prelates.

finale gathered small amounts and was extraordinarily divisive.<sup>341</sup> The timing was ill-conceived, lacked preliminary negotiation/planning, legal charges and issues dominated and division ensued.<sup>342</sup> The visit both reflected a changed Ireland – immersed in violent, civil conflict – and a changed Irish-Australia most of which wanted no taint of Ireland's toxic divisions.<sup>343</sup>

#### *A Local Example of Loyalty Attack*

Editorial outrage followed 1922's discovery from the South Australian *Government Gazette* that an anonymous donor had provided school libraries with anti-Irish propaganda to assist teacher preparation for Empire Day.<sup>344</sup> Owen Wister, author of *A Straight Deal, or the Ancient Grudge*, although focussing on English-American relationships, incorporated many disparaging comments about Ireland. Koerner queried why Irish-Australian taxes should support the dissemination of such material. He later quoted large sections to support his claim of slander. And he mentioned the INA, Hibernians and INF combining with the ACF to send a deputation to the Minister. At the least, Koerner felt the presentation of 'books which will be an antidote to [Wister's] slanderous and poisonous material' was necessary.<sup>345</sup> The incident provides one small but typical example of Irish-Australian vulnerability: facing persistent attempts to denigrate Ireland, and to establish imperial disloyalty. Equally, it shows the Irish-Australian community's resolve to confront assaults on their nationality and their history.

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<sup>341</sup> See Mark Finnane, 'Deporting the Irish Envoys: Domestic and national Security in 1920s' in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 17 May 2013, DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2013.789276 for detailed discussion of the tour, largely within a security context but referring to 'uphill struggle' about collecting funds.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>343</sup> See *Advocate* of 16, 23 and 30 August 1923 for gifts presented to delegates: both received 'beautiful rings of Australian material and design,' O'Kelly a book about wild flowers and O'Flanagan a silver chalice.

<sup>344</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 28 April 1922. Celebrated on 24 May, Empire Day was proclaimed in 1903 following the Anglo-Boer War.

<sup>345</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1922.

*Transnational Threads.*

Irish-Australian readers were consistently presented with information connecting them to events of significance to Ireland, both historical and contemporary. In this way these newspapers provided an important transnational conduit to the community at the extreme end of the diaspora. For example, both utilised thoughts from Shane Leslie (editor of the *Dublin Review*), about the ways the Treaty might affect the Empire.<sup>346</sup> Among many possible broader examples, two which clearly demonstrate the importance of this connecting newspaper function in 1922 and 1923 were ongoing references to the Anglo-Boer War, and the possibility of 'Black and Tan' emigration to Australia.

Former editor, O'Loughlin returned to forcible comparisons between Ireland and the Boers in his "Currente Calamo" column. In February 1922, his focus was De Wet's death and his unforgettable wartime treatment by the British. (O'Loughlin's weekly commentary consistently explored connections with the past and analysed material appearing nowhere else in the newspaper.) He accessed the familiar narrative about differences between British responses to De Wet's World War One treachery (in raising the Republican flag), and to Dublin's 1916 rebels.<sup>347</sup>

Yet De Wet had nothing like the provocation to rebellion that the Irish Republican leaders had .... Pearse and his fellow rebels saw their country betrayed and flouted for party purposes.<sup>348</sup>

O'Loughlin made subsequent references to his funeral, quoting De Wet's opinion which cast aspersions on several identified British generals from the Anglo-Boer War.<sup>349</sup> Was O'Loughlin deliberately re-elevating memories of the Anglo-Boer War when Britain faced defeat, and when there was Irish support for the Boer whose domination by Britain matched their own? Without supporting evidence, any judgement is problematic, but

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<sup>346</sup> *Advocate*, 9 February and *Southern Cross*, 17 March 1922

<sup>347</sup> See above 273 for discussion about De Wet. See Appendix C for his details.

<sup>348</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 February 1922.

<sup>349</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 February, 17 March 1922.

O’Loughlin’s comments came soon after Ireland’s War of Independence when Britain had initiated the truce. His next reference came amidst details of General Herzog objecting to the British flag ‘being flouted before the Boers’, reminding readers of their three year fight against the might of the British Empire’. And O’Loughlin recalled Hugh Mahon’s expulsion ‘for language not more violent than that of [Herzog]’.<sup>350</sup> Similarly, in comments about a biography of former Liberal leader, Campbell Bannerman, O’Loughlin awakened memories of the Boer conflict, and Ireland, by relating Bannerman’s role in ending Britain’s more barbarous tactics, and his reputation as Irish Chief Secretary in 1886.<sup>351</sup> O’Loughlin’s three decade involvement with the ‘*Cross*,’ his personal links, Irish historical knowledge and international interests, all facilitated his effective foregrounding of transnational links.

Of the many distasteful aspects of the Anglo-Irish War, the role and behaviour of British forces, the ‘Black and Tans’ and ‘Auxiliaries,’ created appalling reputations. Beyond the war, reminders of their brutality, and atrocities greater than the Germans in Catholic Belgium, represented a powerful code of comparison for Irish-Australians.<sup>352</sup> Alongside stories of their disbanding,<sup>353</sup> came the time-delayed ‘Our Irish Letter’ which kept atrocities in readers’ minds.<sup>354</sup> By June, both newspapers carried stories of unemployable, destitute former ‘Black and Tans’ without pensions, and the various attempts to galvanise official action. Prospects of emigration were vaguely raised.<sup>355</sup> Cables led to a ‘*Cross*’ headline: ‘Are Black and Tans in Australia?’ And the ‘question’ was widely discussed.<sup>356</sup> Rumours about

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<sup>350</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 April 1923.

<sup>351</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 December 1923.

<sup>352</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 January 1922. The item was from a September 1921 ‘exchange.’

<sup>353</sup> *Advocate*, 19 January 1922. See *Catholic Press* of 26 January 1922 for a letter stating that some immigrants had boasted publicly of their recent exploits as members of “Black and Tans”.

<sup>354</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1922. The letter of 17 January reported stories from Irish prisoners returning from British gaols.

<sup>355</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 2 June 1922 for item ‘How Britain Treats its Discarded Tools’.

<sup>356</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 9, 16 June (an INA meeting discussion), 4 August and *Advocate* of 20 July 1922. See also *Catholic Press* of 1 June and *SA Chronicle* of 3 June for two of many mentions of ‘Black and Tans’ arriving; the *Moreton Bay* was named as carrying 35 in these items.

Palestine,<sup>357</sup> then Australia again<sup>358</sup> produced editorial opposition to their presence under any circumstances.<sup>359</sup> When it became clear that Churchill had organised overseas passages for those ex-Ireland military choosing Dominion emigration, there was outrage, particularly because of repeated earlier denials.<sup>360</sup> Mannix exploited Irish-Australian rage by emphasising numbers receiving pensions and emigrating.<sup>361</sup> That theme was replayed in an editorial,<sup>362</sup> and reiterated by Mannix.<sup>363</sup> Reported interviews and photographs documented 'Black and Tan presence' in Australia.<sup>364</sup> Anecdotal evidence from Sydney points to numbers of these men finding employment in the New South Wales Fire Brigade during the 1920s, suggesting some Australians did welcome 'Black and Tans'.<sup>365</sup>

'Black and Tan' behaviour and potential Australian residence represented direct connections between Irish-Australians and Irish issues. This question also elevated identity issues. Other Australians viewed their immigration differently; Irish-Australians could not countenance their becoming policemen, or firemen. The long shadow of the South African War raised a different set of questions for Irish-Australians. Even in post-Treaty years, the spectre of earlier British domination raised hackles, reinforcing community memory of the ruthlessness of British rule across the Irish Sea, as well as across the globe. Thus were the loyalty fragments constantly reassembled.

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<sup>357</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 July 1922.

<sup>358</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1922.

<sup>359</sup> *Advocate*, 20 July, 1922. The item was headed 'Dumping the Black and Tans'.

<sup>360</sup> *Advocate*, 3 August 'The Truth At Last re Black and Tans in Empire', and *Southern Cross*, 1 September 1922, 'Australia and Black and Tans – The Truth At Last'.

<sup>361</sup> *Advocate*, 28 September 1922. Mannix spoke of 200 on a boat and a weekly £1 pension.

<sup>362</sup> *Advocate*, 5 October 1922.

<sup>363</sup> *Advocate*, 19 October 1922. 'These are the kind of men they want to settle in Australia'.

<sup>364</sup> *Advocate*, 22 February 1923. See *Advertiser* of 31 August 1929 for details of a timber strike hearing where the former role of a volunteer worker was noted in the headline 'Member of the Black and Tans'.

<sup>365</sup> Michael McInerney, Pers Communication, AHA Conference, 7 July 2014.

This chapter does not support claims of Irish-Australian disinterest in Ireland's cause. It does however indicate disengagement from the consequences of conflict, and a different level of engagement with Ireland. The complex issues raised by the Civil War were reflected in varying community responses and greater divisions among Irish-Australians than seen previously. The 1923 visit from de Valera's emissaries probably presents the starkest evidence of local conflict in relation to Irish issues.

Accompanying threats of violence, legal challenges, Episcopal divisions and community confusion all illustrate the broader consequences of Ireland's civil war. That only some of these conflicts were played out in the Irish-Catholic press, in itself demonstrates the depth of Irish-Australian confusion over Ireland and manoeuvring over pro and anti-Treaty positions that characterised these years.

An address to Mannix in March 1922 encapsulated issues of Irish-Australian identity and loyalty: 'while we subscribe to your Grace's dictum 'Australia First' we still have in our hearts a lively interest in and affection for the land of our progenitors, the Emerald Isle'.<sup>366</sup> Negotiating this complexity was challenging in itself, but the constant scrutiny from the dominant culture rendered it more so. What constituted loyalty was itself ambiguous, and for many Anglo-Australians, disloyalty and Irish-Australian were synonymous. Individuals within the Irish-Australian community responded differently to loyalty-monitoring, unanimity did not exist, and certainly not during the Civil War. Divergence between Mannix and Spence replicated not only disagreement among Ireland's prelates, but also within the Irish-Australian community. While Spence was ready to proclaim loyalty to the Empire, and in December the '*Cross*' Christmas cover (Figure 109) minimised its Irish symbolism to the Celtic Cross (however emphasising Australian elements), Mannix

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<sup>366</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1922.

remained aligned with those who saw the Irish Free State as synonymous with sustained British control of Ireland. While distance, distorted news and exported Irish divisions combined to leave Irish-Australians stunned by the end of 1923, they remained connected with Ireland.

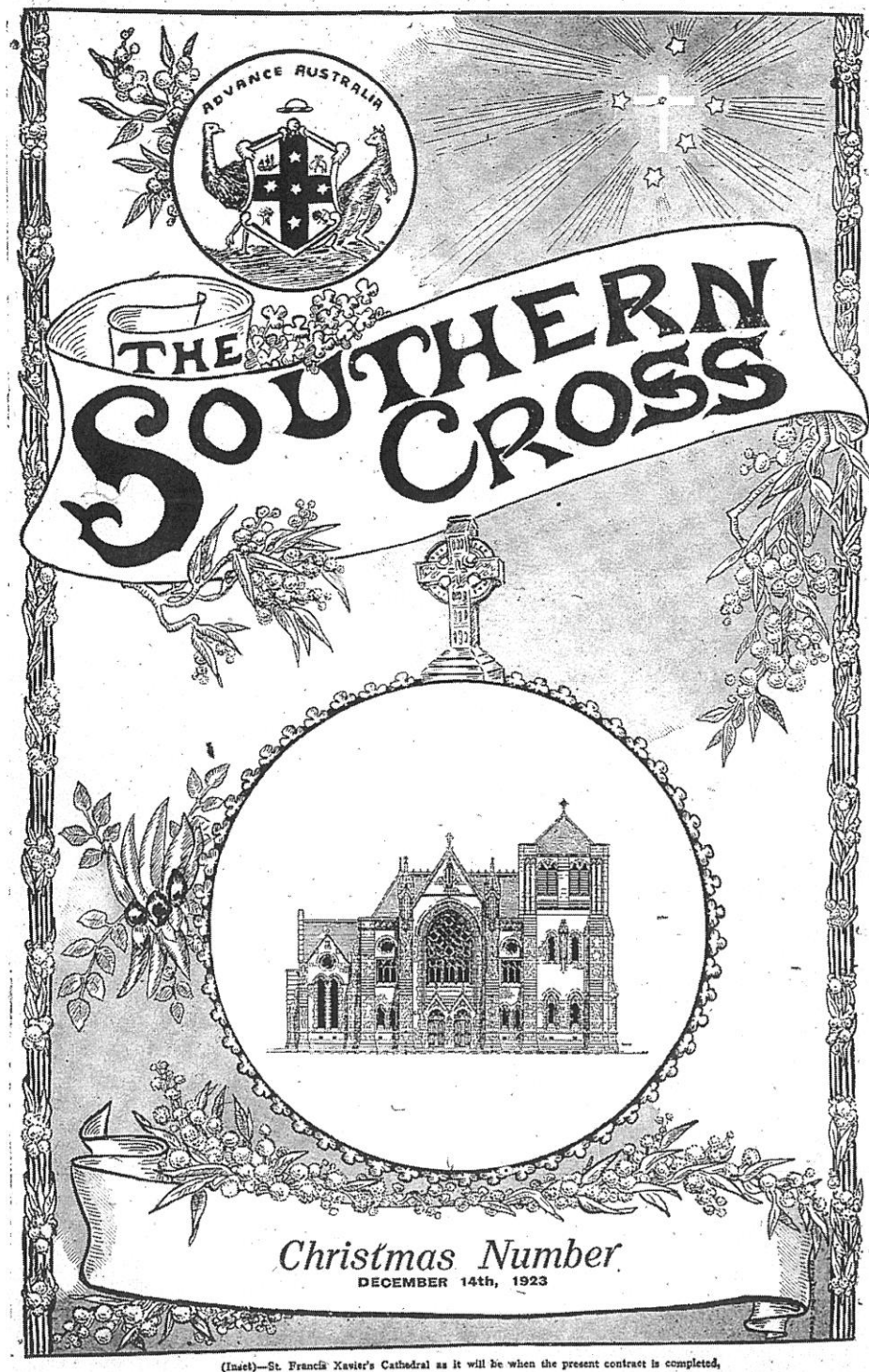


Figure 109. Front Cover, *Southern Cross*, 14 December 1923



## Conclusion

*Environment had wrought no changes in the essentials of Irish character. In Australia they stood as one in sentiment, in aspirations and in purposes with their kinsmen in the old land.*<sup>1</sup>

This thesis opened with late twentieth century reflections about the level of interest in ‘problems back home in Ireland’ in the 1900s. The memory (associated with World War One) was of vigorous engagement and ‘deep green loathing for...the enemies of Home Rule’. Uncovering additional evidence for the existence of such articulated anti-British sentiment has many challenges. Literacy levels and pioneering demands explain early silences. But as a minority group, Catholic Irish immigrants and their descendants walked carefully in Australia (and all British colonies), more so after 1916. Thus traces of loathing seep through, sometimes documented in passionate outbursts, but more often in family anecdotes, perhaps in disguise: for example the story of an Adelaide man of Irish descent whose eight to ten kilometre walk in 1948 was merely to shake de Valera’s hand.<sup>2</sup> Its absence from many records has been used to promote both Irish disengagement from Ireland in Australia, and overwhelming assimilationist energy. This research has located indications, suggestions and clues to the importation and persistence in Australia of this ‘deep green loathing’. Such attitudes engendered the strength of Irish identity and degrees of loyalty; discarding elements of ‘loathing’ facilitated identity reorientation and less conditional imperial loyalty.

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Mahon in St Patrick’s Day Address to Governor-General the Earl of Dudley, see *Advocate* of 27 March 1909.

<sup>2</sup> Pers Comm. Brian Elliot, 13 May 2013.

In 1888, the first recorded acknowledgement of any specific Irish colonial definition came from one of their own: E.W. O'Sullivan, by then a Member of Parliament in Sydney.<sup>3</sup> He spoke of the 'Anglo-Celtic race.' His context was unreservedly imperial, arguing that London was no longer 'the centre of power' for this now widespread race.<sup>4</sup> But 'Irish-Australian' (first noted in London in 1907) was not identified in local usage before 1916.<sup>5</sup> O'Farrell's avoidance of the term and reference to (unhyphenated) Australian Irish, suggests interest in showing the minority's background was of less impact than the environment, thus augmenting his case for their 'dynamic' role in shaping the national outcome.<sup>6</sup> Previous research about Irish-Australia has identified many aspects in some colonies; Irish Victoria for example has attracted more attention than Irish South Australia. Examining both colonies/states comparatively in terms of loyalty and identity responses to imperial crises helps to deconstruct generalisations about the Irish in Australia.

The colonial size and nature of the Irish minority in these colonies had critical short and long term effects. Because most Irish immigrants were Catholic, and Victoria attracted Irish in greater numbers, both Catholic and Irish factors were more dominant than in South Australia with proportionately fewer Irish immigrants. Thus when Irish-Catholicism became identified with imperial disloyalty, the hostility and the stakes generally were more explicit and higher in Victoria. Evaluating these decades reveals a pattern of greater circumspection in South Australia, although when imperial loyalty intensity levels were highest (from 1916 to 1921), both states responded in similar ways.

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<sup>3</sup> See 119 above for earlier mention of O'Sullivan and Appendix C for his details.

<sup>4</sup> See WS Raymond (ed.), *Australian National Dictionary: A Dictionary of Australianisms on Historical Principles*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1988, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 326. The Sydney context was a discussion of Michael Dwyer, transported for his role in Ireland's 1798 rebellion.

<sup>6</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 9-19.

In recent studies of imperialism, historians have re-examined the nature of the thread linking colony to metropole in ways which have repositioned understanding of both.<sup>7</sup> Building on this framework, and integrating Enda Delaney's plea for the diaspora to function more centrally in Irish historical pursuit,<sup>8</sup> this research has focussed on the multiple transnational connections within the Irish world. The notion of transcending factors – networks, processes, beliefs and institutions – attaching Irish-Australians to this world, also applies to other gravitational centres exerting pulls, namely the Catholic Church and the British Empire. At some points of this research, notably from Easter 1916 to December 1921, these three verged towards acute conflict. The challenge for the Irish-Catholic press was how to negotiate this miasma of allegiances for their readers within a context of distance, cable distortions, enveloping anti-Irish culture, wartime controls, intra-community differences, and largely unbeknownst to them, surveillance.

Questions about the nature of Irish-Australian imperial loyalty elicit answers which differ according to when and where the enquiry is made. The nature of the available evidence, as with the 'deep green loathing', is clearly a factor. But it seems clear that *most* Irish-Australians did not support Fenian goals, were horrified by the 1868 assassination attempt (and defended royalty), generally sanctioned the Empire in the Sudan and South Africa, and supported it unreservedly in World War One before 1916. However, as indicated in Chapter Two, some Irish immigrants worked actively for Fenian causes, and identifiable pockets of opposition in 1885 betrayed Irish-Australian hesitation about the Sudan War. By 1899 when both newspapers providing the research base can be compared, not only was their level of support for the Anglo-Boer War different, but the research also clearly suggests that readers of both publications disengaged from unqualified imperial support.

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<sup>7</sup> Angela Woollacott, 'Postcolonial histories and Catherine Hall's Civilising Subjects, in Curthoys and Lake, *Connected Worlds*, 67.

<sup>8</sup> Delaney, 'Our island story', 601.

World War One's disruption of optimism about Home Rule telescoped issues for Irish-Australians. Britain's preparedness to defend Catholic Belgium against German aggression, and (John Redmond's) Ireland's readiness to assist Britain, based on Home Rule (a prize to which Irish-Australians had generously subscribed since 1881), guaranteed a loyal response from most. Although early hints of resistance in Melbourne appeared by the end of 1914, until 1916 (despite 'hidden' clues within *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* 'exchanges'), most Irish-Australians persisted in supporting their country, their Empire and their pursuit of Irish independence.

But Easter 1916 changed everything. Not in the short term, for condemnation of the Rising was publicly universal, but in the intermediate term when draconian British reactions, followed by policy about-turns and actions incapable of being rationalised by wartime exigencies, the content of these Irish-Australian newspapers helped persuade many readers that Ireland had been abandoned. And in the longer term, after December 1918 when the choice of Irish voters for Sinn Féin acknowledged IPP complicity in Ireland's betrayal, the majority of Irish-Australians understood the choice the Irish had made. Ireland's failure to have its case heard at the Peace Conference, a product of British insistence this was a domestic concern, helped convince many that the Empire was the problem rather than the solution. Transnational perceptions of the Great War world as 'usher[ing] in a crisis of the colonial world...' seem applicable to Ireland's 1919 situation, and to ramifications for many Irish-Australians.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the horrific emergence of war between England and Ireland in 1919, and the intensifying levels of violence engulfed these newspapers and their readers. A minority isolated within a British community preoccupied with fears that Ireland symbolised the

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<sup>9</sup> Connelly, 'AHR Conversations', 1457.

Empire's dismemberment, Irish-Australians recognised not only the extent of imperial discrimination Ireland faced (a factor previously associated only with non-white nations), but also the depth of domestic anti-Irish sentiment. At this point, most Irish-Australians were beyond loyalty: the Empire was assaulting the base of their identity because of Irish leader insistence on its perceived historic right to nationhood, and willingness to engage in conflict to assert Ireland's right to existence. The local community had divisions which encompassed both first and second generation Irish-Australians, those continuing to diagnose the unassailability of a constitutional future combating others more realistic, if uncertain, about the actuality of a Sinn Féin world. In these years the Irish-Catholic press functioned as a beacon amidst a sea of distortion, judgement and marginalised heartbreak. In these years, Irish-Australian responses support Aled Jones' analysis of the reading, reflection and interpretation of newspapers; this minority group trusted one source while the majority accepted another version of 'truth', divisions hardened suggesting moves towards 'structural transformation'.<sup>10</sup> The December 1921 Treaty presented a satisfactory resolution for most Irish-Australians, but those who perceived acceptance as tantamount to a British victory, maintained anti-imperial perspectives. In 1922 and 1923, contested imperial loyalty reflected ultimately in the impact of the final Irish delegates and, Mannix, their local champion, culminated in some withdrawal from Irish politics, but not extinguishment of interest.

The nature of Irish-Australian loyalty to the Empire was thus conditional. Editors acknowledged the complexity, criticised the inconsistencies and the policy errors, negotiated the layers, for example about 1920's royal visit, and while expressing outrage (particularly in Melbourne, no doubt encouraged by Mannix), never encouraged disloyalty. Readers might express disloyal sentiments, but as Adelaide's surveillance evidence reveals,

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<sup>10</sup> See 42-3, 81 and 172 above for discussion of Jones.

Koerner's caution (and the implicit WPA threat) encouraged meeting base wartime loyalty standards. Beyond the newspapers, there is confirmation of active disloyalty from SIB files.<sup>11</sup> Numbers involved cannot be quantified but in every capital city and many regional centres, there were individuals whose behaviour demonstrated imperial disloyalty from 1917. The degree of official alarm attests to the breadth of diaspora disloyalty to Empire.

Irish-Australian identification with Ireland could always be closely connected with imperial disloyalty. Visits from Irish Envoys were easily translated into disloyal interactions because the level of interest they evoked emphasised Irish-Australian difference. This was something already prominent practically in the parallel education system, and less obviously, but no less dangerously in the strength of clerical and Episcopal power, a factor reflected in the very existence of Irish-Catholic newspapers like the *Southern Cross* and the *Advocate*. Kevin Kenny describes the 'entrenched tradition of anti-Catholicism which helped define the nature of Britishness both at home and abroad.'<sup>12</sup> Measuring identification with Catholic Ireland retrospectively has difficulties akin to gauging the depth of 'green loathing.' But these newspapers suggest two calculation processes: their weekly placement and space allocation to Irish news throughout these decades, and the more anecdotal, random demonstration of interest and commitment from correspondents, feature writers, members of Irish organisations and attendance at Irish-focussed events. Consistent references to, for example, the 'old land,' even among Australian-born clearly show ongoing levels of attachment. Irish-Australians remained engaged with Ireland and Irish affairs, an 'imagined community' which relished its place in the diaspora.

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<sup>11</sup> See Cain, *The Origins*, 138, 188 for reference of record transfer to Attorney Generals' Department in 1919 without explanation of any basis for destruction or retention.

<sup>12</sup> Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', 99.

Development of an Irish-Australian identity was closely associated with imperial disloyalty. It seems this specific identity issue did not feature in colonial Australia, but the Anglo-Boer War, Federation and the challenges of World War One were a propellant. However, more subtly, the newspapers show community figures making dismissive judgements, application of the term *shoneen*, about Irish who removed themselves via success, membership of anti-Catholic bodies, marriage and/or change of religion. Voicing this agenda could suggest identity differentiation, without indicating an Irish-Australian identity.<sup>13</sup> However, in the wartime crucible, galvanized by conscription, in 1917 Mannix's articulation of issues about 'Australia First' (replacing generally unexamined assumptions about the primacy of Empire), might be seen as early evidence. His objection to the Union Jack in the place of Australia's flag suggests the same. Similarly when Koerner wrote in 1916 that some issues demanded Australian interests ahead of the Empire, he too promoted Australia.<sup>14</sup> But unpicking the identity strands from the disloyalty associated with Britain's behaviour in Ireland, does not clarify judgment about whether this was a specific Irish-Australian identity. The surveillance authorities clearly perceived this community as sharing a disloyal identity. There was evidence that this group saw their identity as very different from the majority, and that they were increasingly assaulted by ultra-loyalist groups because they did not share the same values; Empire loyalists rejected any sign of dual loyalties.<sup>15</sup> Such attitudes replicated views expressed cogently by Henry Parkes in 1872, and subsequently in Melbourne and Sydney press references to an Irish-Australian as a creature of whom we cannot possibly conceive', and Irish as 'foreigners'.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Appendix C reveals that 4 of the listed Irish-Australians were early members of the ANA, a research thread pursued no further, but one perhaps hinting at specific Australian identification.

<sup>14</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6 October 1916.

<sup>15</sup> See Jeff Kildea 'Called to Arms: Australian Soldiers in the Easter Rising 1916' in the *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, *War Memorial*, No. 3, October 2003, 19.

<sup>16</sup> See 102-3 above for discussion about Parkes. See O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 228 and 244 for 1883 statements in *Sydney Morning Herald* and Melbourne *Age*.

Most Irish-Australians experienced being ‘Other,’ lived in this way because of their religion, their networks, their occupations, their children’s schools, the newspapers they read, and their outlook on life. And they recognised they were different, in fact their newspapers celebrated this in ways which were condescending towards, and judgemental about the majority living otherwise.<sup>17</sup> These differences were all intensified after 1916 when the combined impact of pre-existing latent prejudice, overt community distrust and criticism and covert surveillance layers, necessitated closer intra-community networking and support. (This clearly demonstrates movement from Handelman’s ethnic category to network, if not to association when the SDIL is considered.<sup>18</sup>) Living supportively in defiance of disloyal targeting, however, does not equate with acknowledgement of an Irish-Australian identity.

Irish-Australian loyalties and identities were fragmented in these decades. Within MacDonagh’s statement that ‘willingness to be a part of the dominant British and Protestant order of things in Australia, allowed [Irish-Australians] to ‘fit in’, there are assumptions, uncertainties and consequences.<sup>19</sup> For Irish-Australians there were choices about participation (and its levels) in the dominant culture, their acceptance however was qualified and conditional, and active disengagement from ‘the order of things’, wrought judgement and penalties. The hydra-headed framework which never fully accepted Irish-Catholics, articulating rejection only at times of crisis, had its obverse: superficial Irish-Australian conforming to society’s expectations (consistent with Hickman’s differentiation

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<sup>17</sup> While the condescension and smugness was evident in these newspapers, it was more as a matter of tone in reports, comments and editorials. For two examples among many see *Advocate* of 3 March 1900: ‘Our separated brethren have for the most part the good sense to recognise that what Catholic bishop or priest says to his own people is privileges, and that it would be foolish on the part of Protestants to regard anything in these utterances as offensive to them’, and *Southern Cross* of 6 July 1906, following daily press criticism of Archbishop O’Reily’s focus on Catholic charity work. Some of this involved claims about church-going numbers. The editorial quoted the number of Sunday masses in large and small centres and crowded evening devotions: ‘Each Catholic Church...is equal to at least two Protestant Churches’.

<sup>18</sup> See 36 above for discussion of Handelman’s four levels of ethnicity.

<sup>19</sup> MacDonagh, ‘The Irish in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century’, 575.



between a low profile and assimilation<sup>20</sup>) but reserving their right to maintain latent detachment and, when necessary, removal. Both groups, it seems, perceived the opposite ambivalence, and under pressure hostilities escalated quickly.

Thus Irish-Australians exhibited imperial loyalty, but perceptions coming from their conditional acceptance ensured the degree of loyalty was insufficient. And from Easter 1916 the evidence increasingly supported that perception. For most Irish-Australians, unconditional imperial loyalty was undermined by imperial attitudes towards Ireland, and from 1916, policies that were increasingly unacceptable. Similarly, as Irish immigrants in British colonies where 'religion was a powerful social separator',<sup>21</sup> a more Irish identity emerged. In twentieth century Australia enjoying the rights to which Ireland aspired, with a national focus and symbols, this community relished its association with the new nation, wrongly assuming that the British-Irish divide belonged to the past. While the majority continued to identify strongly with Britain and assumed Australian identity lay there, Irish-Australians found themselves fully marginalised, and their emerging identity judged as disloyal if not treacherous.

The Irish-Catholic press played a crucial role during these decades when their readers were confronted with various loyalty and identity gauntlets. Naughtin concurs with Morrison's summation about late nineteenth century newspaper capacity to mobilise the public.<sup>22</sup> The *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross* reached a 'mass' audience, and their 'voice' was without competition. Although O'Farrell, in referring to the pre-Civil War period, concludes that 'Most Australian Irish would have preferred to avoid [Irish independence]',<sup>23</sup> this followed his mention of the 'hierarchy and clergy – that is...those who moulded and led the

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<sup>20</sup> See 23 above for discussion of Hickman's argument.

<sup>21</sup> MacDonagh, 'The Irish in Victoria in the Nineteenth Century', 581.

<sup>22</sup> Naughtin, *The Green Flag in the Antipodes*, 41.

<sup>23</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 261.

Australian Irish community'.<sup>24</sup> Findings from this research, based on the role of Church-supported newspapers in charting the expression of Irish-Australian imperial loyalties and cultural identity, do not suggest clerical influence outweighed that of other Irish-Australians.

The Irish-Catholic newspaper milieu in both Melbourne and Adelaide, from 1868 and 1889 respectively, intertwined with Irish Nationalist organisations, and their activities formed a large content proportion. These newspapers promoted and reported Irish delegations, facilitated their access, guided their tours, supported their speakers and coordinated their fundraising. Between 1881 and 1912 (or 1921 if subsequent appeals are included) several hundred thousand pounds were relayed to Ireland for the cause. The tour-organising network was largely non-clerical, and while clerical donations often headed the list, the countless small contributions from 'A friend' or 'Irish-Australian' and all those named, demonstrate the breadth of Irish-Australian generosity and concern. These visits served many purposes; in the short term educating the diaspora community about Ireland (and thus counteracting some of the disabling effects of London-filtered news) and securing its financial support, in the intermediate term, facilitating close transnational ties between delegates and Irish-Australians,<sup>25</sup> but in the longer term, fostering and reinforcing a strong, visible and lasting sense of Irish identification, something perhaps approaching Yinger's notion of full ethnicity.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>25</sup> See William Redmond to Mr Higgins, 21 and 27 June 1905, Letters, NLA, Henry Bournes Higgins, MS1057/713 and 727 for one early example; Redmond requests Higgins to 'Take up the Home Rule Resolution' which was passed in both Houses during October. See Redmond to Dr Nicholas O'Donnell, 20 October 1905, Cable, MS1057/773 asking for thanks to be conveyed to Higgins. See John Dillon to Judge Higgins, Letter, 4 September 1919, MS 1057/308A for a friendship originating during Dillon's 1889 tour.

<sup>26</sup> See 36 above for reference to Yinger's notion involving self-identification, identification by others and shared activities.

The newspaper world during the years under study was directed by male Irish-Australians. In Melbourne the two longest serving figures, first generation William Gunson, and second generation Irish-Australian Joseph Winter, contributed thirty-four and forty-one years each to the *Advocate*, ensuring that newspaper constructed and disseminated the Irish world for the diaspora community. In addition, they guaranteed to represent the community to a sometimes hostile environment, and work for justice and a voice for Irish-Australians. In Victoria where Irish numbers reached impact level, and were matched by visible economic progress, such determination was powerful. However, Irish migration levels and material success differed in South Australia, resulting in a less assertive societal position for Irish-Australians. Adelaide's Irish-Catholic newspaper situation differed too in that early editors, O'Loughlin and Denny, were relatively short-term. But their personal impact was sustained both by political prominence beyond the period of this study and sustained association with the paper; third editor Koerner equalled Gunson's longevity. And, significantly, all three were second generation Irish-Australians. Until 1919 neither newspaper had a clerical editor, Church purchase crucial then for the *Advocate*, but for the *Southern Cross* clerical management emerged in 1934, with Church control quickly following.

But just beyond the immediate publishing milieu, other non-clerical figures exerted influence: first generation members McMahon Glynn, Patrick Healy, and Morgan Jageurs as well as second-generation Nicholas O'Donnell, predominated. (Further in the background, Henry Bournes Higgins, another first generation Irishman, nevertheless played a significant role.<sup>27</sup>) In these newspapers, it was the efforts, struggles, adjustments and organisation of these men (and many others with lesser involvement spans) which

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<sup>27</sup> See (Fr) M O'Reilly to Justice Higgins, 22 March 1921, Letters, NLA, Henry Bournes Higgins Papers, MS1057/436 and 436A approaching Higgins for support for 'the union of men of all creeds and political affiliations in an attempt to secure [justice for Ireland]'.

dominated the unfolding story of negotiating imperial loyalty and Irish-Australian identity formation.

As Catholic-backed or sponsored newspapers, focus was concentrated on Church leaders, both clergy and, more critically, their bishops. And while the contributions of Archbishops O'Reily, Spence, Carr and Mannix shaped attitudes and behaviour both inside and outside their Church in these decades, it seems clear that the times and life of Dr Mannix exercised atypical impact. Similarly, while the pages of both newspapers recount the instrumentality of many individual priests, the nature of their involvement in the Irish-Australian identity and loyalty configuration tended to be more episodic than the non-clerical coterie mentioned previously. The exercise of clerical authority was explicit, often controlling, but committee members met regularly, were in frequent contact with their interstate equivalents and with Irish figures, the surface constellation of power scarcely reflected the reality.

During these decades there were a number of significant, major turning points which reshaped Irish-Australia's relationship to the Empire and to Ireland. There was some parallel development in terms of Australia's move from colonial status to a federated nation. Two of these watersheds were only visible in retrospect: the impact of the Anglo-Boer War and the arrival of Daniel Mannix in 1913. The Easter Rising, in terms of British responses, and its aftermath in the War of Independence was more immediately distinctive. In combination, the three demonstrated for many Irish-Australians that their place in a British Australia could only ever be conditional, and that imperial loyalty was irrelevant. The Civil War changed the equation, rendering identification with Ireland political rather than cultural and historical. But beyond that war many Irish-Australians maintained deep green interest in the 'old land'.

## LAST WORD

Far from abandoning Ireland, its importance remained strong for some Irish-Australians until at least the mid-1930s. These individuals continued to celebrate the links, and strongly valued their cultural inheritance as demonstrated by their association with groups such as the Irish National Association, the Irish Pipers, and Melbourne's Tone-Pearse *Cuman*. Annual events such as Adelaide's O'Loughlin O'Leary competition, established in the 1920s to mark the lives and contribution of these local figures, and rewarding essays about Ireland and Irish dancing, in combination with regular INA 'Wireless Nights' and an *Aeridheacht*, demonstrated the strength of Irish–Australian commitment. Both the *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* continued to devote weekly columns to 'News from Ireland'. And research is needed to flesh out these markers, this preliminary evidence points to the persistence of multiple associations.

## APPENDICES AND TABLES

## APPENDIX A: Visits of Irish Leaders to Australia 1881-1912<sup>1</sup> and Timeline of Irish Nationalism in Victoria and South Australia.

1881, 8 June	<b>First Delegate:</b> <sup>2</sup> John W Walshe (Michael Davitt's cousin and ex-political prisoner), arrived in Melbourne, worked with Joseph Winter of <i>Advocate</i> to first establish Land League in Victoria; amounts collected from all sources to February 1883 totalled £7,130;
1882, 27 May	Hugh Mahon (imprisoned with Parnell in 1881-2), reached Victoria assisting both Redmond Victorian and New South Wales missions; <sup>3</sup>
1883 January SA & 15 February (Vic)	<b>Second Delegation:</b> John and William Redmond visited colonies; fund amount details vary from £15,000 to £40,000;
1883, November 7	Irish Convention in Melbourne; 1848 patriot, Kevin Izod O'Doherty presided, much sectarian bitterness surrounded the event; <sup>4</sup>
1886, January-February	Kevin Izod O'Doherty, elected to Westminster, called to most colonies en route to London;
1887 March–April	Former Irish Viceroy, Lord and Lady Aberdeen visited South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania and New South Wales; <sup>5</sup>
1887, 22 November	Edmund Dwyer Gray visited;
1889 March SA & 27 April (Vic)	<b>Third Delegation:</b> John Dillon, John Deasy and Sir Thomas Esmonde, visited, raising £35-40,000, £8000 in Queensland alone according to Dillon;
1895	Michael Davitt in Australia, Joseph Winter acted as his secretary;
1895	Edmund Dwyer Gray visited;
1896 January	Edward Blake, an Irish-Canadian Westminster MP, visited Sydney and Melbourne briefly en route from New Zealand;
1901, December	William O'Brien and his wife on private visit for health reasons;
1904-5	William Redmond in Australia for his health (his fourth visit), attended interstate HACB Conference in Adelaide (April 1905);
1906	<b>Fourth Delegation:</b> Joseph Devlin MP and John T Donovan raised £22,000 (including £850 from Adelaide branch);
1911-12	<b>Fifth Delegation:</b> William AK Redmond, John T Donovan and Richard Hazelton raised £30,000; <sup>6</sup>

### South Australian Timeline<sup>7</sup>

1878	Home Rule Association founded in SA by JA Hewitt, MM Ryan and John Bradley. Public meeting raised £1000; speakers included Dr Byrne, Archdeacon Russell and FF Wholahan. The total from all Australian colonies was £100,000.
1878–9	Irish Land League formed in Adelaide headed by JA Hewitt, MM Ryan was first secretary, other early members were P Healy, P Whelan, H Sheridan, JS McClory and JB Broderick;

<sup>1</sup> *Advocate*, 1 March 1919, and O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 226-7, 242,

<sup>2</sup> There were 5 official Irish Parliamentary delegations to Australia, shown here in bold.

<sup>3</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1917.

<sup>4</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 August 1889 says the combined trips of Walshe and the Redmonds cost only £1400.

<sup>5</sup> See *Advocate*, 2, 9, 16 April 1887.

<sup>6</sup> *Advocate*, 16 June 1917.

<sup>7</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 December 1900.

1883 (7 November)	Melbourne Irish Convention attended by JV O'Loughlin, P Whelan, FB Keogh and Wm Dixon, a Federal Council appointed to establish and maintain Irish National League (INL). CC Kingston presided at Town Hall meeting where Dr Gunson moved to dissolve Land League and establish INL, becoming its first president. He was followed by John Hewitt, William Dixon, Patrick McMahon Glynn, JV O'Loughlin and Patrick Healy. <sup>8</sup> Healy was treasurer for many years, Patrick Whelan the first secretary. Ministers, E Rorke (Presbyterian), Hugh Gilmore, F Hastings and J Bickford (Wesleyan) and AC Sutherland (Unitarian) were all staunch supporters. Many Protestants belonged and held office; premiers supported and spoke – Kingston, Tom Price, John Verran and Crawford Vaughan. MPs Gregor McGregor and Lewis Cohen were also associated. <sup>9</sup> Suburban INL branches were formed, and country towns including Petersburg, Pekina (65 members in 1887), Carrieton, Millicent and Mt Gambier followed. Early members included Michael Kenny, Tom Moroney, H McConville, D Magee, M Barry, EP Dignan, John Daly, M Duffy, R Cochrane, L O'Loughlin, Pat Hearne, P Dooley, A Healy, P Dowd, A Dowd, M Buckley, Madigan, Kelly, Martin McCarthy, Dean Ryan and Jno Kennedy;
1886, 1 February	Kevin Izod O'Doherty called en route for London, presented with an address from INL; <sup>10</sup>
1887, 28 March	Visit by Earl of Aberdeen and his wife – presented with INL address at railway station to mark his role as Viceroy. Patrick Whelan and William Dixon singled out for praise; <sup>11</sup>
1889	Parnell Defence Fund established – Archbishop Reynolds gave £20, Aloysius MacDonald and WA Dempsey were treasurer and secretary, SA Irish donated £350;
1889, April	John Dillon met by reception committee of 400 friends, including 25 clerics at Port Adelaide where mayor held a 'welcome' reception; the Town Hall was unable to accommodate the lecture crowd;
1889, September	Wm Dixon and JV O'Loughlin attended the Melbourne Convention;
1890–1	Irish National Federation replaced INL following IPP Parnell split; P McMahon Glynn president for 10 years, JV O'Loughlin vice president, Patrick Healy, treasurer. Other prominent early members were Jno Bradley, EJ McAlister, FF Wholahan, PA O'Connor, J McGrath, J Healy; some who later went to WA were JP Doheny and M Mannion, Michael McCabe and Pat Whelan, PJ O'Driscoll returned to Dublin.
1895	Visit of Michael Davitt, 'his friend' Patrick Whelan was tour secretary;
1900	United Irish League (UIL) replaced INF after reunification of two IPP factions under John Redmond's leadership;
1920, 13 January	Dissolution of UIL; FF Wholahan, Patrick O'Leary, James McGrath, Austin Hewitt, FB Keogh, JJ Bradley, Hugh Sheridan, Michael Kenny, H McConville, PP Gillen, L O'Loughlin, WJ Denny, Jno Travers, E McAllister and FM Koerner listed as members;

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<sup>8</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 January 1920.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> See JG O'Connor Scrapbook, NLA, MS9529 for copy of the address to O'Doherty.

<sup>11</sup> *Advocate*, 2 April 1887. See also *Advertiser*, 29 March 1887.



## Victorian Timeline<sup>12</sup>

1880, 27 November	Joseph Winter, via <i>Advocate</i> , appealed for subscriptions for Irish Land League Defence Fund;
1880, 18 December	Irish National Land League (INL) branch established, Thomas Fogarty elected president;
1881, September 20	3 Catholic Young Men's Societies held concert and ball in Athenaeum, raised £52 for Land League;
1883, February 15	Redmond Brothers arrived, Town Hall refused as lecture venue;
1887, April	Visit of the Earl of Aberdeen;
1887, 2 November	Hibernian Hall, Swanston Street, opened;
1887, 22 November	Bernard Molloy MP spoke at Hibernian Hall in aid of the Evicted Tenants' Fund;
1889, 17 September	Second Australian Irish Convention held at Hibernian Hall, Michael McDonald presided, mostly Victorian delegates, double numbers of 1883 and minus sectarian acrimony;
1889, 17 September	JR Cox MP visited Melbourne, addressing several meetings in aid of national cause;
1889, 29 October	Parnell Defence Fund inaugurated at Hibernian Hall, Sir Bryan O'Loughlen presided;
1890, 5 November	E Dwyer Gray Jr, son of distinguished Irish journalist and Lord Mayor of Dublin, arrived in Melbourne;
1895, 18 May	Michael Davitt welcomed at Hibernian Hall, Town Hall refused;
1895, October	Alfred Webb, Quaker, former MP, treasurer of Irish organisations, visited, farewell lunch for him and Davitt, Kevin Izod O'Doherty also there. Webb later addressed a Hobart meeting;
1896, 30 January	Edward Blake QC, LLD MP lectured on Home Rule at the Athenaeum Club. Town Hall refused by Public Works Committee, full City Council reversed this. Joseph Winter was tour secretary;
1896, 14 July	Third Australian Irish Convention held at Hibernian Hall, Nicholas O'Donnell presided, Victorian delegate only, Thomas Hunt of Kilmore selected to represent Victoria at Dublin Race Convention;
1896, 1 September	Irish Race Convention held in Dublin, Thomas Hunt represented SA and Victoria;
1900, 13 July	Branch of UIL founded, Nicholas O'Donnell presided, elected as first president;
1901, 4 December	William O'Brien and his wife visited Melbourne;
1904, 14 December	Wm Redmond MP and his wife visited en route for Orange;
1906, 1 June	Joseph Devlin MP and JT Donovan addressed a Town Hall meeting;
1908, 4 September	Ensign Robert Emmet of American Fleet in Port Philip Bay welcomed by Irishmen of at Cathedral Hall;
1911, October 9	Richard Hazelton MP, WAK Redmond and JT Donovan arrived;
1913, December 8	Wm Redmond MP and his wife welcomed at Celtic Club;
1914, January 14	Dr NM O'Donnell unanimously appointed to represent Victoria at the opening of Dublin's Irish parliament;
1915, 17 December	Death of Joseph Winter aged 71;

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<sup>12</sup> *Advocate*, 16 June 1917.

1918, 10 May	Fourth Victorian Irish Convention, chaired by Dr Mannix, opposed conscription in Ireland and supported Ireland's claim to autonomy;
1919, 3-5 November	Fifth Australasian Irish Race Convention in Melbourne, 3000 delegates, 100,000 at public meeting;
1920, 14 January	Death of Dr Nicholas O'Donell, aged 57;
1922, 14 December	Dissolution of Melbourne UIL.

## APPENDIX B– Papers utilised by *Advocate* and *Southern Cross* 1899-1902.<sup>13</sup>

*Argus*: Founded in Melbourne during June 1846,

*Belfast Irish Weekly*: Founded in 1891 it was published under various names, and was ‘A Catholic and national daily journal on which the Catholic nationalists of Ulster can rely to advocate their rights and to voice their opinions with the sympathy and support of bishops, priests and nationalists of Ulster.’ With its motto of ‘pro fide at patria’, it was seen as the ‘sole organ of Catholic and nationalist opinion in Belfast.’<sup>14</sup> It was quoted in the *Advocate* of January 1902.

*Boston Pilot*: Founded in 1829, becoming the *Boston Pilot* in 1836 and the *Pilot* in 1858. From 1876 it was edited by John Boyle O’Reilly, a transported Fenian who escaped from Western Australia in 1869. It was second in influence to the *Irish World*. O’Reilly not only focussed on Irish immigrants but made ‘his paper the champion of the unprivileged ... demanding social justice in the name of American liberal and democratic values.’<sup>15</sup> Its columns provided an important site in the search for missing friends.<sup>16</sup> From 1879, Michael Davitt contributed regularly on the Irish situation.<sup>17</sup> The paper was quoted frequently in both the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*.

*Bulletin*: Founded in January 1880 to promote a strongly pro-Australian attitude, it was utilised in the *Southern Cross* between 1890 and 1895 in the ‘*Bulletin* Mems’ segment which reproduced comment on matters of interest to South Australian readers. It supported Home Rule for Ireland, was often quoted and so when its portrayal of Ireland changed late in World War One, Irish-Australians were distressed.

*Cape Times*: Founded in Cape Town in 1876, it was modelled on *The Times* and was the first daily paper in southern Africa. Its primary target was the poor working class; it became one of the principal papers of the Cape Colony.

*Catholic Press*: Founded in Sydney in 1895 as a limited proprietary company, its clerical shareholders exceeded lay subscribers. Among early editors were Irishman, Fr Timoney and politician EW O’Sullivan, John Perrin, Tighe Ryan and P.S. Cleary.

*Catholic Record* (Western Australia); founded in 1874 with the double emblem of the Cross and the Shamrock beneath the title, its first editor was Father Mathew Gibney (later Bishop), chaplain on the *Hougomont* which transported Fenian prisoners to Western Australia in 1868. John O’Reilly (later Bishop in Port Augusta from 1888 and Archbishop of Adelaide from 1894), was editor from 1883 to 1887. The paper was frequently used by the *Southern Cross*.

*Liverpool Catholic Times*: Published first under that name in 1870, in 1876 it merged with the 1867 *Catholic Opinion* and a struggling local paper, the *Northern Press* (founded in 1860). Its editor was an Irishman, John Denvir, who made it England’s Home Rule paper.<sup>18</sup> It was used extensively by both the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*.

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<sup>13</sup> Josef L Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1989, George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds.), *Newspaper History from the seventeenth century to the present day*, Constable, London, 1978, Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth Century England*, Scholar Press, England, 1996, TW Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1846-82*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982, John S North, *The Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900, Phase II*, North Waterloo Academic Press, Canada, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> North, *The Waterloo Directory*, 283-4.

<sup>15</sup> Moody, *Davitt*, 1423.

<sup>16</sup> See Ruth-Anne Harris, ‘Searching for Missing Friends in the Boston Pilot Newspaper 1831-63’ in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora*, Pearson Education Limited, London, 2000

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

<sup>18</sup> Altholz, *The Religious Press*, 105

*Cork Weekly Herald*: Established in January 1857 and covering weekly news, local and district intelligence plus local and foreign news. Initially Liberal, Independent in 1875, by 1889 it was Nationalist. Neutral in political 'colour', it was published until July 1901.<sup>19</sup> The *Advocate* of 1901 quoted this paper.

*Daily Mail*: Founded in 1896, it was a cheap daily (one halfpenny) which 'brought colourful versions of current affairs'. By early 1901 its daily circulation was one million; it was the first British daily to reach this figure and for twenty years was 'almost alone in extending newspaper readership.'<sup>20</sup> Alfred Harmsworth, its proprietor and editor, ensured its international news organisation was bettered only by *The Times* and Reuters.<sup>21</sup> Harmsworth was a supporter of Milner's South African policies. His was one of the few papers whose correspondents were introduced to their readers.<sup>22</sup>

*Dublin Freeman's Journal*: Founded in Dublin in 1763, subsidised by Dublin Castle from 1809; after 1850 it was owned by the Protestant Gray family and in the 1860s reached an understanding with Cardinal Cullen, becoming the official organ of the hierarchy. As the most widely read of the daily papers, its stance was important. A moderate nationalist paper, it supported repeal of the Union, Home Rule, the Land League, more explicitly after Parnell became chairman of the IPP in 1880, and took the side of John Redmond when the Irish Parliamentary Party split in 1890. It was used extensively by both newspapers.

*New York Freeman's Journal*: Founded in 1849 and initially owned by Bishop John Hughes but bought by James McMaster, it was the Irish-American version of the Dublin paper but more radical.

*Irish Catholic*: Founded in Dublin by TD Sullivan in 1888, it operated as a private and limited company and was independent of hierarchical control.

*Irish People*: Founded in September 1899 by William O'Brien, it promoted the UIL (after IPP reunification in 1900) and land reform.

*Irish Weekly Independent*: Founded in 1893, it was Catholic and nationalist, opposing 'political priests who combine religion with Whig politics'.<sup>23</sup> In September 1900 it absorbed the *Nation* and became the *Irish Weekly Independent and Nation*.

*Irish World*: Founded in 1878 New York, from 1882, under Patrick Ford it became the weekly mouthpiece for *Clan na Gael*, the Irish-American revolutionary organisation. It was soon 'the most widely-read and influential newspaper among Irish-Americans.'<sup>24</sup> From 1879 the words *and Industrial Liberator* were added to the title.<sup>25</sup> Its Irish circulation increased noticeably in 1879 and enormously in 1880. From 1879 Michael Davitt contributed regular letters.<sup>26</sup> Free copies were available to anyone in Ireland asking for them.<sup>27</sup> Henry George (of Single Tax fame) met Davitt at Ford's home in 1880<sup>28</sup> and in 1881 visited Ireland as his correspondent<sup>29</sup>. In February 1902 the *Advocate* referred to this paper.

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<sup>19</sup> North, *The Waterloo Directory*, 500.

<sup>20</sup> Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1914-76' in Boyce et al (eds.), *Newspaper History*, 130.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Palmer, 'The British Press and international news, 1851-99: of agencies and newspapers' in Boyce et al (eds.) in *Newspaper History*, 217.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>24</sup> Moody, *Davitt*, 141.

<sup>25</sup> Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study' in *Journal of American History*, 90, 2003, 154.

<sup>26</sup> Moody, *Davitt*, 327. 'Earnings from such work and from lecturing were to be his staple source of income from now onwards'.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 362-3.

<sup>28</sup> Marley, *Michael Davitt*, 44.

*Manchester Guardian*: Founded as a weekly paper in 1821 by middle class reformers, by 1836 it was a daily and its 1844 circulation figures were 8,000. Until 1900 its annual profit was generally more than £20, 000.<sup>30</sup> The paper promoted Home Rule in stronger terms than any other English paper. Edited until 1929 by a tireless peace activist and House of Commons MP from 1895 to 1905, CP Scott, the paper's circulation, although not depending on its political standpoint, suffered in the Anglo-Boer War to the point where economic extinction was threatened. JA Hobson, an anti-imperialist economist, was one of its reporters in the field. Again in the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-21, the paper was extremely critical of Lloyd George who 'had taken a course in Ireland that had brought shame on the British name and excited a volume of indignation in Britain'.<sup>31</sup>

*Nineteenth Century*: Founded as a monthly periodical in 1877 by James Knowles, editor until 1908. It was a 'debating society in print' and a very popular and prestigious journal. A moderate Unionist, Knowles allowed defenders of Home Rule a fair hearing'.<sup>32</sup> Gladstone provided 53 articles; in April 1893, Joseph Chamberlain contributed an anti-Home Rule article. In January 1893 Davitt wrote an article entitled 'The Priest in Politics' in which he 'insisted that the Irish clergy had no right to exert spiritual pressure to influence political opinion [but] he contended that the 'priesthood' nevertheless had a right to participate in 'political warfare'.<sup>33</sup> The periodical subsequently presented and argued the issues for *and* against the Anglo-Boer war in a measured manner.

*North American Review. Southern Cross* of 6 June 1900 used an article about future English leaders written by an Irishman.

*Philadelphia Catholic Standard*: Founded in December 1895, it was the major newspaper for the large diocese centred on Philadelphia.

*Positivist Review*: Founded in 1893, this London journal initially emerged from the Positivist non-theistic 'church' and was published until 1923. Articles were typically social and political, some were ethical or philosophical.<sup>34</sup> The *Advocate* published some of its material.

*Review of Reviews*: Founded in 1890 by prominent anti-war figure WT Stead who aimed to provide 'a readable compendium of all the best articles in the reviews and magazines'.<sup>35</sup> His partisan views led to a drop in sales during the Anglo-Boer War. He was one of the pioneers of late nineteenth century 'New Journalism' relying on bold headlines, sensation and topics calculated to stir public interest'. (He had previously edited the *Pall Mall Gazette*.) The *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* both used it.

*Reynold's Weekly Newspaper. a Journal of Democratic Progress and General Intelligence*: Founded in May 1850 by G.W.M.Reynolds, it was a workingmen's paper published on Sundays with a circulation of 300,000 by the 1880s. It was 'marked by an unsettled Radicalism that did not stop short of republicanism'<sup>36</sup> Readership patterns showed large numbers of its readers were in the army and navy.<sup>37</sup> It provided readers with 'a more developed political commentary' than comparable weeklies.<sup>38</sup> Outspoken against the Anglo-Boer War, the military forbade its circulation in South Africa. In March 1902 it was cited in the *Advocate*.

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-5.

<sup>32</sup> John Mason, 'Monthly and quarterly reviews, 1865-1914' in Boyce et al (eds.), *Newspaper History*, 286-7.

<sup>33</sup> Marley, *Michael Davitt*, 202.

<sup>34</sup> Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain*, 115.

<sup>35</sup> Mason in Boyce et al (eds.), *Newspaper History*, 281.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, Volume One: The Nineteenth Century, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1981, 89.

<sup>37</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular Sunday papers and mid-Victorian society' in Boyce et al (eds.), *Newspaper History*, 249.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

*Southern Cross* (Buenos Aires): founded in 1875 by Irish-born Father Dillon; edited from 1896 to 1910 by Irishman, William Bulfin, a fervent nationalist who subsequently became a member of Sinn Féin. It was an Adelaide *Southern Cross* 'exchange'.

The *Speaker*: founded in the 1890s this was a small but well known political weekly which catered 'for a governing elite [largely] centred in London.'<sup>39</sup> In the autumn of 1899 it was successfully taken over and rejuvenated as an anti-war Liberal paper by a group which included Hilaire Belloc. This was done with the support of the pro-Boer proprietor of the *Edinburgh Evening News*. The *Advocate* quoted this paper in March 1902.

*Springfield Review*: founded in 1824 as an American rural weekly paper, the founder's descendants were involved in the founding of the Republican Party; they believed newspapers had to be a power in the moral, religious, literary and political life of the community.

The *Standard and Digger News*: Founded in 18??, this South African Republican paper published in Johannesburg was the Transvaal government's organ in the propaganda war; British troops were forbidden to read it. One of Reuter's assistant correspondents, a British subject, Roderick Jones, was also correspondent for this paper. It was quoted in the *Advocate* during 1902.

The *Star*: Founded in January 1888 by TP O'Connor who embraced 'New Journalism' and its popularising innovations. Marley judges that O'Connor's 'personal effort' was great and that he 'was most likely responsible for the greater part of the features and reports on Ireland and home rule'. Costing half a penny, the London based evening paper 'sold around 160,000 copies daily and [it] was the only radical organ of its kind in the city'.<sup>40</sup> Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw were both associated with it in the 1890s. In 1900 it was one of eight London evening papers, an anti-Anglo-Boer conflict paper, associated with the morning radical *News Chronicle*.

London *Tablet*: Founded in 1840 'to serve as the voice of English Catholicism,' it was pro-Irish and until 1848, the only English Catholic Weekly. Between 1849 and 1855 it was published in Dublin, becoming ultra-Tory before moving to a pro-Rome position. Its supplement from 1869 to 1870, *The Vatican*, supported papal infallibility'.<sup>41</sup> From 1892 it was the 'official organ' of the diocese of Westminster under Archbishop Herbert Vaughan. Edited by Snead-Cox from 1884 to 1920, it became 'a solid, temperate and politically Conservative journal'.<sup>42</sup> After 150 years of publication, its 1990 official history, referred to its concern to establish itself as independent of official Church position. It was used by the *Southern Cross* and the *Advocate*.

*New Zealand Tablet*: Founded in Dunedin in 1873 by Irishman Bishop Patrick Moran, it was seen as very proIrish. It was used extensively by both the *Advocate* and the *Southern Cross*.

*Universe*: Founded in 1860 as a penny weekly under the inspiration of English Cardinal Wiseman and managed by the Vincent de Paul Society in London. It was modelled on *l'Universe*, and initially avoiding politics, its later inclusion was intended to increase circulation. When the original staff resigned in protest, the printer, Irishman Denis Lane, became proprietor. He used clerical writers, reprinted English and Irish Episcopal speeches and incorporated extensive devotional items 'ensur[ing] he reached the mass Catholic audience'.<sup>43</sup> By the time of his death in 1906, the *Universe* had become England's leading Catholic paper.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Lee in Boyce et al (eds.), *Newspaper History*, 124.

<sup>40</sup> Marley, *Michael Davitt*, 103.

<sup>41</sup> North, *The Waterloo Directory*, 459.

<sup>42</sup> Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain*, 100-1.

<sup>43</sup> Owen Dudley Edwards and Patricia J Storey, 'The Irish Press in Victorian Britain' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, Croom Helm, London, 1985,166-7.

<sup>44</sup> Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain*, 104-5.

*West Cork Eagle*: began weekly publication in September 1861, it survived a number of name variations, a politically 'neutral' paper. Self-described as 'A weekly journal devoted to literature, science, art....In politics & all sectarian questions [we shall remain] strictly neutral.'<sup>45</sup>

*Vaterland*: Founded in Vienna during 1860, this Catholic newspaper operated until 1903.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 441.

## APPENDIX C: Individuals In Thesis

Frank Anstey (1865-1940). Born England, and early into a life at sea, by the 1880s he was permanently in Australia. A leading speaker and writer for the Labour cause, an MP from 1902 he was an associate of John Curtin and wrote regularly for *Tocsin* and *Labour Call*. A MHR from 1910, war led to a breach with his friend WM Hughes. He and Frank Brennan were Australia's first MPs to promote the Australian Peace Alliance; in 1916, and 1917 he campaigned against conscription. Overseas in March 1918, acting PM Watts invited him to join the imperial press mission, he toured the Western Front, meeting Allied war leaders and politicians. Returning he wrote *Red Europe*. A friend of John Wren's (see below), a free-thinker and a Freemason, he also supported the Irish cause.

Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928). Born England, he became a lawyer by 1876, also pursuing journalism before election to Westminster in 1886. His commitment to Home Rule was clear from 1887. Home Secretary from 1892-5, in April 1908 he became Liberal PM after experience as Chancellor of the Exchequer from December 1905. His probable underestimation of Ulster Unionist opposition undermined 1912's Home Rule bill. Although he was successful early in the war, later his hesitations contributed to May 1915's coalition government, and ultimately to his overthrow as PM by Lloyd George in December 1916. Subsequently he became a fierce critic of British policy in Ireland.

Augustine Birrell (1850-1933). Born in Liverpool, a barrister and a Liberal politician, he entered parliament in 1889, becoming Irish Chief Secretary in 1907. A supporter of Home Rule, his early contribution to Ireland was impressive. But after 1914 events including the arming of Ulster, Birrell underestimated the danger represented by Irish Volunteers, and following the Easter Rising, attracted most blame for not preventing the treachery.

Louis Botha (1862-1919). Born in Natal, his military career dated from 1884; in March 1900 as commandant-general of Transvaal forces it coincided with war turning against the Boer. His insistence led to 'terms of surrender' designated as a treaty. He was popular in London – a former enemy ready to be part of the Empire. His role as Transvaal PM facilitated its entry into the Union of South Africa; he became South African PM in 1910. His 1914 assurance of British war support led to his invasion of German SW Africa, and to some Boer generals' revolt, forcing him to take up arms against them.

Francis (Frank) Brennan (1873-1950). Born Victoria to Irish parents, Frank graduated as a lawyer in 1901. Prominent in the CYMS, he joined the Labor Party in 1907, entering Federal parliament in 1911. In 1913 he married Sheila O'Donnell, daughter of Nicholas (see below), his friend Mannix performed the ceremony. Brennan opposed Australian involvement in war; the connections between the Easter Rising and conscription in 1916 fully engaged him, labelling him as anti-British. He appeared for the IRB detainees in 1918 and spoke often and eloquently about Irish issues.

Thomas Cornelius Brennan (1866-1944). Born Victoria to Irish parents, (older brother of Frank) he worked first as an *Argus* printer, then as a cable editor, and subsequently a junior reporter. But he completed his legal studies and was admitted to the Bar in 1907. He was a founding member of the Australian Journalist's Association in 1910. First ACF president in 1911, he edited the *Advocate* probably from 1912 to 1917. His support for recruitment and conscription caused increasing tensions with Mannix and led to his resignation in April 1917. Conservative politically, he became a senator in 1931, and from 1936-7 was active in the United Australia Party.

Herbert Brookes (1867-1963). Born Victoria, a successful businessman and close to Hughes, his imperial loyalties dominated. Conscription brought him into conflict with Mannix and Irish Catholicism, culminating in his 1918 attempt to ban Sinn Féin and have Mannix deported. Business links and strong opinions produced efforts to develop a counter-propaganda network ready to identify signs of insidious subversive behaviour. Although his *ADB* biographer and Rohan Rivett



claim his sound and community-minded motives, the tenor of his NLA papers suggest powerful anti-Catholic prejudice.

Cyril Bryan (1885-1940). Born in Perth, educated by the Christian Brothers, he was involved in the militia. Attempting unsuccessfully to join the South African contingent he financed his own trip in 1901, remaining in African military service after 1902. He spent time in India, returning to Perth in 1910; an active unionist as well as an officer in the volunteer Light Horse, he began medical studies. In 1914 he volunteered and went to Egypt and France before shell shock and bilharzia forced his repatriation. In 1917 he was a Labor candidate for the Senate in 1917 amidst the conscription controversy. By 1918 he was in Melbourne to complete medical studies and a prominent public speaker about the war, publishing a book of Mannix's speeches. He went to Dublin in 1920 for more study, sending reports about the War of Independence to Australia's Irish-Catholic press before qualifying in 1922. He practiced in Harley Street, maintaining a writing career.

William Bulfin (1863-1910). Born in Kings County, in 1884 Bulfin emigrated to Argentina where he contributed to the *Southern Cross*, becoming sub-editor in 1892 and owner/editor in 1898. Strong Irish nationalism and Gaelic League support (founded in 1893) connected him to Douglas Hyde and Arthur Griffith. Return visits to Ireland and permanent settlement in 1909 put him in close touch with Sinn Féin. His son attended St Enda's school in Dublin, joined the IRB and fought in 1916.

William Butler (1838-1910). Born in Tipperary, he joined the British Army in 1858; his advance (despite his Irish Catholicism) was associated with Lord Wolsey. He served in Africa, leading the Sudan rescue attempt for Gordon, War Office objections to complaints about troop conditions and military reform and 1886 support for Home Rule limited his promotions. But by 1898 he was CIC in South Africa and high commissioner during Lord Milner's absence. Wanting to avoid war, doubting the army's readiness for modern war, he resigned on 18 August 1899. Blamed for British reverses, 1903's royal commission exonerated him; He chaired a 1902 committee to investigate army supply corruption, the 1905 report was damning. 'Although he fought for the...empire, he regarded its protestations of benevolence and civilization as a sham, and saw its aim as the ruthless exploitation of native peoples. He believed that most of its wars had been fomented by the forces of international capitalism.'<sup>46</sup>

Arthur Augustine Calwell (1896-1973). Born in Victoria and educated at CBC, from 1913 Calwell was a public service clerk. A militia member, he was rejected for the AIF. By 1916 he was a critic of the war and anti-conscription. As secretary of the Young Ireland Society and Gaelic League and a Gaelic speaker, the security services were interested in his activities. An associate of Mannix, he was secretary of 1918's Irish Convention; in 1933 he and Elisabeth Marren (his second wife, formerly social editor of the *Tribune*), launched the *Irish Review* as an official organ of the Victorian Irish Association.

Archbishop Thomas Joseph Carr (1839-1917). Born in Galway, ordained in 1866, he became bishop of Galway in 1883. Appointed as Melbourne's Archbishop in 1887, he was often consulted by Cardinal Moran, and described as never allowing his Irish background to disrupt the consolidation of the Australian Catholic Church. His carefully detached attitude about Ireland enabled a conciliatory stand on conscription, and polite rejection of a State Recruiting Committee demand for a pronouncement to be read in all churches.

Edward Henry Carson (1854-1935). Born Dublin and legally prominent during the 'Plan of Campaign', in 1892 he was appointed as Ireland's Solicitor-General and became Unionist MP for TCD. Legal success in London led to his role as solicitor-general in 1900. By 1910 he was leader of the Irish Unionist PP. During the Home Rule crisis of 1912-14 his public belligerence was aimed at forcing a settlement but threatened civil war. He served as Attorney General in the coalition

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<sup>46</sup> James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2002*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, Vol 2, 193.

government from May 1915, worked for Asquith's fall and had several roles under Lloyd George before returning to legal practice in 1919. He was described as the 'uncrowned king of Ulster'.

Roger Casement (1864-1916). Born Dublin and involved in Britain's consular service from 1892, he was an early imperialist supporting Britain in the Anglo-Boer War. Knighted in 1911, he resigned in 1913. His Irish nationalism linked to his Gaelic League involvement; involved in founding the Irish Volunteers he sought German assistance for Ireland's insurrection. Recognising their promises were inadequate, he returned to delay any Irish rising, but was arrested and later executed in London.

Archbishop Patrick Joseph Clune (1864-1935). Born County Clare, ordained in 1886, he served in NSW till 1893, but was in Perth from 1898-1905 and New Zealand in 1909. Becoming Perth's bishop in 1911 and Archbishop in 1913, until March 1917 he was senior chaplain to the AIF, visiting the troops in 1916, and supported conscription. In late 1920, shocked by British outrages in Ireland, he attempted to mediate between Sinn Fein and Britain, hardline conditions demanded Sinn Fein deliver all arms and cabinet members and Lloyd George opposed the proposals. Clune described Sinn Feiners as 'the cream of their race' in Paris, and was outspoken on his return. The governor, aware of his moderate reputation, informed London of his speech, alarmed about his influence.

Michael Patrick Considine (1885-1959). Born in County Mayo, Considine came to NSW with his mother in 1890. By 1908 he was involved in a Sydney strike of tramway workers and briefly joined the Socialist Federation. Imprisoned for 6 months in 1910 for his role in demonstrations, he worked on the wharves, moving to Broken Hill in 1911, becoming president of the Amalgamated Miner's Association during the war. He belonged to the Marxist Australian Socialist Party before winning the Federal seat of barrier for the Labor Party in 1917 after the conscription split. Announcing he was acting consul for the Bolshevik Government, he was identified with the far left, and in July 1919 was jailed for his supposed remarks about the king. In August he was suspended from the House for refusing to withdraw his assertion that the Government was supporting White Russians. He resigned from the party in late 1920, and was defeated as an industrial Socialist Labor Party candidate.

Joseph Richard Cox (1851/2-1934). Born County Roscommon, a supporter of Parnell elected to Westminster in 1885, he was twice imprisoned during the 'Plan of Campaign.' He turned against Parnell in 1890; he twice visited Australia, the second time in 1891 to raise money for the anti-Parnellite cause. John Redmond's son defeated him in the 1892 election.

James Craig (1871-1940). Born County Down, his Anglo-Boer War participation provided understanding/appreciation of Empire. Elected to Westminster in 1906, he led Ulster Unionist opposition to Home Rule with Edward Carson; his office under Lloyd George from 1917 to 1921 gave him some control over Irish policy. He became Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister in 1921 (after the 1920 Government of Ireland Act).

Archbishop Thomas William Croke (1823-1902). Born in Cork, from 1870 to 1874 Croke was Bishop of Auckland, visiting Australia in 1873. Resigning to become Archbishop of Cashel in 1874, he had a reputation of mixing nationalist rhetoric with religious fervour. Rebuked by Cardinal Cullen for contributing to the fund for the release of Fenian prisoners, after Cullen's 1878 death, Croke's priests became more politically active. He was first patron of the Gaelic Athletic Association (founded in 1884), their Dublin headquarters were named after him.

Cardinal Paul Cullen (1803-1878). Born County Kildare, Cullen was educated for the priesthood in Rome where he became a professor at Propaganda College and then rector of the Irish College. Both sites were of great importance for placing Irish prelates into 'missionary' countries like Australia. As archbishop of Armagh (1849-52) and Dublin (1852-78) he was noted for moderate nationalism, but discouraging clerical involvement in politics. His role in standardising the clerically-

monitored 'devotional revolution' was critical. His nephew, Patrick Moran was Sydney's Cardinal from 1884 to 1911.

John Joseph Daly (1891-1942). Born South Australia, his education was limited, but in 1919 he was called to the bar after having been WJ Denny's conveyancing clerk from 1912. As an INA member and secretary of the Self-Determination for Ireland League in 1921, he was an object of surveillance interest. He was also involved in both the ANA and the Irish National Foresters. He became a Senator in 1928 and, a brilliant speaker, was Senate leader under Scullin in 1929.

Thomas Davis (1814-45). Born in County Cork to an English army surgeon and an Irish Protestant mother, Davis was educated at TCD. His ideas on Irish nationality were first aired publicly in 1839; he joined the Repeal Association in 1841 and with Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon (see below for John Dillon) founded the *Nation* to promote Repeal and the Young Ireland movement's ideas of cultural nationalism. As leader of this group which aimed to reverse the Anglicisation of Irish culture, Davis promoted the revival of the Irish language and wanted to develop a spirit of nationality uniting Irish from every religious tradition. His cooperation with Daniel O'Connell was tested with the latter's move from Repeal. His death was sudden and due to scarlet fever.

Michael Davitt (1846-1906). Born in County Mayo, his family's eviction led to emigration to Lancashire where he lost his right arm in an 1857 factory accident. Joining the Fenians in 1865, he was sentenced in 1870 to 15 years jail for gun running. Released on a ticket of leave, in 1880 he became a founder of the Land League<sup>47</sup> and from 1879-1882 was deeply involved in the Irish agrarian struggle. He was a strong supporter of the Liberal-Nationalist alliance until the fateful 1890 IPP split. After several election forays he was elected as an anti-Parnellite MP for West Mayo in 1895 while touring Australia. He was closely associated with William O'Brien in founding the UIL in 1898, and supported IPP reunification although very doubtful about Redmond's leadership. He resigned from parliament in 1899 in protest against the Anglo-Boer War.

William Joseph Denny (1872-1946). Born Adelaide to Irish parents, he attended CBC and was a clerk until his 1896 appointment as second editor of Adelaide's *Southern Cross*. His previous involvement in Catholic organisations was mainly confined to Literary Societies, he lacked any journalistic experience. His editorial role included the Anglo-Boer War, he resigned in 1903. He studied law, was an MP from 1900 to 1933. Enlisting in August 1915, he was wounded at Ypres, received the MC and was promoted to captain, resigning his commission in 1919. He authored several books about the war. As a *Southern Cross* director he maintained a relationship with the newspaper into the 1920s.

Joseph Devlin (1871-1934). Born Belfast, he became a UIL official, and as President of the Hibernians understood organisation and sentiment. A protégé of John Dillon he entered parliament in 1902, establishing a strong reputation. As part of the 1906 IPP Mission to Australia, he was made a life member of Melbourne's Hibernians.<sup>48</sup> His critical role in convincing Ulster nationalists to support Lloyd George's temporary partition in 1916, and its aftermath was never forgotten. He held his seat in 1918, leading the tiny IPP but Dublin undermined his leadership. He entered Ulster parliament in 1925.

John Dillon (1851-1927). Born in County Dublin, Dillon's father was a Young Irelander; although a qualified doctor, Dillon never practiced. Serving 4 prison terms, his militant agrarianism led to clashes with Parnell. His 1889 Australian tour was effective; he kept close relationships with

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<sup>47</sup> Founded by Davitt in Dublin in October 1879, he intended it as an organisation to promote and coordinate a national campaign against landlords, but when Parnell became president, its scope was widened. A network of branches covered the South and in August 1881 the weekly *United Ireland* was launched. Peasant land ownership was the goal so the 1881 Land Act's rent reduction helped the majority of members and reduced League unity. Some supporters held more revolutionary aims; the jailing of the executive in 1881 and their 'no rent' manifesto led to the outlawing of the League in October.

<sup>48</sup> See *Advocate* of 7 September 1918 when Mannix was honoured; Davitt had similarly been acknowledged.

prominent Irish-Australians. He led the anti-Parnellite group from 1896 but gave way to Redmond in 1900 when the factions reunited. He disagreed with Redmond's war enthusiasm; as a Dublin resident during the Rising grasped early the impact of British executions. Losing his seat in 1918 he continued to view Sinn Féin unrealistically.

John T. Donovan. (18??–19??). Born in Ulster but from an old Cork family, Donovan was a practicing barrister in Belfast and an active identity in Nationalist politics. Redmond selected him as a member of the 1906 and 1911/12 IPP delegations to Australia; he became a life member of Melbourne's Hibernians in 1906. In 1911 he was a member of the Standing Committee of the National Directory and well known in Belfast Nationalist circles. Material about his life has proved elusive. At his 1915 Belfast wedding to a New Zealander, Devlin (see above) lauded his qualities as 'a man and a Nationalist: 'Mr Donovan had to the service of his country freely and self-sacrificingly given the best that was in him'.<sup>49</sup>

Fr Martin Joseph Dowling (1880-1951). Born Roscommon and ordained in 1904, Dowling arrived in Tasmania in mid-1905. From 1906 until 1947 he was parish priest of Ulverstone. His wartime disloyalty is not recorded in Church archives but extensively in the NAA. He was named as an Archdeacon in December 1937.

Albert Thomas Dryer (1888-1963). Born Sydney to an Irish mother and father of German background, he received a Catholic education and matriculated in 1911. Reading Alice Stopford Green's *Irish Nationality* in 1914 was pivotal; he founded the INA in July 1915; the group aroused security suspicions and in June 1918 7 of its members were arrested and interned. Dryer was the last released, he later qualified as a doctor, always maintaining devotion to Irish independence. He organised de Valera's 1948 visit.

Albert Augustine Edwards (1888-1963). Born Adelaide and known as 'The King' of the West End as a hotel licensee; a City Councillor from 1914-1938, 1948-1963 and a MHA from May 1917 to June 1931. Griffin claims he was 'reputedly the homosexual, illegitimate son of former premier CC Kingston'.<sup>50</sup> He joined Wren's 1920 campaign for Fr Jerger, the Commonwealth police alleging he bribed the Australian Workers' Union seaman to strike. He moved a resolution at Melbourne's August meeting protesting against Dr Mannix's exclusion from Ireland.<sup>51</sup> He negotiated Adelaide's showing of Wren's film 'Ireland Will Be Free' in October 1920.<sup>52</sup> Slum clearance, opposing land sharks and rack renters, and prison reform also engaged him. In 1931, while his bitter party opponent WJ Denny (see above) was attorney-general, Edwards was jailed for 5 years (with hard labour) for sodomy. Claims of framing persisted (he had antagonised the police in 1930), the ALP expelled him in 1938.)<sup>53</sup> His estate of £45,492 was left to the destitute.

Sir Osmond Thomas Grattan Esmonde (1896-1936). Born in Wexford, politicised by the events of 1916 he joined Sinn Féin, campaigning for their candidates in 1918 and working voluntarily to secure international recognition for Irish independence. After an American trip to help raise money for the first Dail loan, in late 1920 he was sent on a British Dominion tour to seek recognition for the Irish Republic. New Zealand prohibited his landing, and just before he reached Australia 'the government published regulations under the War Precautions Repeal Act denying entry to any British subject refusing to take the oath of allegiance. He refused, owing to a strike was detained in Sydney Harbour for 6 weeks. In Canada he was arrested on charges of sedition, the second trial found him guilty but the judge refused to sentence him. Eventually he returned to Ireland in the summer of 1921 and was involved in the Paris Race Congress.

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<sup>49</sup> See *Irish Independent* of 8 February 1915.

<sup>50</sup> James Griffin, *John Wren, A Life Reconsidered*, Scribe Press, Melbourne, 2004, 269.

<sup>51</sup> *Advocate*, 19 August 1920.

<sup>52</sup> *Southern Cross*, 29 October 1920.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

Sir Thomas Henry GrattanEsmonde (1862-1935). Born Ireland, he was elected as the youngest MP to Westminster in 1885. Part of the 1889-90 IPP delegation to Australia with John Dillon and Deasey, he later published an account of his travels. In August 1920 he resigned from positions in Ireland, including JP, to protest against the detention of Terence MacSwiney. Nominated to the Free State Senate in December 1922, he served until 1934.

John Arthur Filhely (1882-1945). Born in Cork, his parents emigrated to Queensland in 1883, Filhely was a government clerk before entering parliament in 1912, he served as a minister in TJ Ryan's 1915 government (see below). As an outspoken supporter of Irish dissidents, his denunciation of the British government in 1916 at the Queensland Irish Association offended the governor who demanded an apology. Opposing conscription, his name became synonymous with disloyalty and support for Germany and Sinn Féin. Following Ryan's resignation as premier, he became deputy leader; despite his alleged disloyalty behaved impeccably towards the Prince of Wales in 1920. He was Agent General in London from 1922 to 1924.

Fr Patrick J Gearon (1891-1970). Born in Victoria, ordained as a Carmelite priest, he spent some years in Ireland, returning to Australia in 1919. First stationed in Victoria, he made a name for himself in public lecturing, and reinforced this when he was transferred to South Australia the following year. In 1921 he published *The Truth About Ireland*, the substance of his popular public addresses, the text caused concerns to surveillance authorities.

David Lloyd George (1863-1945). Born in England to Welsh parents and orphaned, Lloyd George was supported by his uncle and younger brother to become a solicitor by 1884. Elected to Westminster in 1889, his loud opposition to the Anglo-Boer War led to some notoriety and hostility from Liberal colleagues. After the party won office in 1905, he eventually became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908, introduced the People's Budget in 1909, Minister of Munitions from May 1915, War Secretary in July 1916 before engineering the replacement of PM Asquith in December 1916. As part of a coalition government, his policies towards Ireland became increasingly opportunistic, thereby earning him a reputation of hostility. He was replaced as PM in October 1922.

Philip Gibbs (1877-1962). Born in London, by 1902 Gibbs' journalistic career had been reflected in roles as literary editor of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*. A Balkan War correspondent during 1912/3, he was also in Ireland during 1914's gun running. He sent early despatches from France in 1914, and from 1915 became one of 5 official war correspondents for the *Daily Chronicle* and *Daily Telegraph*. The power of his war campaign commentary made him one of the best known British war correspondents. He opposed Lloyd George's policies towards Ireland and wrote the foreword to Hugh Martin's book about the Anglo-Irish war. (See below).

Patrick McMahon Glynn (1855-1931). Born Galway, he emigrated to Victoria in 1880 after qualifying as a lawyer. Moving to South Australia in mid-1882, he practiced law at Kapunda and from 1883-91 edited the *Kapunda Herald*. He was elected to the House of Assembly in 1887, was a delegate to the 1897/8 Federal Convention and elected to the House of Representatives in 1901. Involved in all SA Irish nationalist organisations from 1889, he favoured dominion status rather than an Irish republic and resigned from the SDIL in 1921. His support for conscription and Hughes alienated some Irish-Australians.

Maud Gonne (1866-1953). Born in Surrey, her parents moved to Ireland in 1867. She was a lifelong activist, a leader of Irish opposition to the Anglo-Boer War; *Inghinidhe na h'Eireann* or 'Daughters of Ireland' grew out of her protest against Queen Victoria's 1900 visit to Ireland. She was briefly married to John MacBride; went to France with the ambulance corps in World War One but returned after the Rising. She opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty and was active in the Women's Prisoners Defence League in the 1920s.

Edmund Dwyer Gray (1870-1945). Born Dublin, he visited Australia in 1887 but returned to Ireland after his father's death, joining the *Freeman's Journal* editorial board. A further Australian visit

in 1889-1891 coincided with the Parnell leadership crisis; the paper's 1891 policy reversal over Parnell helped bring him down. In 1894, ending family interests in the Dublin paper, he settled permanently in Australia, first in Sydney but probably moving to Tasmania in 1898. Initially farming, by 1912 he was editing the Labour *Daily News (or Post)* until conflict with the Australian Workers' Union followed their purchase of the paper. He supported voluntary recruiting in 1914 but opposed conscription. Gray formed a branch of the Self-Determination for Ireland League in 1921. He hyphenated his name in 1928 to ensure a better ballot paper position and was elected to the House of Assembly; treasurer from 1934 to 1945 he was premier from June to December 1939.<sup>54</sup>

Alice Stopford Green (1847-1929). Born in Meath into a Church of Ireland family with close links to Gladstone, Alice was largely home-educated. In 1875 she married English historian, John Richard Green who encouraged her academically, she became a leading figure in London intellectual circles. She supported Boer prisoners of war incarcerated on St Helena, visiting between September and October 1900, then besieging authorities about their treatment. A friend of Roger Casement, she helped finance the 1914 Howth gun running. Three books reflected her nationalism: *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing* (1908), *Irish Nationality* (1911) and *A History of the Irish State to 1014* (1925), attempting to show the high development of Irish political institutions prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion. A supporter of the Treaty, she was later appointed to the Free State Senate.

William Henry Gunson (1829-1901). Born in Limerick, in 1852 he and brother, John Michael emigrated to South Australia. (John was a prominent doctor in Adelaide, very involved in Church and Irish nationalist affairs.) William worked for several years on the Adelaide *Advertiser* before moving to Victoria where he worked in Ballarat (1850) and Daylesford (1860), then for the *Age*. He edited the *Advocate* from 1868 until his death<sup>55</sup> and 'supported every movement which was calculated to further the cause of the Irish nation.'<sup>56</sup> He was buried in the St Kilda Cemetery.

Francis Hackett (1883-1962). Born in County Kilkenny, the Hacketts were politically active and remained aligned with Parnell. Francis emigrated to the US in 1901 and had a successful journalistic career. He retained a strong interest in Ireland.

Fr William Hackett SJ (1878-1954). Born in County Kilkenny, William lacked the political interest of his brothers until 1914. Ordained in 1912, he was sent to Limerick (Bishop O'Dwyer was an outspoken critic after 1916) where his political activism (linked to Gaelic League connections with Thomas MacDonagh and Padraic Pearse) was precipitated by Redmond's commitment of Ireland to war. His involvement became more intense during the Irish War of Independence, and the Civil War, and in August 1922 he left for Australia. The exact circumstances of his departure remain unclear, his choice or Jesuit direction? In Melbourne from early 1923 he was close to Mannix until his death.

Dr James Arthur Hanrahan (1887-1920). Born in County Limerick, it seems Hanrahan emigrated to Australia around 1910, working first as a doctor in Kapunda. He returned briefly to Ireland but was soon in Hamley Bridge, leasing his practice from Riverton's Dr Eugene Glynn, brother of Patrick McMahon Glynn (see above). NAA files show evidence of uncertainty about moving either to the South East or Victoria, but he went to Sydney early in 1919. According to the SIB files he returned to Ireland in 1920 with his wife and 4 young children, Fr Maurice O'Reilly organised a testimonial for him. The next report noted his death from TB at 33.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Marilyn Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania during World War One*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1975, 4.

<sup>55</sup> See PJ Naughtin, 'The Melbourne *Advocate*'.

<sup>56</sup> See *Austral Light* of 1 February 1902 for his obituary.

<sup>57</sup> Recently located material in SLSA provides the chance to discover more about his early life.

Br Sebastian (Michael) Hayden (1873-1948). Born in New Zealand, at 12 Hayden came to the Marist Brothers Juniorate in Sydney and took his vows in 1892. He taught at various Marist schools in New South Wales until 1913 when he was part of the group which established the New Norcia foundation in Western Australia. Between 1919 and 1921 he moved between South Australia and Victoria, later teaching again in Sydney and Victoria.

Richard Hazelton (1880-1943). Born in Dublin, Hazelton was elected to Westminster in 1906. He was one of the IPP delegates to Australia in 1911/12 and was always loyal to the Redmondite wing of the IPP. Involvement in a series of court cases after 1910 led to his bankruptcy. As Dillon's manager, he played a crucial role in the 1918 election, but both were defeated. With TP O'Connor (see below), he went to America to gain support for the Republic in 1917, but the wartime limitations prevented their success. His disgust at the emerging Ireland after 1921 led him to live permanently in England.

Patrick Healy (1846-1920). Born in County Clare, he emigrated with his parents in about 1864 and went gold mining in Victoria and Queensland before setting up as a bootmaker in Adelaide. His business was initially in Hindley Street but then for 30 years in Rundle Street. His interest in Irish affairs was long-standing, especially Home Rule;<sup>58</sup> in 1889 he was treasurer of the INL, described by JV O'Loughlin as 'not a talker, but a doer'.<sup>59</sup> He was UIL President from 1907, presiding over its amalgamation with the INA early in 1920.

Henry Bournes Higgins (1851-1929). Born in County Down, his Protestant family emigrated to Victoria in 1870. A lawyer and Irish nationalist, he supported the Redmonds in 1883 despite risks to his practice. Elected to Victorian parliament in 1894, he was a delegate to the 1897 Federation Convention; he opposed participation in the Anglo-Boer War and lost his parliamentary seat in 1900. Elected federally, he moved a resolution in support of Home Rule in 1905 and was appointed to the High Court in 1906. Cardinal Moran invited him to present Sydney's 1907 St Patrick's Day address. He maintained interest in Irish constitutional reform, participating in local Nationalist activities, and corresponded with Jagers and Dillon.

Benjamin Hoare (1842-1932). Born in England, the family were assisted immigrants of 1855. From 15 he worked on country Victorian papers, moving to Adelaide in 1865. He worked as a printer, editing the *Gawler Bunyip* and the *Irish Harp*, briefly. Moving to Geelong in 1871 Hoare's journalistic style involved him in legal battles until 1888. By 1890 he was *Age* leader writer, and deeply immersed in Catholic affairs, founder/editor of the *Catholic Magazine* (later *Austral Light*), prominent in the Catholic Truth Society and the ACF. Close to Archbishop Carr, he was in increasing conflict with Mannix, initially over conscription but then over loyalty and Irish issues, associating himself later with Herbert Brookes (see above).

Bulmer Hobson (1883-1969). Born in Belfast, from 1901 he belonged to *Cumann na nGaelheal* (an IRB front) and joined the IRB in 1904. He was secretary of Belfast's Gaelic League from 1901-2. Another IRB front, the Dungannon Clubs were formed in 1906, Hobson promoted republicanism through *The Republic*, he corresponded with Casement from 1904 and on his 1907 visit to America became a correspondent for the *Gaelic American*. Moving to Dublin in 1906 he formed the *Fianna Eireann* (military boy scouts) with Constance Markievicz and in 1912 the IRB circle for Fianna members. Opposition to the 1916 Rising led to his kidnap. He was deputy director of the stamping department in the office of the revenue commissioners in the Irish Free State until he retired in 1948.

William Morris Hughes (1862-1952). Born in England, an emigrant to Queensland in 1884, and in Sydney by 1890, he was an MP in 1894 and elected to the first Federal parliament. By 1914 he was Labour Attorney General and PM in October 1915. In 1916 his time in Britain attracted great publicity, he participated in cabinet and war committee meetings; this raised his opinion of Lloyd

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<sup>58</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 August 1920.

<sup>59</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 August 1920.

George but not Asquith. Landing in WA in late July, he encountered polarised conscription views, but seemed unaware of divisions within the unions and his own party. Narrow defeat of the 1916 referendum reinforced his 1917 determination and venom, blaming Mannix for the defeat.

Morgan Peter Jageurs (1862-1932). Born in Kings County, his family reached Melbourne by 1870. Working in his father's monumental mason business from 1892, he was immersed in Melbourne's Irish-Catholic community from 1881. Interested in the Irish language and literature, he was passionate about Irish music, art and sports. According to Cleary, he was charged 5 times under WPA for alleged breaches, protesting against the denial of free speech to Australian Sinn Feiners, and publishing a plea for Roger Casement's life. The £100 penalty was remitted, either by PM Hughes or through Tom Givens' intervention as Senate.<sup>60</sup> Jageurs was unable to accept Sinn Fein's 1918 electoral victory, continuing to hope for constitutional solutions in Ireland and supporting the Treaty.

Archbishop Michael Kelly (1850-1940). Born Waterford, ordained in 1872, he arrived as Cardinal Moran's successor in August 1901, becoming Sydney's Archbishop 10 years later. He chaired 1906 delegate meetings, but his later strong pro-conscription stand led to friction within Sydney's Irish community, this became stronger after the 1916 Rising. While he opposed the INA, his attitude towards Britain became increasingly critical. But after the 1921 treaty, he opposed the 1923 delegate visit from de Valera supporters.

Dr Augustus Leo Kenny (1863-1946). Born in England to Irish parents who emigrated in 1870, educated by Christian Brothers and Jesuits in Melbourne, he became a doctor in 1886. Influential in Melbourne's medical affairs and 'an outstanding ophthalmologist',<sup>61</sup> he was Carr's confidant and advisor, and managed to maintain this role with Mannix, despite differences over conscription and Irish independence. He was a founder of the ACF and involved with both university colleges, St Mary's and Newman.

Archbishop Andrew Killian (1872-1939). Born in Offaly and ordained in 1898, he came to Australia the same year, working first in NSW. In 1920 as Dean to Bishop Hayden of Broken Hill (see above) his remarks about Ireland alarmed the SIB, producing several reports questioning his loyalty.<sup>62</sup> In 1924 he became Port Augusta's bishop, and in mid-1933 was appointed as Coadjutor to Spence (see below). As Archbishop of Adelaide, he was responsible for Archdiocesan takeover of the *Southern Cross*.

Michael Joseph Kirwan (1873-1941). Born in Queensland to Irish-born parents, he was apprenticed to a boot-maker but then joined the railways where he was an active unionist. He held a parliamentary seat from 1912 to 1932. An office bearer of Queensland's Irish Association, he was a vehement anti-conscriptionist.

Marion Miller Knowles (1865-1949). Born in Victoria to Irish parents, her father Protestant and her mother Catholic, Marion became a pupil-teacher in her teens. She taught in various country towns before reaching Melbourne in 1893, there she married a widower in 1901, adding Knowles to her maiden name. She had two sons but the marriage did not survive. Morgan suggests Irish culture was 'the source of poetic inspiration', from 1896 she published both books and poetry, with reviews in the *Advocate* from 1899.<sup>63</sup> After twenty years of teaching, she established herself in journalism, writing for both *Austral Light*, but more extensively for the *Advocate*. Between 1900 and 1927 she managed three weekly columns as well as maintaining her own writing and being involved in the organisation of community groups such as the 1913 Catholic Women's Club.<sup>64</sup> Her 1927

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<sup>60</sup> PS Cleary, *Australia's Debt to Irish Nation-Builders*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1933, 209.

<sup>61</sup> Griffin, *John Wren*, 343.

<sup>62</sup> See NAA: A1915 SA21 Pt 1, 29 March and 18 May 1920.

<sup>63</sup> Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix*, 82-3.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-2.



retirement from the *Advocate* was accompanied by a testimonial, later a Commonwealth Literary Fund pension, and in 1938, an MBE for literature and social work.<sup>65</sup>

Frederick Martin Koerner (1857-1943). Born in Victoria to a German-Irish family, educated by the Jesuits in Melbourne, he was a printing apprentice on the weekly *Australasian* published by the *Argus*, and also worked as a proof reader. At the *Argus* he became friendly with E.W. O'Sullivan (see below), following him to Sydney when O'Sullivan became editor of the *Daily Telegraph*. Koerner worked on the *Sydney Morning Herald* for some years, but after the death of his younger brother returned to Melbourne, and was employed again by the *Argus*. Briefly editing a weekly Labour paper, financial issues led to his following a suggestion from O'Sullivan (now a NSW MP) and in 1889 he accepted a position on Broken Hill's *Barrier Miner*. Becoming correspondent for Sydney's *Evening News*, he was later the paper's telegraphic sub-editor for 5 years. In May 1903 he became the third editor of Adelaide's *Southern Cross*, remaining in that role for more than 30 years; he was fully involved in the Irish-Catholic community; a UIL committee member, an INA founder, involved in the SDIL, Hibernians, the INF and the ACF.

Fr Friedrich Carl Kolbe (1854-1936). Born into a Congregationalist (formerly Lutheran) missionary family, he completed Law and a BA in London. Converting to Catholicism in 1876, he studied in Rome, was ordained in 1882 and returned to Cape Town where he lectured teachers and was an external examiner in literature and philosophy for the University of Cape Town. In 1886 he became editor of the *South African Catholic Magazine*; he was prominent in the South African Council of Churches. Before 1899 he was concerned about war clouds associated with the capitalist scenario around Rhodes and Milner anticipating imperial conflict. The strength of his stance in the magazine led to attacks from the pro-British Cape press, then his removal as editor by pro-Empire Church authorities. Replacing the imprisoned editor of the pro-Boer *South African News*, his attacks eventually forced its closure. His critique of British tactics against the Boer was unrelenting, and he sought support from Ireland for the cause.

Paul Kruger (1825-1904). Born in the Cape Colony, by 1883 he was President of the republic by 1883. In the lead up to war in 1899, he was more conciliatory than Smuts; he went into exile during September 1900 in an attempt to win more European support.

Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919). Born near Montreal, he was a Liberal MP from 1871 and followed Edward Blake as leader in 1887. He was the first French Canadian PM from 1896 to 1911. Although he supported the Anglo-Boer War as just, he felt Canada had no direct responsibility, eventually agreeing to recruitment, equipping and transport of troops for Britain to deal with on the ground. As Opposition Leader, he supported war in 1914, opposing conscription and faced vicious slandering of himself and French Canada, then a bitter election in 1917.

Dr Alexander Leeper (1848-1934). Born in Dublin in 1848, educated at TCD and Oxford, he emigrated in 1875; from 1876 to 1918 he was Warden of Melbourne University's Trinity College. Cleary suggests he was a censor during the war.<sup>66</sup> Opposing Home Rule, his relationship with local Irish nationalists, particularly MP Jageurs, was aggressive. O'Farrell argues that 'for nearly half a century and beyond he moulded student minds and the public atmosphere towards hostility to Irish Catholicism.'<sup>67</sup>

Bishop James Michael Liston (1881-1976). Born in Dunedin to immigrants of the 1860s from County Clare, Liston was first educated by the Christian Brothers and sent aged 12 to the Manly Seminary in 1893, to Clonliffe in Dublin in 1897, and then to Rome in 1900, he was ordained in January 1904 at 22. By 1920 he was Auckland's Coadjutor Bishop and in 1929, Bishop in his own right.

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 209

<sup>66</sup> Cleary, *Australia's Debt*, 87.

<sup>67</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 190.

Fr William Lockington SJ (1871-1948). Born in New Zealand, he was ordained in 1910 and from 1913 headed St Patrick's Jesuit school in Melbourne, becoming superior of Australia's 11 Jesuit communities from 1917 to 1923. He helped establish Newman College and Werribee seminary. He promoted the ACF, and in 1919 he wrote *The Soul of Ireland*. Mannix described him as 'the friend of half a lifetime'. The SIB monitored him.

Arthur Lynch (1861-1934). Born in Victoria, his Irish-born father was involved at Eureka. Lynch graduated from Melbourne University in 1882, the first of many qualifications; he completed medical studies in 1908. Travelling to South Africa as a journalist, he met Kruger and formed an Irish brigade which only lasted about 6 months. Arrested and tried for treason in London, found guilty, his sentence was commuted and he received a royal pardon in 1907. Elected to Westminster in 1909 for Ireland; in 1918 he supported Irish conscription and did not contest that year's election. He wrote 30 books and remained in London, never returning to Australia.

Patrick Joseph Lynch (1867-1944). Born in Meath, by 1886 he was in Queensland, elected to the House of Assembly in 1904, becoming a Senator in 1906. He supported conscription during the war, following WM Hughes out of the Labour Party. His 1920 claims about Australian attitudes to Ireland were repudiated by local nationalists.

Dr Charles W MacCarthy (1848-1919). Born in Tipperary and qualifying as a doctor in Dublin, he was involved in the Franco-Prussian War before emigrating to Sydney in the 1880s. He was prominent as a surgeon, sculptor, writer, painter and musician.<sup>68</sup> A staunch nationalist, he led every significant Irish movement, including 1898's Commemoration Committee which organised the removal of Michael O'Dwyer's remains to Glen Waverley Cemetery. He was also present in Melbourne for the Emmet centenary in 1908. But he struggled to deal with the changed situation of Sinn Féin's ascendancy in 1918.<sup>69</sup> In March 1923 his memorial at Glen Waverley Cemetery was opened.

John McCormack (1884-1945). Born in Westmeath and trained as a singer in Italy until 1905, he made his operatic debut in 1906. He came to Australia first in 1911, engaged by Nellie Melba. He toured again in 1913 and presented 65 concerts. In 1917 he became a naturalised American citizen, an action which upset some Empire loyalists on his third Australian tour in 1920. So after about 20 concerts he cancelled the tour. He remained an immensely popular figure among Irish-Australians.

Gregor McGregor (1848-1914). Born in Scotland, his family's time in Ireland from 1854, gave him a deep understanding of Irish issues. In 1877 he emigrated to SA but incurred an accident to his eye, losing most of his sight the following year. Immersion in the Labour movement took him into the Legislative Council in 1894 and the Senate in 1901. A powerful speaker, he objected to excessive reverence for British traditions. An ardent supporter of Home Rule, he became an INL member in 1897, and was later on the committee. He was a popular speaker at Adelaide's huge rally Home Rule rally in June just before his death.

Hugh Mahon (1857-1931). Born in Kings County, a journalist and Land Leaguer, he arrived in 1882, worked with JW Walshe (see below) to support the Redmond brothers (see below) in 1883 and remained in Australia. In 1901 he became a MHR for Kalgoorlie in the first Federal parliament, and activated Higgins (see above) 1905 parliamentary petition over Home Rule. Cardinal Moran invited him to present Sydney's 1907 St Patrick's Day address. He clashed with Hughes after the conscription crisis; following public criticism of British policy in Ireland Hughes expelled him from parliament in November 1920. Involved with the Self-Determination League for Ireland he was a delegate to the Paris Convention in 1922.

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<sup>68</sup> See Herbert Moran, *Viewless Winds: Being the Recollections and Digressions of an Australian Surgeon*, London, Peter Davies, 1939.109-112 for a medical contemporary's qualified comments about this senior surgeon.

<sup>69</sup> Cleary, *Australia's Debt*, 209.

Fr William Mangan (1879-1969). Born in Victoria and Jesuit educated, he was ordained in 1902 after study at Sydney's Manly seminary. Graduating from Melbourne University with an MA, he founded the Newman Society and sought leave from Mannix to serve as a military chaplain. He managed the Melbourne *Tribune* for 11 years. In late 1923 he was forced to relinquish the position and his shares after his coverage of the Irish Envoy visit had offended Mannix.

Archbishop Daniel Mannix (1864-1963). Born in Cork, ordained in 1890, he spent years prior to his 1913 emigration to Australia at Maynooth seminary in leadership roles. He was a Monsignor by 1906; and appointed in 1912 as Coadjutor to Melbourne's Archbishop Carr (see above). Immersing himself in the Catholic schools funding debate, he became prominent in the ACF. In 1914 his role became increasingly assertive, and significance in determining conscription plebiscite outcome was perceived. After Carr's death in May 1917, his position provided public opportunities to promote Ireland in ways interpreted as imperially disloyal. Prevented from visiting Ireland in 1920, Mannix maximised chances to decry his treatment and Ireland's during the War of Independence. He opposed 1921's treaty, supporting de Valera during the Civil War. His Irish views marginalised him among prelates, shown in his support for the Irish delegates of 1923.

Hugh Martin (1881-1948). Born in Sussex, he worked with several local newspapers before joining the *Daily News* as a reporter in 1907. During the Great War he was a special correspondent before becoming the chief reporter with an interest in Irish affairs. In Ireland early in 1919 and favourably disposed to Sinn Féin, he saw them as willing to accept a 'sound measure' of Home Rule, but by late 1920 he viewed the Black and Tans as the main obstacle to accommodation. His work was influential and often used by critics of Government policy. The CIC complained to his editor about his reports of reprisals, and he was on the Black and Tan 'wanted list', but he continued to visit and avoided the censorship imposed on the Irish press. In 1921 he published *Ireland in Insurrection*.

John Meagher (1835-1920). Born County Clare in 1835, Meagher emigrated to Sydney in 1863, moving to Bathurst and establishing a mercantile business which expanded and his sons headed branches. He was a great benefactor to the Church, close to Cardinal Moran and deeply involved in Irish affairs. An ardent and generous Home Ruler, he was a friend of Parnell, the Redmonds, Dillon, Davitt, Thomas Esmonde, Devlin and JT Donovan; he last visited Ireland early in 1920.

Eileen Mott (1886-1958). Born in Kildare, a granddaughter of Lord Russell of Killowen, the Lord Chief Justice of England, Eileen had several children, a career in opera, close friendships with prominent figures including Roger Casement and difficult war years in Germany and London before marrying Stanley Charles Mott in 1920. She came to Adelaide with him and 5 children later in 1920.<sup>70</sup> He was the local agent for Melbourne land agent, TM Burke where he later headed the ISDL. Eileen became deeply involved in South Australia's ISDL and her public speaking was both effective and of interest to the SIB. Her husband left Adelaide for England in May 1923, the family was to leave later.<sup>71</sup>

Herbert Moran (1884-1945). Born in Sydney to Irish-born parents, educated partly by the Jesuits, he joined the anti-War Society in 1899. He studied Medicine, graduating in 1907 and studied further in Edinburgh before working in Dublin and London. Returning to Sydney he worked in hospitals and private practice, increasingly specialising in cancer research. A Captain in the Australian Army Medical Corps, in 1915 he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps and served in Mesopotamia. He returned to Australia in July 1916 and was later a delegate to the Paris Irish Convention in 1922. He wrote several books, *Viewless Winds* (1939) attracted some indignation.

John Morley, (1838-1923). Born in England, a journalist and barrister his 1867 American visit exposed him to antagonism towards Britain's Irish rule, by 1885 he was committed to Home Rule. Formerly editing the *Fortnightly Review* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, he was an MP by 1883 and in 1886 Chief Secretary for Ireland. Maintaining contact with the IPP, and mediating, as Chief Secretary

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<sup>70</sup> See *Advertiser*, 9 November 1920.

<sup>71</sup> See *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1923.

again from 1892 to 1895, he reduced Protestant local administration dominance. Increasingly critical of Britain's imperial adventures from the mid 1890s, he perceived 'the drift to war' speaking strongly, prophesying the creation of 'a new Ireland' in South Africa. But the significance of his intermittent role in 1899's pro-Boer campaign was unsustainable, radicals were disillusioned by his inability to lead and develop the peace party. A member of the House of Lords, he resigned on 4 August 1914 in protest against Britain's declaration of war.

William O'Brien (1852-1928). Born County Cork, O'Brien was a Fenian before his 1860's move into journalism, by 1878 he was associated with the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, in 1881 Parnell appointed him to as editor of the Land League, *United Ireland*. From 1883 to 1895 he was a Westminster MP, but opposed post-Parnell factions, by 1898 founding the UIL. Within two years he gathered support from both groups and the IPP reunited, without reform. He visited Australia in late 1901, encouraging local formation of the UIL but resigned from the body in 1903. He saw 1916 as a vindication of his post-1903 policies, welcoming 1918's eclipse of the IPP as having lost its way. He was anti-Treaty during the Civil War.

Joseph Graham O'Connor (1839-1913). Born in Kings County, O'Connor's parents came to Sydney when he was 2. Educated by the Christian Brothers and at Sydney College, he was later apprenticed to a wood engraver and printer. From the late 1850s he became involved in printing newspapers and in journalism; his largely unprofitable newspaper ventures had him twice bankrupt, in 1876 and 1890. His interest and support for Irish causes became more dominant; he supported Irish State Prisoners' Fund in 1866, the Redmonds in 1883 and subsequent Irish delegations. In 1872 he ran unsuccessfully against Henry Parkes, but was elected to the Legislative Council for Mudgee in 1873.

Richard Edward O'Connor (1851-1912). Born in Sydney to an Irish family, Dick was admitted to the Bar in 1876, supporting himself by writing for the *Freeman's Journal* and other papers while establishing his career. Nominated to the Legislative Council in 1887, he served as Justice Minister in 1891 and was a Supreme Court Judge by 1899. A founding member of the Australasian Federation League, from 1897 he was involved in Constitution affairs, and was elected to the first Senate, topping the NSW poll. He was appointed to the High Court in 1903 and became President of the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1905. He was a strong Home Rule supporter and chaired Sydney's Executive in the early 1900s. He was prepared to disagree with Cardinal Moran publicly; and adamantly refused knighthood.

Thomas Power (TP) O'Connor (1848-1929). Born in Westmeath, O'Connor went to London in 1870 for a London journalistic career. In the 1880s he edited the *Star*. MP for Galway in 1880, he then transferred to Liverpool in 1885. He held this seat for the rest of his life. By 1883 he was leader of the Irish Nationalist Party in Britain, and in contrast to his Irish colleagues, close to Lloyd George, respected by Carson and consulted over the 1917 Irish Convention. He was considered by many at Westminster to be 'above party', and was possibly more important in England than Ireland.

Kevin Izod O'Doherty (1823-1905). Born Dublin, he was involved in 1848's Young Ireland movement. Transported to Tasmania in 1849 – 10 years for 'treason felony' – he received a conditional pardon in 1853 enabling his return to Europe. His 1856 pardon preceded 1857 qualification as a surgeon. In 1860 he returned to Australia, to Melbourne then Sydney, and by 1865 Brisbane. From 1867 to 1873 he sat in the Legislative Assembly, from 1877 to 1885 the Legislative Council. In 1885 he was elected to Westminster and feted around the colonies en route to London in 1886. After the IPP split, he chose not to contest the election and returned to Australia; he died impoverished after family and business difficulties.

Nicholas O'Donnell (1862-1920). Born Victoria to Irish parents he trained as a doctor, but became a noted Gaelic scholar. From 1892 till 1918 he led all Irish bodies in Melbourne, his mentor was Joseph Winter. Cleary claims that £120,000 was raised by five Irish parliamentary delegations

between 1881 and 1911.<sup>72</sup> In 1901 with Jageurs (see above) and others he founded a branch of the Gaelic League. Dillon's cable to Jageurs after O'Donnell's death stated that 'No man in Australia did greater work for Ireland.'<sup>73</sup>

Fr Thomas Joseph O'Donnell (1876-1949). Born Victoria, he studied for the priesthood in Ireland moving to Tasmania after his 1907 ordination. A conscription supporter, he was on interstate recruiting platforms before becoming an AIF chaplain in February 1918. He served as a captain with the 11<sup>th</sup> battalion in France. Arrested in Killarney in October 1919 for traitorous and disloyal language, his London court martial acquitted him but not honourably. He publicised his treatment in the press and as a speaker, billing the AIF for legal costs.

Bishop Edward O'Dwyer (1842-1917). Born in Tipperary and educated by the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits, he was ordained in 1867 and went to Limerick in 1874. He became its bishop in 1886. A Home Rule supporter, he opposed the movement's takeover by Parnell and John Dillon (see above), and knew from 1888 of Parnell's involvement in a potential divorce scandal. He opposed Irish participation in World War One, urging neutrality rather than the IPP's pro-British policy. His 1916 letter to General Maxwell after the Rising had huge impact in Ireland and beyond, by the end of the year he was a national hero.

James Vincent O'Loughlin (1852-1925). Born in South Australia into an Irish family, he was a farmer, wheat agent, editor of a country newspaper (1884-7) and member of the Legislative Council before editing the colony's most successful Catholic newspaper, the *Southern Cross* from 1889 to 1896. He maintained a role in the publication until his death. He was a founding member of the ANA in South Australia and later its President. Involved in Irish nationalist affairs from 1883, by 1921 he led both the INA and the ISDL. His militia interest (from 1883) was reflected in volunteering in 1915 while he was an elderly Senator.

Archbishop John O'Reily (1846-1915). Born in Kilkenny and ordained in 1869, he reached WA in 1870; from 1883 he was editor/publisher of WA *Catholic Record*. He became bishop of the Port Augusta diocese of SA in 1886, in 1895, following papal pressure he succeeded Reynolds (see below) as Adelaide's Archbishop. He was described as wanting to move the Catholic vote from the Labor Party, and of organising an election campaign which criticised the party. He had strong military interests, was a musician and became a recluse.

Fr Maurice O'Reilly (1866-1933). Born County Cork, as a Vincentian priest he reached Melbourne in 1892, becoming an editor of *Austral Light*. Between 1901 and 1914 he was involved with St Stanislaus School at Bathurst and was prominent in the ACF and over the marking of Empire Day. A brief role in Ireland was followed by appointment as Rector of Sydney University's St John's College. Closely involved with Mannix and an effective orator, he attracted attention over the Irish issue. He headed Australia's 1922 delegation to the Irish Race Convention in Paris.

Edward William O'Sullivan (1846-1910). Born in Hobart, a printer working on various newspapers, he first moved to Sydney in 1869, returned to Tasmania then in 1874 went to Melbourne where he was an *Argus* journalist. To Sydney in 1882, he was elected to NSW parliament in 1885 and supported the Sudan War expedition; he was Minister of Public Works from 1899 to 1904, he also edited the Sydney *Freeman's Journal* from 1898-9. His attitude to the Anglo-Boer War showed some ambivalence: he admired the Boer but focussed on the Empire. FM Koerner, editor from 1903 of the *Southern Cross* acknowledged the importance of O'Sullivan's mentoring role. (See above).

Frank Critchley Parker (1862-1944). Born Victoria, a printer and publisher by trade, he developed interests in the mining industry. His part in the conscription debate and election campaign of 1917 was controversial; he used his publication, the *Australian Statesman and Mining Standard* to attack anti

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<sup>72</sup> Cleary, *Australia's Debt*, 208.

<sup>73</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 February 1920.

-conscriptionists and Irish-Catholics. The issues implicated PM Hughes who disassociated himself from the scurrilous material.

Bishop Patrick Phelan (1856-1925). Born in Kilkenny, he reached Melbourne in October 1888. As a parish priest he was a founder and frequent contributor to *Austral Light*. In 1912 he became Bishop of Sale, was close to but not uncritical of Mannix. An early Home Rule supporter, he appeared with Dillon and William Redmond. Advocating compulsory military service, Irish-Australian regiments for Catholics, he stressed Church neutrality in the 1916 referendum. With Carr and Mannix he refused to support Archbishop Kelly's condemnation of the Easter Rising. When Mannix was overseas in 1921 Phelan outraged loyalists by endorsing Sinn Fein burning of the Union Jack. Privately he criticised Mannix for supporting de Valera's rejection of the Irish Free State.

Fr Michael Vincent Prendergast (1884-1952). Born in Waterford and a Gaelic speaker, he was in South Australia by 1913. He was a priest in the Northern diocese, in Port Pirie initially, Port Augusta in 1915, Burra from 1916 to 1919 (where his friendship with Dr Hanrahan, INA membership and support for Irish causes led to surveillance), Hawker in 1925, Carrieton in 1929, Pekina in 1932 and Jamestown from 1937 to 1952.

Bro David Gabriel Purton (1883-1948). Born in New Zealand to an Irish mother, he joined the Christian Brothers at a young age, finishing his education in Australia. While in Adelaide he completed his BA in 1916, his MA in 1918 and in 1922 was appointed as a temporary lecturer in psychology and logic at Adelaide University. He was a founding member of the INS in Adelaide, and under SIB surveillance. Headmaster at CBC from 1920, in 1923 he was appointed as founding headmaster at Adelaide's second Brothers' school, Rostrevor College.

John Edward Redmond (1856-1918). Born into a Wexford Catholic gentry family, a barrister, he was elected to Westminster in 1880 and visited Australia in February 1883 as a delegate of the Irish National League to advocate Home Rule and raise funds. His Australian marriage ensured close links. Redmond supported CS Parnell and from 1891 led the Parnellite faction until 1900's reunification when he chaired the IPP until his death. An able and patient MP, he knew little of Ulster or extremists and his belief in constitutional Home Rule led to unconditional wartime support and the IPP's demise.

William Arthur K Redmond (1886-1932). Born in London to John Redmond and his Australian wife, Joanna Dalton, he was admitted to the Bar and entered parliament in 1909. He was part of the 1911/12 IPP delegation to Australia, served in the British Army during the Great War, and following his father's death in March 1918, contested his seat, holding it in the disastrous December 1918 election. He remained at Westminster until 1922, moving into Irish Free State politics in 1923.

William Hoey Kearney Redmond (1861-1917). Born in Liverpool, but growing up in Wexford, William was elected to Westminster in 1890. He accompanied his older brother John to Australia and married an Australian in 1886; he made further visits with his wife and published several books about his experiences. Also a Parnellite and a fervent supporter of constitutional change, he volunteered for active service and became a Captain in the Royal Irish Regiment, dying in Belgium in June 1917.

Dr John Laurence (Larry) Rentoul (1846-1926). Born in Derry and ordained in 1872, he reached Victoria in 1879. In the 1890s he supported Home Rule and campaigned against the Anglo-Boer War. He maintained friendships with Archbishop Carr, Jagers and HB Higgins. But in World War One as Chaplain-General in the AIF, he urged conscription for overseas service. Stuart Macintyre wrote 'In public debate he was all the more formidable for the absence of all restraint. Known as

'Fighting Larry,' he would employ any argument that met his purpose. His pen was a weapon of destruction, his forensic style designed to crush all resistance.<sup>74</sup>

Archbishop Christopher Augustus Reynolds (1834-1893). Born in Dublin and partially educated for the priesthood in Ireland, he went to WA in 1855 but completed his study at Sevenhill College in SA between 1857 and his 1860 ordination. He became the diocesan administrator in 1872 and bishop of Adelaide in late 1873. By 1887 he was elevated to an Archbishop, leaving diocesan debts of £56,000 to his successor, John O'Reily (see above).

John Tighe Ryan (1870-1922). Born in Tipperary, his mother emigrated to Queensland around 1881. Educated by the Christian Brothers, Ryan worked initially on local papers, moving to Sydney to work on the *Daily Telegraph* by 1893; he was Australian representative for the *Pall Mall* and *Westminster Gazette* and edited Gundagai's paper in 1895. From 1897 to 1922 he edited Sydney's *Catholic Press*; it supported Home Rule, Federation and opposed British actions against South Africa. A supporter of war and compulsory enlistment before 1916 but he then made the case against conscription a forceful platform, unlike the *Freeman's Journal*. Cleary suggests that PM Hughes offered (privately) to use his position to have Home Rule put into immediate effect if the paper desisted from opposing conscription.<sup>75</sup> Ryan was a strong Mannix supporter, his paper's circulation doubled in 1917 suggesting a correct sense of the popular mood.

Martin M Ryan (1857-1919). Born Ireland, in Adelaide by the late 1870s, he was prominent in early Irish nationalist organisations, largely responsible for rescuing the St Patrick's Day celebration he edited the *Catholic Weekly* in 1879. By 1883 he was in NSW and taught at Wagga and St Ignatius College, Riverview before taking up law. He moved to Tasmania and worked as a solicitor; he was UIL President; keeping in touch with John Dillon (see above) – a February 1919 letter explained his anticipation of Sinn Féin's victory for months.<sup>76</sup> He also communicated with the secretary of the Irish Fellowship Union of Chicago in April, the largest American-Irish organisation, and with the Adelaide and Melbourne UIL.<sup>77</sup> Further mention of his letters from Dillon (written on 24 April) and Richard Hazelton (on 13 April) demonstrated his persisting Irish links.<sup>78</sup>

Thomas Ryan (1870-1943). Born in Ireland, the family moved to South Africa; Ryan went to sea at an early age. By 1890 he was in SA and active in the labour movement. From 1897 to 1906 he worked for SAR, then as a real estate agent. Elected to the House of Assembly in 1909, he supported conscription, becoming a Nationalist following WM Hughes in 1917. He was an eloquent speaker in the referendum campaigns. In 1917 he moved to Victoria and won a seat in the election, joining the AIF in 1918. He founded the British Empire League in Victoria.

TJ Ryan (1876-1921). Born in Victoria to Irish parents, Ryan was partly educated at Xavier College, in 1901 was admitted to the Queensland Bar. Involved in a local Political Association and the ANA, he joined the Labor Party in 1904, entering state politics in 1909. As party leader from 1912, he won the 1915 election; a supporter of voluntary enlistment until a 1916 visit to the Front informed him of soldier conscription opposition. As the only premier against the referenda, conflict with PM Hughes (see above) was more intense in 1917. Attempts to avoid censorship by printing Hansard led to Commonwealth raid; he faced much opposition and was publicly linked to Sinn Féin. He supported Home Rule for Ireland, met de Valera in 1919, chaired Melbourne's Irish Race Convention but worked for prevention of Irish problems in Australian politics. In 1919 he won a libel case against a 1917 *Argus* editorial alleging conspiracy and disloyalty. Moving to Federal politics in October 1919 he became party leader, dying of pneumonia while campaigning.

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<sup>74</sup> **Macintyre, Stuart**, 'Rentoul, John Lawrence (1846–1926)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rentoul-john-lawrence-8184/text-4311>, accessed 30 December 2011.

<sup>75</sup> Cleary, *Australia's Debt*, 250.

<sup>76</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 February 1919.

<sup>77</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 April and 9 May 1919.

<sup>78</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 July 1919.

Olive Schreiner (1855-1920). Born in England to an English-German family, her father's Wesleyan missionary commitment led the family to Africa in the 1860s. Educated there and in England she worked as a governess, returning to South Africa in 1889, and established her writing career. Early association with Cecil Rhodes led to disillusion, intensified by the deterioration in British Boer relations in the 1890s and following Jameson's Raid. She was fiercely pacifist and opposed the war, forming connections with Englishwoman Emily Hobhouse and Gandhi. After time in England she returned to South Africa not long before her death.

Thomas Shorthill (1859-1934). Born in Adelaide to Irish parents, Shorthill's family moved to rural Victoria where he joined the police, retiring after being viciously injured in the pursuit of his duty. As a travelling correspondent for the *Advocate* from 1887-9, he contributed regularly thereafter, edited the Daylesford paper, was on the staff in Kyneton then established the Gisborne *Gazette* in 1894. A long standing Irish nationalist and a UIL member, he was also a Hibernian, in the CYMS and was ACF president. By 1915 he was deputy editor of the *Advocate*, replacing Brennan in 1917 (See below), but retired from journalism in 1920.

Oswald Robinson Snowball (1859-1928). Born in England, his family emigrated in 1868. He was admitted to the bar in 1883, initiated into Freemasonry in 1884 and Master in Brunswick in 1888-9. From 1898 he was a member of the LOL, Victorian Grand Master from 1905 to 1928, and Grand President of the LO Council of Australia from 1909 to 1911. A founding member of Victoria's Protestant Electoral Committee supporting Orangemen in elections from 1906 to 1907, he became an MP in 1910, winning his seat for the next 7 elections. Criticisms of Catholicism caused conflict with the ACF, especially in 1912. But World War One, Conscription and Mannix propelled his imperial patriotism hardening his perceptions of Catholic disloyalty. Thus his July 12 statements became increasingly hostile towards Australia's Catholic Church.

Fr Francis Timoney (1857-1901). Born County Fermanagh, he arrived in Sydney in 1889. Among his non-parish roles were 'founder, editor, director, shareholder and writer for the *Catholic Press*,' first published in November 1895<sup>79</sup> He volunteered as an army chaplain with the Australian Anglo-Boer War contingent early in 1900. From May and for 14 months, his articles were published in the *Catholic Press* despite its opposition to the war. The *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* also published his reports. He was critical of officers and soldiers alike. He went to London for throat surgery late in the war and died.

Thomas Hyland Smeaton (1857-1927). Born in Scotland, Smeaton worked as an architect before his 1879 emigration to SA. His career involved government and private practice; he joined the Labor party in 1892 and from 1905 to 1912 was a state MP. Involved in the militia, he received a commission in 1900; he invigorated the Scottish Corps, leading it for some time. In 1908 he became part of the Intelligence Corps, and in March 1916 was appointed as the state's chief censor.

Sir William John Sowden (1858-1943). Born in Victoria to Cornish parents, the family moved to Kapunda but were back in Castlemaine by 1867. William worked as a pupil teacher and for the local newspaper before the family moved to Moonta in 1874. Again employed on regional newspapers before joining the SA *Register* in 1881; he became its leading parliamentary reporter. By 1897 he was acting editor then editor from 1899-1922, exercising clear influence on public opinion. He supported the Anglo-Boer War (raising two ANA rifle companies; the paper's war fund collected £12,500), compulsory military training and conscription; he helped found a local branch of the ANA in 1887. A Freemason, he helped establish the Cheer-Up Society for soldiers in 1915 and became the first President of the RSL and was knighted in 1918.

Archbishop Robert William Spence OP (1860-1934). Born Cork and ordained in 1892, he reached Adelaide in 1898. He strongly promoted the formation of the ACF in 1912 and was the first ACF

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<sup>79</sup> Elizabeth Johnston, 'Francis Timoney, The Bushmen's Priest' in *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 16, 1994-5, 41.



president, revived the Hibernians in his parish and ran Adelaide's Catholic Club. In July 1914 he was appointed coadjutor to O'Reily (see above), becoming Archbishop in 1915. His moderate nationalism was radicalised during the Anglo-Irish War alarming the security authorities.

Fr Patrick Tuomey (1886-1955). Born Kerry, he arrived in Sydney during 1909. He joined the INA in October 1915 and became a committee member until forced by Archbishop Kelly to resign in July 1916. He was later 'banished' to Mittagong but continued to play a prominent role; his December 1918 public lecture produced a charge of encouraging 'disloyalty to the British Empire.' He was fined £30, appealed and lost. He returned to Sydney from rural exile in 1922.

Dr Marcel von Lukowicz (1858-1943) was named at many Irish-Australian events before the Great War. In 1891 he married Irish-Australian Catherine Lacey of Queensland in Sydney and they moved to Adelaide where their two daughters were born. Catherine and her daughters travelled to Germany before the war for the elder daughter, Stefania, to study music, and they became stranded. Maria died there in September 1917, aged 23. The family was not allowed to return until the Peace Treaty's formal ratification.<sup>80</sup> Mother and surviving daughter returned on 10 May 1920. His 'pro-Germanism' was not helped by his friendship with Dr Hanrahan (see above) and the SIB viewed both with suspicion. When he wanted to sell his practice to Hanrahan in 1919, the German doctor was threatened with internment. Marcel, his wife and daughter returned permanently to Germany some time after he sold his practice in mid-1923; Catherine died there in 1925.

John William Walshe (1853-1915). Born County Mayo, he avoided imprisonment for Land League activities in 1879-80 and came to Australia in June 1881 as the first IPP delegate. Joseph Winter (see below) supported his fund-raising/educational role in Victoria, and he established many branches of the Land League. With Hugh Mahon, he arranged the visit of the Redmond brothers in 1883. His two sisters Bridget and Margaret emigrated in 1884, the year he married in Adelaide. The couple moved to Sydney, he managed the Celtic Club then the Royal Family Hotel in Elizabeth Street. There were 7 children, he later worked as an insurance agent, and in 1893-5 was an active member of Adelaide's INF but returned to Sydney for Davitt's mid-year visit. Domestic conflict led to his 1905 return to Ireland; the IPP, urged by his cousin, Michael Davitt (see below), provided him a weekly pension of £3. He died in Dublin and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.

Alfred Webb (1834-1908). Born in Dublin to a Quaker family, Webb was in Australia from 1853 to 1855. He was involved in supporting Fenian prisoner families during 1865. Then he was in most Irish nationalist organisations, typically as treasurer. Elected to Westminster in 1890, he was disillusioned by the experience; formerly supporting Parnell he renounced him during 1895's election campaign, facing challenges connected with the financial implications of 1891's IPP split. In 1895 he resigned from parliament and the IPP and visited Australia. Involvement with India's National Congress was fulfilling, he recognised the parallels with Ireland, in 1894 asked to preside at the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress. Close to Davitt (see above), their shared pacifism and pro-Boer sentiments united them. Webb felt that hopes for Home Rule died with Davitt in 1906.

Christiaan Rudolph de Wet (1854-1922). Born Orange Free State, de Wet was became an army officer and a politician. He opposed British annexation of Transvaal in 1877, and was conscripted in 1899. He starred in the war, adopting guerrilla tactics. In 1902 he signed the treaty as acting president of the Orange Free State, left politics after the Union in 1910. From 1911 he opposed Botha on the issue of British relations with South Africa, and in 1914 announced his intention of invading German SW Africa, raising the flag in October but using guerrilla tactics less successfully. Botha captured him in December; he was found guilty of high treason in June 1915, sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and fined £2000. Released on parole following protest, he was allowed to live on his farm.

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<sup>80</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 May 1920. NAA: D1921, 1918/17, 'Dr Marcel von Lukowicz, Pro-German' and D1915, SA, 29, Pt.1. Items dated 14 October and 6 December 1918.

Joseph Winter (1844-1915). Born Victoria and brought up by an Irish mother, he was a founding member of the pre-Hibernian St Francis Benefit Society, and involved in the CYMS. He took over management of the *Advocate* in 1871. Described as the most important mechanism of Church propaganda until the emergence of the *Tribune* in 1900, the paper had wide circulation. In 1880 he was treasurer of the local Irish National Land League, then national treasurer and forever president, secretary or treasurer of the INL, INF and the UIL after 1900. He maintained his relationship with the *Advocate* until his death.

Samuel Winter (1843-1904). Born Victoria and raised akin to younger brother Joseph, he was Secretary of St Patrick's Society for 7 years and in 1869 organised the collection of funds to support the released Fenian prisoners from WA. He was founding editor of the *Advocate*, then acquired the evening *Herald*, boosting its circulation and leading to claims of its Irish-Catholic bias. He was a founding member of the ANA.

George Arnold Woods (1865-1928). Born England, educated at Oxford from 1885, he was appointed to the new Challis chair of Modern History at Sydney University in 1891; until 1915 he was the only lecturer. From November 1899 he stated his opposition to the Anglo-Boer War – broken treaties, imperialism and 'our country right or wrong'. His letters to the newspapers, presidency of the Australian Anti-War League from January 1902 (promoting a liberal negotiated peace) and public speeches, contributed to censure from the University Senate. He supported the Great War on the basis of his study of Germany working towards the war.

John Wren (1871-1953). Born Victoria to Irish parents, from 1893 he was associated with the betting industry, but his business interests were broader – many companies and properties. Supporting the war, he joined the AIF at 44 but was discharged in 1915. He favoured conscription while supporting Irish independence – he was an organiser of the 1919 Irish Race Conference and 1921's St Patrick's Day procession with the 14 VC winners (filmed in 'Ireland Will Be Free'). He told Fr Hackett (see above) that he had donated 2 million pounds to charitable causes. His association with Mannix (see above) fanned the sectarian fears of Empire loyalists like Herbert Brookes (see above.)

George Wyndham (1863-1913). Born in England, Chief Secretary for Ireland 1900-05, he joined the cabinet in 1902. An ambitious reformer, his 1903 Land Act achieved some success. When landlord and tenant representatives agreed, the Land Commission's approval was automatic, but costly. Appointing Catholic, home ruler 'in principle', Sir Antony MacDonnell as under secretary broke convention – his ability to initiate policy and plans for a general settlement based on reconciliation and administrative reform led to the 1905 devolution crisis. Proposals to devolve modest powers to a representative council met with Wyndham's disfavour and Unionist outrage. Both men resigned.

## APPENDIX D: Words of Significant Irish Anthems

### **A NATION ONCE AGAIN<sup>81</sup>**

When boyhood's fire was in my blood  
I read of ancient freemen,  
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,  
Three hundred men and three men:  
And then I prayed I yet might see  
Our fetters rent in twain,  
And Ireland, long a province, be  
A Nation once again!

Chorus      A Nation once again,  
A Nation once again,  
And Ireland, long a province, be  
A Nation once again!

And from that time, through wildest woe,  
That hope has shone a far light  
Nor could love's brightest summer glow  
Outshine that solemn starlight:  
It seemed to watch above my head  
In forum, field and fane,  
In angel voice sang round my bed,  
A Nation once again!

It whisper'd too, that freedom's ark  
And service high and holy,  
Would be profaned by feelings dark  
And passions vain or lowly;  
For, Freedom comes from God's right hand,  
And needs a Godly train;  
And, righteous men must make our land  
A Nation once again!

So, as I grew from boy to man,  
I bent me to that bidding  
My spirit of each selfish plan  
And cruel passion ridding;  
For, thus I hoped some day to aid,  
Oh, can such hope be vain?  
When my dear country shall be made  
A nation once again!

### **'GOD SAVE IRELAND'<sup>82</sup>**

High upon the gallow's tree  
Swung the noble-hearted Three,  
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;  
But they met him face to face,  
With the courage of their race,  
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom,

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<sup>81</sup> Text by Thomas Osbourne Davis, first published in the *Nation*, 13 July 1844

<sup>82</sup> Text by TD Sullivan, in the *Nation*, 7 December 1867.

Chorus:        God save Ireland! said the heroes:  
                   God save Ireland! said they all;  
                   Whether on the scaffold high  
                   Or the battlefield we die,  
                   Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!

                  Girt around with cruel foes,  
                   Still their spirit proudly rose,  
                   For they thought of hearts that loved them, far and near;  
                   Of the millions true and brave  
                   O'er the ocean's swelling wave,  
                   And the friends in holy Ireland everdear.

Chorus        God save Ireland! said they proudly;

                  Climbed they up the rugged stair,  
                   Rung their voices out in prayer,  
                   Then with England's fatal chord around them cast,  
                   Close beneath the gallow's tree,  
                   Kissed like brothers lovingly,  
                   True to home and faith and freedom to the last.

Chorus        God save Ireland! prayed they loudly;

                  Never till the latest day  
                   Shall the memory pass away  
                   Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;  
                   But on the cause must go,  
                   Amidst joy, or weal, or woe,  
                   Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.

Chorus        God save Ireland! say we proudly;  
                   God save Ireland! say we all;

### **THE SOLDIER'S SONG<sup>83</sup>**

I'll sing you a song, a Soldier's Song.  
 With cheery, rousing chorus,  
 As round our blazing fires we throng,  
 The starry heavens o'er us;  
 Impatient for the coming fight,  
 As we await the morning light,  
 Here in the silence of the night  
 We'll chant a Soldier's Song.

Chorus:        Soldiers are we,  
                   Whose lives are pledged to Ireland,  
                   Some have come from a land beyond the wave;  
                   Sworn to be free.  
                   No more our ancient sireland  
                   Shall shelter the despot or the slave;  
                   Tonight we man the '*barr na bweel*',

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<sup>83</sup> Composed in 1907 by Peadar Kearney (words) and Patrick Heeney (music), it was published by Bulmer Hobson in *Irish Freedom* in 1912. It became the Irish Volunteers' marching song and the Republican anthem after 1916. Adopted as the official national anthem in 1926, it is increasingly sung in Irish.

In Erin's cause come woe or weal,  
'Mid cannon's roar and rifle's peal  
We'll chant a Soldier's Song

In valley green and towering crag  
Our fathers fought before us,  
They conquered 'neath that same old Flag  
That's proudly floating o'er us;  
We're children of a fighting race  
That never yet has known disgrace,  
And as we march the foe to face,  
We'll chant a Soldier's Song.

Sons of the Gael, Men of the Pale,  
The long-watched day is breaking,  
The serried ranks of Innisfail  
Have set our tyrants quaking;  
Our camp fires now are burning low,  
See in the east a crimson glow;  
Out yonder lies our Saxon foe,  
Then chant a Soldier's Song.

#### **EASTER WEEK**

There are murmurs in the city,  
There are murmurs in the air,  
Secret whispers in the breezes,  
Crowds are thronging everywhere,  
When from up beside the Liffey  
March brave men who freedom seek –  
Ah! they shed their blood for Ireland  
In that glorious Easter Week.

Chorus      Oh! we sing of Easter Week,  
And we're proud of Easter Week:  
We pray God bless the men who fought  
And died in Easter Week.

Then they raised the flag of Freedom,  
Flung its folds upon the breeze  
And flashed out the glad news, thrilling,  
O'er the land and o'er the sea.  
Bold their splendid declaration,  
Manly, proud; not vain nor weak –  
There were throbbing hearts in Ireland  
In that glorious Easter Week.

Chorus

Though they fell and tyrants triumph,  
Yet their memory will remain  
But we raise no *caoineadh* o'er them,  
Grieve we not the noble slain,  
For from out the mystic shadows  
Loud and clear their voices speak,  
Bidding us to stand for Ireland  
As they stood in Easter Week.

Chorus            So we sing of Easter Week,  
                      And we're proud of Easter Week  
                      And we'll swear to guard the Standard  
                      That was raised in Easter Week.

### **THE FELONS OF OUR LAND**

Fill up once more,  
We'll drink a toast  
To comrades far away;  
No nation on this earth can boast  
Of braver hearts than they;  
And though they sleep in dungeons deep,  
Or flee outlawed and banned,  
We love them yet,  
We can't forget  
The felons of our land.

In boyhood's bloom and manhood's pride,  
Foredoomed by alien laws,  
Some on the scaffold nobly died  
In holy Ireland's cause  
And brothers, say,  
Shall we today  
Unmoved like cowards stand,  
While traitors shame and foes defame  
The felons of our land?

Some in the convict's dreary cell  
Have found a living tomb;  
And some unseen, unfriended, fell,  
Amid the dungeon's gloom;  
But what care we, although it be  
Trodden by a ruffian band,  
God bless the clay  
Where rest today  
The felons of our land.

### **HIS GRACE<sup>84</sup>**

His Grace! His Grace! Here's a toast to His Grace  
Long years in that exalted place  
He so adorns  
A path to trace, a path to trace  
For us to tread.

Chorus            Then His Grace! His Grace! A Health to His Grace  
                      Who Never Fears a foe to face!  
                      God Bless him – and God Bless the race, the race  
                      Whence he hath sprung.

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<sup>84</sup> See *Advocate* of 29 March 1919 for report of this being sung for Mannix at St Patricks Society on 19 March. See *Campion*, *Australian Catholics*, 82 for explanation that the words were written in 1918 by Fr P Mulcreevy and music by bandmaster Percy Jones.

## APPENDIX E: Early Twentieth Century Australian Sectarian Organisations<sup>85</sup>

### 1. Australian Catholic Federation (ACF)

1911's formation of the Australian Catholic Federation (ACF), guaranteed the articulation of a hostile, divided and sectarian environment in which issues of Irish/Catholic loyalty formed a dominant wartime role. The ACF was first established in Melbourne; Adelaide (1912), Sydney (1913) and Hobart followed.

The ACF's aim was to 'promote the political interests of the Catholic Church in the wider Australian community,' particularly in the area of educational injustice.<sup>86</sup> Archbishop Carr support of Melbourne's founding meeting emphasised the Federation's non-political nature.<sup>87</sup> In Adelaide, letters and articles in the *Southern Cross*<sup>88</sup> preceded the emergence of 6 branches by early 1912. Fr Spence (later Archbishop) was a strong supporter; his statement of 'the aims and objects of the Catholic Federation' was printed as a leaflet.<sup>89</sup> Turner emphasises the deceptive nature of membership statistics – 400 branches and 30,000 members by the end of 1912 – because any 'Catholic society within a parish was enrolled as a body.'<sup>90</sup> In Sydney, Archbishop Kelly initially resisted pressure, concerned about a possible backlash and acknowledging that Home Rule had offended 'Protestant sensibilities.' But by April 1913 he was persuaded. Kildea argues that 'events in Ireland and the educational debate...together [became] touchstones of the sectarian divide in Australia.'<sup>91</sup> Because parish priests were branch presidents, the Irish clerical profile was replicated in ACF leadership.<sup>92</sup> Irishman Fr Maurice O'Reilly, increasingly militant, was prominent.<sup>93</sup> His 1913 declaration about ACF political goals – 'We are going to sell ourselves to the highest bidder' – impacted beyond NSW.<sup>94</sup>

Catholic educational grievances over education were stronger in 1913, and '[a]llusion to Ireland was an increasingly common factor of the rhetoric of Catholic militants when speaking about Catholic [injustice].' Kildea argues that while celebrating Home Rule, many 'Catholics 'believed that the Irish experience was a model for their own predicament.'<sup>95</sup> Turner suggests that both the involvement of Catholic prelates and continued ACF concentration on education funding became 'evidence that Catholics did not wholeheartedly support the war effort.'<sup>96</sup> ACF actions, such as the 1917 NSW conference focus on Freemasonry, especially its army influence, called for the Minister to ensure the 'pestilent organisation' became impotent,<sup>97</sup> and September 1916 involvement in Melbourne and Sydney Irish Relief meetings, reinforced perceptions of disloyalty.<sup>98</sup> There was no ACF position on conscription in 1916, but many spokespersons were opposed;<sup>99</sup> this led to assumptions of support for the 'No' case, further evidence of disloyalty. In 1917 the campaign atmosphere was more overtly sectarian. The NSW ACF adopted 'a pro-Mannix anti-conscription stance [but] the issue

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<sup>85</sup> The level of detail differs about these organisations reflecting challenges in locating explanatory material, but their inclusion, despite this flaw, is aimed at providing a sense of the number and range of sectarian organisations which operated in Australia during the first decades of the twentieth century.

<sup>86</sup> See Jeff Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric: Sectarianism in Australia 1910-1925*, Citadel Books, Sydney, 2002, 33-6. He summarises calls for such a Catholic organisation going back to 1853 in New South Wales.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 6, 13, 20 October and 24 November 1911.

<sup>89</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 January 1912.

<sup>90</sup> Turner, *Catholics in Australia*, 288.

<sup>91</sup> Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 43.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-70.

<sup>94</sup> Quoted in Turner, *Catholics in Australia*, 289.

<sup>95</sup> Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 65.

<sup>96</sup> Turner, *Catholics in Australia*, 287.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, 133. See also 151 for reference to 1917 ACF conference and freemasonry's influence in public service.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-7.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 137-146.

was peripheral to its...other activities.<sup>100</sup> Kildea questions its real impact, arguing that activists wanting to 'unify Catholic support behind efforts to advance Catholic interests [were anxious] to be able to proclaim that there was solidarity among Catholics.'<sup>101</sup> In October 1919 it promoted the Democratic Party, its platform reflected ACF policies, particularly State Aid.

The ACF was losing momentum by 1920,<sup>102</sup> although some figures were involved with the Self-Determination for Ireland League launched in 1921.<sup>103</sup> Although there were some attempts to develop a national body,<sup>104</sup> by late 1922 when the Labor Party moved to limit membership of ACF, LOL and Protestant Federation members, many senior ACF figures resigned.<sup>105</sup> The ACF ceased to function by 1924.<sup>106</sup> Kildea argues it not only failed to achieve educational justice, but contributed 'to the worsening sectarianism' of the era. He describes Father O'Reilly's ACF-condoned use of imprudent 'bully-boy' tactics as contributing to 'an intensification of the underlying anti-Catholic sentiment shared by many Protestants.'<sup>107</sup> The ACF was important for Irish-Catholic workers who saw themselves 'as second-class citizens in a British-Protestant...Australia.' The ACF assisted them to withstand pressures of the 'assimilationist dream of the upholders of a British consciousness in Australia,'<sup>108</sup> playing therefore 'a not insignificant role in the development of [a] distinctively Australian national identity.'<sup>109</sup>

## 2. Australian Protective League

Plans to establish this league, 'a secret organisation made up of loyal citizens who would report on any suspicious or disloyal behaviour' were a response to attitudes towards the war, recruitment and the Empire among Irish Catholics and the labour movement.<sup>110</sup> Hughes instructed a Melbourne business man to contact the American body in late 1917, thus a constitution was sent to Senator Pearce, the Minister for Defence. After the 1918 St Patrick's Day Loyalist protest against Mannix in 1918, cabinet referred the League proposal to the newly established Council of Defence. Following its recommendation, the Acting PM called a meeting of community leaders; this included 3 members of the government and 16 hand-picked private citizens. Pearce consulted Herbert Brookes about these. At the meeting Pearce explained the government viewed SIB and Military Intelligence as incapable of dealing with the extent of the 'subversive conspiracy'. Meaney suggests that Brookes as the spokesperson had extreme views which ultimately alarmed both ministers and SIB personnel. While they shared 'his fear of subversion and suspicion of Roman Catholics', his demands for authority caused concern. Although discussions continued through 1918, no action was taken and the end of the war intervened.<sup>111</sup>

## 3. Imperial Loyalty League

The Citizens Loyalist Committee was established in Melbourne after the 1918 St Patrick's Day march aroused outrage. At the meeting on 21 March Leeper became chairman, Brookes treasurer, and Benjamin Hoare a prominent member. This became the Loyalist League in October 1918. In March 1920, Herbert Brookes sent a vituperative report titled 'The Roman Catholic Menace' relating to his views about 'the future work of the League in combating the...[menace]... After travelling through the State I am satisfied that the Protestant and loyal people are ready to follow a

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 230

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 232-3.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 249-251.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 252-4.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 271 quote from Colm Kiernan, *Ireland and Australia*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1984, 6.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Neville Meaney, *Australia and World Crisis 1914-1923, Vol. 2, A History of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy 1901-23*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 2009, 230.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 231-6.



strong organisation provided only that it can be shown to them that they are not going to suffer from Roman Catholic boycott if they actively link up with us'.<sup>112</sup>

A branch of the Imperial Loyalty League (or the Australian Imperial Association) was formed in Adelaide during February 1919. The Australian Loyalty League, for Protestants only, was established in Sydney in February 1918; at a September meeting in Lismore, the views of the audience on Home Rule, the education question and the 'claims of Romanist agitators were all dealt with in one resolution'. This related to the preservation of the unity of the Empire. Formed in Tasmania in 1919, it objected to showing Irish Nationalist films, 'Ireland Will Be Free' in Hobart.<sup>113</sup> In WA it was formally inaugurated on Empire Day in 1921, stating that 'disloyalty has been hinted at more than once, and disloyalty is a thing abhorred by all Australians and not to be tolerated in this far corner of the Empire.'<sup>114</sup> Later in June it contacted the PM about Mannix not being required to take the oath of allegiance on his return to Australia. In 1922 a letter disputed that his was an anti-Irish organisation and quoted the League's motto: 'The maintenance of loyalty to the Crown, Imperial loyalty, and the suppression of sedition, non-party, non-sectarian.'<sup>115</sup>

### Protestant Alliance

#### 4. Protestant Defence Association

According to O'Farrell 'the religious takeover of the Irish question in Australia dated...on the Protestant side from the formation of the Protestant Defence Association in June 1901'.<sup>116</sup> WM Dill Macky (1849-1910) a Presbyterian minister from County Donegal who emigrated to NSW in 1886, becoming a Freemason and LOL member. The Conningham divorce scandal (1900) was the final impetus for Macky who saw growing Catholic influence as a tyranny in a Protestant country. The Official Manifesto reflected these views, and by 1904 there were 135 branches with 22,000 members. Between 1902 and 1904 Macky edited the *Watchman*, an anti-Catholic publication which sold 20,000 copies per week. The Association insisted Australia was a Protestant country.<sup>117</sup> In 1906 Leeper began attending meetings of the Association, in November he presented an address on Home Rule.<sup>118</sup>

#### 5. Protestant Federation

Herbert Brookes was involved in establishing this organisation in Victoria, Alex Leeper became its Vice-President in November 1917. Others involved were Dr Rentoul, Rev TE Ruth and Rev WEG Hindley.<sup>119</sup> Forty thousand met in the Exhibition Building on 9 April and by August 1918 a constitution was adopted. Brookes produced a newspaper, *Vigilant*, Dr Walter Albiston and Rev TE Ruth were influential. 'Together in this paper, they were to wage an increasing and unrelenting campaign against [Mannix], his principal aides and supporters and such wealthy and colourful associates as John Wren...[They] publicised...every action of Dr Mannix or his Church which, in the view of the *Vigilant*, could damage Australia or the British Empire.'<sup>120</sup> In 1919 it formed in NSW and worked to support Protestant candidates within political parties. According to O'Farrell it used anti-Catholic slogans in its campaigns – 'Rome spelt Ruin'. It also worked to exclude Catholics in the business world and professions by activating the 'Masonic and Protestant 'old boy

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<sup>112</sup> See Herbert Brookes to President and Executive of the Loyalist League of Victoria, Letter, 8 March 1920, NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/22/35-8.

<sup>113</sup> NAA: A456, W241/914

<sup>114</sup> *Western Mail*, 2 June 1921.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 January 1922.

<sup>116</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 250. Cardinal Moran's initiatives in the 1890s represented the Catholic move.

<sup>117</sup> See *Sydney Morning Herald* of 19 September 1902.

<sup>118</sup> John Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties: A Life of Alexander Leeper*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1997, 320.

<sup>119</sup> Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties*, 389

<sup>120</sup> Rivett, *Australian Citizen*, 71.

networks'.<sup>121</sup> It was among the Protestant bodies which petitioned the Federal government to refuse Archbishop Mannix re-entry in 1921.

## **6. Ulster Defence Fund**

In June 1913 representatives of the Ulster and Loyal Irishmen's Association, the Loyal Orange Institution (headed by OR Snowball from 1905), the Protestant Alliance and the Protestant Defence Association founded the Ulster Defence Fund; Leeper became Chairman of its Executive. At the suggestion of visiting imperialist, LS Amery, the group organised a huge memorial against Home Rule. 115,000 signatures were collected by May 1914 and sent to Asquith.<sup>122</sup>

## **7. Ulster and Loyal Irishmen's Association**

A non-sectarian Ulster Association of NSW was formed in 1909, one already existed in Victoria.<sup>123</sup> Commitment against Home Rule and Asquith's 1912 Bill provoked Leeper to head the Melbourne organisation to defend the integrity of the Empire, the main defence of civil and religious liberty.

## **8. United Loyal Irish Association**

Poynter mentions these meetings as attracting large prewar audiences.<sup>124</sup>

## **9. The United Protestant's Club of Victoria**

This seems to have been established in 1920, a Constitution was sent to Herbert Brookes. The rationale for the institution was stated clearly: 'Disloyalty is rampant and is openly encouraged by the head of the Roman Catholic Church as well as by Politicians in both Federal and State Parliaments.... The Roman Catholic Church is vigorous (sic) and Unscrupulous in its methods.... It is recognised that monthly meetings of the Protestant Federation are not sufficient to meet the danger that threatens us. It is felt that the United Protestant Club forms a meeting place, a rallying ground where Protestants can meet from day to day and discuss methods for meeting the evil which threatens us'.<sup>125</sup> The 'Objects' sent to him subsequently, emphasis the extreme hostility more explicitly: 'The priest, be he bishop, archbishop, cardinal or pope, is one part clergyman and three parts political agent....[Mannix's] predecessor in office – the late Dr Carr – sowed 'dragon's teeth', inasmuch as he founded the Catholic Federation, established the Catholic (separatist) School system, scattered colonies of nuns throughout Victoria and corrupted our so called Labor party, and Dr Mannix has been sent along to garner in the crop – with what success you are daily cognizant'.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church*, 347-8.

<sup>122</sup> Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties*, 367-9.

<sup>123</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 250.

<sup>124</sup> Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties*, 366.

<sup>125</sup> See Alderman WW Cabena (President) to Herbert Brookes, 29 July 1920, Letter, NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/20/6.

<sup>126</sup> See Albert E Butler to Herbert Brookes, 23 August 1920, Letter, NLA, Herbert Brookes Papers, MS1924/21/57.

## APPENDIX F: Irish–Focussed Organisations in Victoria and South Australia

- Adelaide Catholic Club      Founded by Fr Spence (later Archbishop) in 1900, clubrooms provided cards, billiards, reading and public lectures for members.<sup>127</sup> In 1912 president Fr RP Denny invited visiting Gaelic scholar, Fr JW O'Meehan, to lecture on 'The Irish Revival Movement: Its Origin, Ideals and Work', the Irish Pipers figured prominently at this event.<sup>128</sup> By 1919 its £800 debt was reduced to £292.10.3, but membership fell to 197 compared to former numbers of 251 and many un financial members were removed from the books.<sup>129</sup>
- Celtic Club                      Founded on 13 May 1888 as Celtic Home Rule Club, it supported the Irish National movement from 1889 when it was decided to cooperate with the Victorian organisation officially linked to the IPP. It aimed to 'foster the spirit of patriotism in its members, and, indeed, no man [sic] without that spirit could possibly be a worthy citizen of any country'. In 1915 there were only 250 members (according to O'Donnell) compared to 500 in the land boom era.<sup>130</sup> But it was a place where visiting Irishmen from Australia or overseas could immediately be brought into 'social fellow-ship' with fellow countrymen in Melbourne. 'No person bearing letters of introduction, or who was otherwise known as a friend of Ireland, was ever refused a cordial welcome by the members of the club, nor was he allowed to feel that he was a stranger among the Irishmen of the city'. Every Irish delegation after 1889 was received; Home Rule meetings and various charities were supported. Newer clubs in Perth and Brisbane had larger membership and funds; from the outset it had received support from a comparatively small section of Victoria's Irish and despite yearly rental/general expense costs of £700, it paid its way. New clubrooms in Swanston Street were opened in December 1916.<sup>131</sup> Past presidents included William Rose JP 1889-90, Dr ER Leger-Erson 1890-1, MP Jageurs 1892-3, John Fitzgerald 1897-9, FJ Tucker LLB 1899–1900, George Gibbins 1901–2, Michael McDonald 1902-3, John Rowan JP 19057, NM O'Donnell 1907-9, Dr Leger-Erson was president in 1918.<sup>132</sup> JV O'Loughlin attended a smoke social in October 1918 and spoke about his trip to Ireland and Home Rule issues.<sup>133</sup> In September 1921, a motion aiming to replace 'Home Rule' with Self Determination in its constitution was defeated.<sup>134</sup> According to Jageurs, President by 1922, it had 376 members 'one fourth of whom are men of about nine different nationalities other than Irish'.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Southern Cross*, 27 September 1918.

<sup>128</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 June 1912.

<sup>129</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 May 1919.

<sup>130</sup> *Catholic Advocate*, 6 May 1915 quoted in Greg Tobin, 'The Sea-Divided Gael: The Irish Home Rule Movement in Victoria and New South Wales 1880-1916', MA, ANU, 1969, 260. O'Donnell was also quoted in this Brisbane Catholic paper as differentiating between the Brisbane and Melbourne organisations, saying the latter did not have members who were 'leaders of thought and society', that most of its members were from middle and lower classes.

<sup>131</sup> *Advocate*, 29 December 1916. Senator Needham proposed the toast to 'Ireland a Nation' and 'God Save Ireland' was sung.

<sup>132</sup> *Advocate*, 25 May 1918. Those listed were present, some were founding members.

<sup>133</sup> *Advocate*, 5 October 1918.

<sup>134</sup> *Advocate*, 22 and 29 September 1921.

<sup>135</sup> See MP Jageurs to Justice Higgins, 21 November 1922, Letter, NLA, Henry Bournes Higgins Papers, MS1057/472A

Celtic Dramatic Club	The Celtic Dramatic Club was founded in Adelaide by Irishman Fr WJ McEvoy, probably in 1898. <sup>136</sup> Performances, often for charity were reported in the <i>Southern Cross</i> , often naming actors, until at least 1902. <sup>137</sup>
CYMS	Based on a Limerick foundation, the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS) was first established in Sydney during the 1850s, and in Melbourne by 1860. In 1873 Bishop Goold directed that various 'independent and floundering bodies [be gathered] into a metropolitan union'. <sup>138</sup> Branches then extended across the inner suburbs; a quarterly journal, the <i>Catholic Magazine</i> , was replaced by the monthly <i>Austral Light</i> in 1892, Benjamin Hoare was an early editor. 2000 belonged in 1892, less than 1 in 30 of those eligible, the CYMS began fading after the 1890s. <sup>139</sup> 'When the Church took over [the <i>Austral Light</i> ] in 1900 the journal became markedly more Irish.' <sup>140</sup>
Gaelic League	Val Noone discusses three phases of Melbourne's Gaelic League, initially from 1901 to 1905, Nicholas O'Donnell was president; the second from 1912 was led by CM Murphy. The language was linked to militant politics in this group. <sup>141</sup> In 1920, the third group, the Terence MacSwiney Branch was established.
HACBS	The Irish-Australian Catholic Benefit Society was formed in 1865, merging in 1871 with the Albury-based Catholic Benefit Society as the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society (HACBS). There were 3000 members in 79 lodges by 1876, but by 1881, only 2670 members in 41 branches. Numbers fell further after 1900. <sup>142</sup> In 1918 Dr Mannix followed Michael Davitt, J Devlin and JT Donovan (Irish Delegates) becoming an honorary life member of Melbourne's Cathedral branch. 1916 figures claimed 33,000 members nationally in 41 branches. <sup>143</sup> In Adelaide there were 2155 members (males) in 1919, 672 boys, 1001 'full benefit' women, making the highest total ever of 4,032. <sup>144</sup> 1920's national figures suggested over 40,000 members, and funds of £800,000. <sup>145</sup> By 1923, figures for Australia and New Zealand of 41,988 were cited with total funds of £556,884.1.6. <sup>146</sup>
Hurling	Hurling featured on St Patrick's Day in 1872 with a match between the St Patrick's Society and Hibernian societies. <sup>147</sup> In 1885 a hurling club was formed at Emerald Hill, members met at the O'Connell Centenary Hotel and played at Albert Park. Rural branches operated at Elmore, Kilmore and near Ballarat. <sup>148</sup> In 1917 the President of

<sup>136</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 14 October 1898 for item about Fr McEvoy being farewelled from Adelaide for his new parish at Millicent, this describes him as the founder but does not state when.

<sup>137</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 21 October 1898 for named photograph of Celtic Dramatic Club.

<sup>138</sup> Chris McConville, *Croppies*, 70-1.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 72.

<sup>140</sup> O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 245.

<sup>141</sup> Val Noone, *Victoria's Hidden Irish*, 110.

<sup>142</sup> McConville, *Croppies*, 69.

<sup>143</sup> *Advocate*, 20 May 1916.

<sup>144</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 March 1919.

<sup>145</sup> *Advocate*, 3 June 1920.

<sup>146</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1923.

<sup>147</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1921.

<sup>148</sup> McConville, *Croppies*, 79.

Victoria's Hurlers defended Irish patriotism and challenged criticism of the UIL in strong letters to the *Advocate*.<sup>149</sup> Both TJ Ryan and MP Jageurs were associated with Hurling and spoke at 1917's dinner.<sup>150</sup> Hurling matches received regular coverage in the *Advocate*: a Victorian team played in Sydney in 1922;<sup>151</sup> in 1923 the Allen Doonee competition, and club dances received publicity.<sup>152</sup>

Irish-Ireland League of  
Victoria

In July 1919 representatives of Victoria's Irish and Catholic societies met, aiming to promote the interests of Ireland. The constitution established a council of delegates from: the HACBS, INF, St Patrick's Society, Celtic Club, INA, Shamrock Club, ACF, CWA, CYMS and rural representatives. AA Calwell became provisional secretary.<sup>153</sup> At the 22 September launch Hugh Mahon became first president.<sup>154</sup> The group issued a 'Manifesto to the Irish-Australians of Victoria in May 1920'<sup>155</sup> and by September had 698 members.<sup>156</sup> In March 1921 when with the Self-Determination for Ireland League (SDIL) of Australia was launched in Victoria, it was felt 'that the new organisation, with its wider appeal, is capable of accomplishing more for the cause of Ireland [so the League] has [quickly] decided to merge in with the new movement'.<sup>157</sup>

Irish National  
Association (Vic)

Founded in July 1917 by Frank McKeown, in June 1918 the INA had 3-400 members and was affiliated with similar branches in Sydney, and Brisbane; it claimed to have no knowledge of the IRB in Australia.<sup>158</sup> In July 1918 branches in New Zealand, Albury and Innisfail were reported. There were claims 'that all the branches have decided to amalgamate under the name of the Irish National Association of Australia [so] the association will become a very strong and powerful organisation'.<sup>159</sup> The society appealed for donations for the internees. Public lectures as well as music, dancing and language classes were available.<sup>160</sup> The INA in Sydney had a central membership of 200 and there were several branches in Brisbane; WA's Irish Societies were combined.<sup>161</sup> Assets in Queensland were quoted as £5,500 in 1918.<sup>162</sup> Melbourne's membership was stated as 250 in 1918 when 100 marched behind Sinn Fein's banner on St Patrick's Day.<sup>163</sup> In 1921 the annual Irish Republican Ball was reported as held under INA auspices.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *Advocate*, 13 and 17 September 1917.

<sup>150</sup> *Advocate*, 6 October 1917. There was later great public enmity between these men.

<sup>151</sup> *Advocate*, 27 July 1922.

<sup>152</sup> *Advocate*, 9, 16 August and 4 October.

<sup>153</sup> *Advocate*, 8 July 1919.

<sup>154</sup> *Advocate*, 27 September 1919.

<sup>155</sup> *Advocate*, 27 May 1920.

<sup>156</sup> *Advocate*, 30 September 1920.

<sup>157</sup> *Advocate*, 3 March 1921.

<sup>158</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 June 1918.

<sup>159</sup> *Advocate*, 13 July 1918.

<sup>160</sup> *Advocate*, 27 July, 14 September 1918.

<sup>161</sup> *Advocate*, 2 November 1918.

<sup>162</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1918.

<sup>163</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 March 1918.

<sup>164</sup> *Advocate*, 14 September 1921.

Irish National Foresters	<p>According to Francis Mackle, the INF appeared first in the 1889 Melbourne St Patrick's Day procession.<sup>165</sup> After a struggle during the 1890s Depression, by 1900 there were 750 members, and funds of £1,500.<sup>166</sup> In 1918, 45 branches had 3,000 members and the INF was the state's second largest friendly society with assets of £30,352. It was involved in all Catholic movements promoted by Dr Mannix, donating £300 to Newman College, and sending money to the Dublin Distress Fund. It also had 250 members at the front. Members were asked whether they were Irishmen, or of Irish descent: at their installation, they promised not to forget Ireland and to cherish her memory. Branches were named after Irish revolutionary leaders.<sup>167</sup> From 1896 there were attempts to found an SA branch but in 1912, this was finally initiated from Broken Hill. The decision was based on 'the shifting population' and pre existing branches in NSW, Victoria and WA. The new branch was known as the Robert Emmet Lodge.<sup>168</sup> It had 3 groups and £560 in assets. Four members were killed at the Front, one branch sending 50% of its members to war, 'yet aspersions were still cast on their loyalty'. While the INF was not an exclusively Catholic society, 78% of members were Catholic; it was supported by the Australian clergy.<sup>169</sup> Parish clergy, according to McConville, had less influence over the INF than the Hibernians. The INF met in hotels and public halls, not parish buildings.<sup>170</sup> By the interstate conference of 1919, national membership was quoted at 70,000, while accumulated funds were £145,000. A Federal Council was proposed.<sup>171</sup> At the end of 1919, 38 Victorian branches had 2903 members and funds of £19,000.<sup>172</sup> The singing of 'God Save Ireland' always featured at INF gatherings.<sup>173</sup></p>
Irish National Society (SA)	<p>A preliminary meeting held 27 May 1918 (the Irish Piper Band was there in uniform), a provisional committee of 17 was established to draft a constitution based on rules from NSW.<sup>174</sup> The first committee meeting adopted the name (INS), and it clarified that all presbyteries were sent details of the inaugural meeting, but there were no special invitations.<sup>175</sup> The inaugural Town Hall meeting on 5 August was addressed by MJ Kirwan, Queensland MLA. Subscriptions: 5/- for men, 2/6 for women and 1/-for juveniles. By mid-August membership of 200 was claimed. By 1920 numbers had increased to 600, in January at the time of UIL disbanding, it became was the Irish National Association.</p>
Irish Pipers (Victoria)	<p>A meeting at Melbourne's Shamrock Club on 4 December 1909 led to the formation of the Irish Pipers Association and Irish Musical Society. Among those attending were NM O'Donnell (who declined</p>

<sup>165</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1921.

<sup>166</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 April 1919.

<sup>167</sup> For example, Daniel O'Connell, Robert Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Henry Grattan, John Mitchel and Padraic Pearse.

<sup>168</sup> See *Southern Cross* of 20 October 1911,

<sup>169</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 October 1918.

<sup>170</sup> McConville, *Croppies*, 160.

<sup>171</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 November 1919.

<sup>172</sup> *Advocate*, 3 June 1920.

<sup>173</sup> See *Advocate* 10 March 1917 for a report of Melbourne's Annual Smoke Night.

<sup>174</sup> *Southern Cross*, 31 May 1918.

<sup>175</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 June 1918.

the presidency due to time demands), TI O'Brien, MT Gleeson, L Leonard and MP Jageurs (appointed president). The group drew up rules and regulations one of which was 'to foster, control and maintain a band for the study and practice of the ancient music of Ireland.'<sup>176</sup> In 1913 Jageurs described it as the 'only one in Australia'; his ambition was to see a connecting link in Australia with old Erin. They were making rapid progress, and had an orchestra of 30 performers.'<sup>177</sup> In 1916 they played 'God Save Ireland' at the UIL's AGM, and were represented on the UIL committee by TJ Ryan and J Hennessy,<sup>178</sup> Ryan was President in 1917.<sup>179</sup> For some years they provided musical accompaniment on UIL Annual Bay Trips with the Irish Musical Society's Orchestra, conductor was TA Linehan.<sup>180</sup> They were part of an 'All-Irish Entertainment' in November 1917 at the Melbourne Town Hall, playing 'God Save Ireland'.<sup>181</sup> After John Redmond's death in 1918, they performed 'Farewell to the Chief' in his honour at their next practice.<sup>182</sup> In 1919 and 1920 they often provided pipe accompaniment to Dr Mannix's arrival at public events. There were 24 Irish bagpipe players in 1920; their Irish kilts cost £20 each and a complete set of Brian Boru pipes, £21.<sup>183</sup>

#### Irish Pipers (SA)

From July 1910, a committee met regularly to plan a band,<sup>184</sup> discussing with both local Scotch pipers and a Melbourne firm about supplying pipes.<sup>185</sup> The Pipers' Association was formed in November, its first practice at CBC.<sup>186</sup> In February 1911, 8 sets of Brian Boru pipes were ordered from England at £9 each (in comparison to a Melbourne quote of £14.14); when they arrived, they did not meet the stipulations so were returned in October, replacements only arriving in late January 1912. The band was under acute pressure about readiness for St Patrick's Day. 'Costume' advice was sought from Ireland, England, Western Australia and Victoria.<sup>187</sup> Their first appearance was a great success; they led the procession, giving it 'that national character that it had hitherto lacked'.<sup>188</sup> A photograph of the 12 member band was published on 22 March, 1912 with names. The commentary suggested criticism of their kilts.<sup>189</sup> In May their remaining debt was £100,<sup>190</sup> fundraising persisted.<sup>191</sup> The November AGM reported £320.13.6 had been spent, £101.18 on costumes,

<sup>176</sup> *Advocate*, 15 April 1920.

<sup>177</sup> *Advocate*, 13 January 1913. The treasurer was T Gleeson.

<sup>178</sup> *Advocate*, 7 October 1916. Mr J Veale was the Pipe Master in 1916.

<sup>179</sup> *Advocate*, 6 October 1917.

<sup>180</sup> *Advocate*, 27 January 1917. The Pipers were also on the UIL Bay Trip on 28 January.

<sup>181</sup> *Advocate*, 7 November 1917.

<sup>182</sup> *Advocate*, 16 March 1917.

<sup>183</sup> *Advocate*, 15 April 1920.

<sup>184</sup> The *Southern Cross* of 1 July 1910 shows a subscription List for the Irish Pipe Band stating its object was to 'form, control, and maintain... a Band for the study, practice, and propagation of the ancient music, dress and pastimes of Erin, and to familiarise Irish-Australians with the incomparable music of the land of their forefathers.'

<sup>185</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5, 19 August 1910.

<sup>186</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 November 1910.

<sup>187</sup> *Southern Cross*, 2 February 1912.

<sup>188</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 November 1912.

<sup>189</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 March 1912.

<sup>190</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 May 1912.

<sup>191</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12, 26 April, 17, 24, 31 May, 16, 23, 30 August, 6 September 1912.

£111 10.2 for instruments and £40.10 for tuition; with a small credit balance.<sup>192</sup> The Pipers needed to regroup in the war; in 1917 they played in processions on Australia Day, St Patrick's Day and Children's Patriotic Day. W Doherty led the group and PE O'Leary was secretary.<sup>193</sup> By March 1918 there were 9 pipers and 3 drummers; they played an overture at the 1918 INF Annual Installation Ceremony.<sup>194</sup> When the Broken Hill Pipers' Band visited Port Pirie and Adelaide in late March 1919, the two bands combined for a night of Irish music. Comments revealed that although the Adelaide group had begun earlier (with 10 members, and now 100), they had been unable to get tutelage from Scottish pipers due to 'a feeling of jealousy', and had relied on an Englishman 'more accustomed to the clarinet'. PE O'Leary had given details about pipes to Broken Hill, and despite its later start, due to having a Scotsman as instructor, it had done well; it had 8 members but only 5 came to Adelaide for the concert.<sup>195</sup>

St Patrick's Brass Band (SA)	This was formed in Adelaide during 1918 to ensure 'an efficient Catholic or Irish band once more before the public'. <sup>196</sup>
The Self-Determination for Ireland League of Australia (SDIL)	The SDIL began in Melbourne on 1 March <sup>197</sup> and in Adelaide on 25 March 1921. <sup>198</sup> The South Australia State Council was elected on 16 April with P McMahon Glynn President, JV O'Loughlin one of the Vice presidents and JJ Daly the Secretary. <sup>199</sup> By June, there were 85 branches in Victoria with 10,000 members. <sup>200</sup> Glynn resigned in September and was replaced by O'Loughlin. When the last state branch closed in SA branch in March 1923, discussion revealed retrospective criticism of its operation. <sup>201</sup>
Shamrock Club	Opened by Archbishop Carr on 20 June 1906, it had an active 'Ladies Branch; while the Celtic Club was for males only. <sup>202</sup> According to Nicholas O'Donnell in 1909, it 'consisted chiefly of working men – men full of Irish sentiment and vigour, and the Irish language, music and dances – in fact everything Irish – was kept up and handed down to the rising generation to the letter'. <sup>203</sup> Lectures were held, a Miss Jean Daley spoke on the 'Life and Work of James Connolly' in 1918. <sup>204</sup> In 1919 the gross takings were £1200. <sup>205</sup> In April 1919 the club arranged to lease St Patrick's Hall for their meetings in response to 'fast-increasing membership'. <sup>206</sup>

<sup>192</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 November 1912,

<sup>193</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 May 1918.

<sup>194</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 March 1918.

<sup>195</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 April 1919.

<sup>196</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 October 1918. Further research is required to discover its subsequent history.

<sup>197</sup> *Advocate*, 3 March 1921.

<sup>198</sup> *Southern Cross*,

<sup>199</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 April 1921.

<sup>200</sup> *Advocate*, 9 June 1921. It was officially launched in Sydney on 25 March with 50 to 60,000 there. It began on 8 April in Queensland and on 12 April in Western Australia.

<sup>201</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 March 1923.

<sup>202</sup> See for example, *Advocate*, 12 July 1918.

<sup>203</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 April 1909. O'Donnell was speaking at an Adelaide UIL meeting.

<sup>204</sup> *Advocate*, 26 October 1918.

<sup>205</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1919.

<sup>206</sup> *Advocate*, 26 April 1919.



St Patrick's Society	Founded on 28 June 1842 as a debating society, the society took responsibility for the St Patrick's Day procession from 1843 to 1846 when sectarian issues led to its cessation until 1870. <sup>207</sup> On St Patrick's Day 1847 the foundation stone of St Patrick's Hall was laid, it was opened by 1850 <sup>208</sup> and was the society's chief asset. Irishmen of all creeds belonged to the society; its first president was Presbyterian. The friendly society principles emerged in the 1860s; MP Jageurs was president in 1887 and 1888. <sup>209</sup> In 1919, James Maloney, the president reminded members it was 'the original Irish national society in Victoria, and [that] from it had sprung other active societies'. He felt there were too many societies. <sup>210</sup> Membership of 475 in 1911 had declined to 461 in 1917, their average age rose from 46 to 48.5 years. In Melbourne 146 members paid annual contributions of 25/-, the capital was £8986. <sup>211</sup> In 1920 Victoria's 9 branches had 900 members. <sup>212</sup>
United Irish League	Founded in 1879 as the Irish National Land League in Melbourne, and after its 1882 suppression (in Ireland), it became the Irish National League on 9 June 1883; it too was suppressed. In 1891 it operated as the Irish National Federation when the Irish Party split. In 1900 it became the United Irish League and was the accredited Victorian representative of the Central League of Dublin of which the Irish Parliamentary Party was the official mouth piece at Westminster. The UIL's executive consisted of two delegates from the Celtic and Shamrock Clubs, the St Patrick's, HACBS and INF Societies, the Catholic Press plus remaining representatives from the Melbourne Conventions of 1883 and 1889. <sup>213</sup> Tobin refers to it as struggling in 1909; quoting O'Donnell (speaking to the SA UIL) in terms of Sydney's branch having died out, acknowledged that in Adelaide they had always managed, 'in weal or woe to keep the flag flying'. <sup>214</sup> O'Donnell resigned as president in August 1916; having led Victoria's various organisations for 27 years. <sup>215</sup> In Adelaide the UIL started in 1879 as the INL, becoming the INF in 1891 after the Parnell split. Patrick McMahon Glynn was president for 10 years and JV O'Loughlin was vice president; the name changed to UIL in 1900 when the IPP reunited. The final president was Patrick Healy who presided over UIL disbanding on 13 January 1920. Most members then joined the INA. <sup>216</sup> However in Melbourne, largely due to Jageurs, it kept functioning until December 1922.
Young Ireland Society (YIS)	Founded Melbourne in either 1916 <sup>217</sup> or 1914 <sup>218</sup> ; a meeting of Irish citizens on 5 November 1917 was held under its auspices. <sup>219</sup> In June

<sup>207</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1921. An article entitled 'St Patrick's Day in Melbourne: How the Great Festival was Kept in Times Gone By' by Francis Mackle, provided many details.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>209</sup> See *Advocate*, 8 October 1887.

<sup>210</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1919.

<sup>211</sup> *Advocate*, 2 February 1918.

<sup>212</sup> *Advocate*, 3 June 1920.

<sup>213</sup> *Advocate*, 5 August 1916.

<sup>214</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 April 1909 quoted in Tobin, 'The Sea-Divided Gael...', 250.

<sup>215</sup> *Advocate*, 9 September 1916.

<sup>216</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16, 23 January 1920. The editorial summarised its history.

<sup>217</sup> *Advocate*, 6 April 1918 refers clearly to 'the second anniversary of the Irish-Ireland movement.'

1918 when a branch was formed in WA; there was 'nothing revolutionary or wild about its objects';<sup>220</sup> by July it had 600 members. Another branch was set up at Geelong in July 1918.<sup>221</sup> Branches were then to be formed in Hobart, Launceston, Auckland and Wellington.<sup>222</sup> AA Calwell was a prominent Melbourne figure, secretary until July 1918,<sup>223</sup> moving a protest against Ireland's military government. He claimed the society was 'the mouthpiece of Sinn Fein in placing the true position of Ireland in Victoria'. Calwell was secretary to 1918's Irish Convention and reported on it to YIS. The society held lectures: 'The Ireland of Today' by Fr Hyland, and discussed topics such as 'Ireland and the Peace Conference'.<sup>224</sup> Archbishop Mannix presided at their 'All Ireland' Concert.<sup>225</sup> The society had a brass band.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> *Advocate*, 20 July 1918 spoke of its eighth half yearly meeting. An advertisement in that issue stated 'Join this society and learn to become truly Irish'.

<sup>219</sup> *Advocate*, 13 October 1917.

<sup>220</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 June 1918.

<sup>221</sup> *Advocate*, 20 July 1918.

<sup>222</sup> *Advocate*, 21 September 1918.

<sup>223</sup> *Advocate*, 2 and 16 March. The election report of 20 July shows him as a committee member only.

<sup>224</sup> *Advocate*, 26 October 1918.

<sup>225</sup> *Advocate*, 24 September 1918. This was at the Collingwood Town Hall.

<sup>226</sup> *Advocate*, 24 August 1918.

## APPENDIX G: Immediate Irish-Australian Reactions to the Easter Rising

Archbishop Spence (SA):	'This rising is directed against the party and constitutional means more than against the British Government...I think all Irishmen...agree that the rising is utterly hopeless, and completely disapprove of it. Irishmen feel very keenly this insurrection. If the Sinn Fein considered the matter for a moment they would see what a dreadful blot they are casting upon Ireland by their action.' <sup>227</sup>
Archbishop Carr (Vic):	'It is quite possible that this rebellious outbreak is directed to discredit the Nationalist Party almost as much as the authority of the Crown.... From every point of view I regard the disturbance as an outburst of madness, an anachronism, and a crime.' <sup>228</sup>
Archbishop Mannix (Vic):	'It is needless for me to say how deeply pained I am by what has just happened in Ireland, and how grieved I am for the lives that are lost....This outbreak is truly deplorable....And knowing, as I do, what has been going on in Ireland before and since the outbreak of the war, I am not altogether surprised at the lamentable things that have occurred.' <sup>229</sup>
Bishop Phelan (Sale, Vic):	'Genuine Irishmen in all parts of the world must rejoice at the dismal failure of the attempt to rob their native land of the nationhood she has won after centuries of struggle....I believe before very long we will all recognise this sad event as a 'blessing in disguise'....The Imperial Government will extinguish the life of what would be a disturbing element, and a faction dangerous to national life when Ireland was being adjusted to her new conditions under Home Rule.' <sup>230</sup>
Archbishop Kelly (NSW):	We must regretfully consider the Sinn Feiners in policy irreconcilable, and its methods unwisely impractical....The rebellion, if the Dublin disturbance deserves the name, is but an untimely ebullition of rankling, misconceived patriotism.' <sup>231</sup>
Patrick Healy (SA UIL):	'This trouble must be put down to some cranks, some mad devils nobody could do anything with....[This small factionist party] failed to get the people with them, and must be an insignificant crowd....But for the loss of life, I should have made light of the trouble. It may be a riot, but it should not be dignified by the name of a rising.' <sup>232</sup>
P. McMahon Glynn (SA):	'I think that the unfortunate trouble amongst a section of the irreconcilables in Ireland...affects only a very small percentage of the population and, so far as it is militant, it may be said to have existed only within the last two or three years.' <sup>233</sup>
HACBS (Melbourne):	The Society 'deplores the disturbing effects of a misguided, insignificant portion of the people of Dublin, and expresses its earnest desire that the faction will meet its desserts, and that the loyalty of Ireland's sons will remain unsullied....[T]he delegates...represented the largest Irish Catholic society in Australia completely disassociated themselves from the small and insignificant number of the citizens of Dublin who had taken part in the outbreak.... [The motion's seconder suggested] too much publicity had been given to the matter [arguing] there had been no rebellion in Ireland.' <sup>234</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916.

<sup>228</sup> *Advocate*, 6 May 1916.

<sup>229</sup> *Advocate*, 6 May 1916

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916

<sup>232</sup> *Southern Cross*, 5 May 1916.

<sup>233</sup> *Advocate*, 6 May 1916

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

## APPENDIX H-1: Editorials and Topics in the *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* from 1916–1921

### Editorials and Topics in *Southern Cross*

Date	Editorial	Topic
<b>1916</b>		
5/5	The Irish Rising	Progress of the War
12/5	Ireland's Day of Glory and its Sad Sequel	
19/5	Australia and the War	The Aftermath of Rebellion
26/5	The Irish Enquiry	
2/6	Aspects of the Easter Rising	
9/6	Catholics and Loyalty	
16/6	The Irish at the Front	
23/6	The Irish at Gallipoli	Progress of the War
	Settling the Irish Problem	
7/7		The Apotheosis of Hughes
14/7		The Mayor and the Orange Outburst
21/7	Phases of the War	Ireland
		The Australian Abroad – Mr Hughes at the Cape
4/8	The Home Rule Crisis	Australian Achievements in War & Peace
11/8	The Prime Minister	The Third Year of the War
18/8		The Home Rule Puzzle
25/8		The Shooting of Sheehy-Skeffington
1/9		Australia and the War
8/9	The Call to Arms [Conscription]	The Example of New Zealand
15/9	Conference Week – Labour and Conscription	
22/9	The Irish Situation	Progress of the War
29/9		Can a Catholic be a Conscientious Objector?
6/10	The Conscription Issue	The Federal Burden [Conscription's Cost]
13/10	The Conscription Issue	The Referendum and the Constitution
20/10	The Conscription Issue	Weak Conscription Arguments
		Conscription and Conscience
27/10	No Hope for Home Rule	Last Words [before Referendum]
3/11	The Referendum	The Referendum and the Press
		Conscription's Strange Companionships
10/11	After the Referendum	Progress of the War
24/11	The Sinister Influence of Freemasonry	The Aftermath of the Referendum
		The <i>Register</i> and Archbishop Mannix
8/12	Federal Politics	British Cabinet Crisis
15/12	The Irish Problem	
<b>1917</b>		
5/1	The New Year and the War	The Imperial War Conference
12/1		The Recruiting Campaign
19/1		Sectarian Outburst in Queensland
2/2	The Belgian Deportations	
9/2	Germany at Bay	The Reproach of Ireland [Broken Promise]
16/2	Is it a Trade War?	The Federal Crisis [Hughes and Labour]
23/2		Conscription in Disguise
2/3	Politics and Patriotism	
9/3	Mr Hughes Forced to the Country	Ireland and the Imperial Conference
16/3	The Irish Question	
23/3	International Politics and Catholic Principles	
6/4	America and the War	
13/4	The Federal Election	
20/4	The Imperial Conference	Peter the Packer (Irish Crown Prosecutor)

Date	Editorial	Topic
27/4	Is Conscription an Issue?	famed for 'packing' juries)
4/5	Features of the Federal Fight	Archbishop Mannix and the <i>Argus</i>
11/5	The Federal Elections	Is Home Rule at Hand?
25/5	The Latest Plan of Home Rule	Another Great Prelate Passes [Carr]
1/6	Ulster Blocks the Way	The Soldiers' Vote
8/6		Ultra-Loyalty [Holidays for Royalty]
15/6	Major Redmond's Death	Conscription Again
22/6	The Federal Parliament	
6/7	The Government Recruiting Policy	Patriotic Funds
13/7	Autocracy versus Democracy	Conciliation in Ireland
20/7	Politics and Parties	Royalty and Republicanism
27/7	Australia Day & Patriotic Funds	
3/8	The Irish Problem	The Aims of Sinn Feiners
10/8	After Three Years of War	
17/8	Industrial War	
24/8	The Pope's Peace Note	
7/9	America and the War	
14/9	Mortgaging the Future [Loans]	
21/9	Parties and Politics	Canada and Conscription
12/10	Labour Unrest – Its Causes	The Bachelor Tax and the Clergy
19/10	The Irish Convention	Government by Regulation – A Lesson from New Zealand
2/11	Canada and Conscription	Ireland
9/11	The Cry for Conscription	The Irish Meeting and the <i>Argus</i>
16/11	The New Conscription Scheme	
23/11	Reflections on the Referendum	
7/12	The Conscription Issue	The Fight for Free Discussion [Hughes and Premier Ryan of Queensland]
14/12	The Trend Towards Peace	
21/12		Close of the Conscription Campaign
		Canada and Conscription
<b>1918</b>		
4/1	The People's Answer	
11/1	The Federal Farce [Conscription]	
8/2	Medieval Persecution	The Recruiting Campaign
15/2		British Policy and the Irish Question
22/2	The Irish Problem	
1/3	The Australian Catholic Federation	
8/3	St Patrick's Day	
29/3	Sinn Fein and Dr Mannix	
19/4	The Irish Crisis	The <i>Register</i> and Ireland
26/4	The Pope and the War	The Irish Crisis
3/5	The Irish Clergy & Conscription	An Injustice to Mr Glynn [Catholic views of Stand on Conscription]
10/5	The Holy See and the Allies	English and Irish Catholics
17/5	Lloyd George & the Irish Crisis	Archbishop Mannix and the <i>Argus</i>
24/5	The Latest Irish 'Plot'	Our Irish News [Response to local criticism of content and calling for Sinn Fein views]
7/6	The Great Anti-Catholic Offensive	
14/6	The Anti-Irish Offensive	The Irish Crisis
28/6	Peace by Negotiation	
5/7	The Irish Problem & the Real Remedy	An Instructive Correspondence [between premier and O'Loughlin over peace process]
12/7	War Notes [4 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary	The Orange Offensive
2/8	The 'No Popery' Campaign	Catholics and the War
9/8	War and Peace	The Local 'No Popery' Campaign

Date	Editorial	Topic
16/8	Good News from the Front	The Interned [Australian] Irishmen 'Ashamed of Australia' [Views about 'poor' recruiting levels challenged here] Mr Hughes in England Ireland and the War Displays of Protestant Intolerance
23/8		
30/8	Ireland and America	
13/9	Militarism and Bigotry in Canada	
20/9	Calumnies on Catholics [Local]	
4/10	America and the War	Irish Affairs
11/10	Catholic Disabilities in Britain	New Peace Proposals
18/10	Peace or War?	
25/10	The Coming of Peace	Ireland and Peace
1/11	Perversity and Patriotism	
8/11		Irish Ireland Politics and Peace Ireland, Poland and France The British Elections and Ireland Dr Rentoul Again The International Whirlpool The International Outlook International Affairs
15/11	The End of the War	
22/11	Peace and its Problems	
29/11	Ireland's Claim to Self Determination	
6/12		
20/12		
<b>1919</b>		
17/1	The Irish Cause	The New British Cabinet
24/1	Ireland and Self-Determination	
14/2		Ireland and the <i>Register</i> What about Ireland? The <i>Southern Cross</i> and Sinn Fein
21/2	The <i>Register</i> and Ireland	
28/2	Ireland and the Peace Conference	Ireland and the Peace Conference Shameless Truckling to Sectarianism The National Festival [St Patrick's Day]
7/3		
14/3	The British Khaki Election	
		Arrogant Attempt at Censorship
21/3	The Irish Elections	
28/3		The War Precautions Regulations Archbishop Kelly [Sydney] Misrepresented President Wilson and Ireland's Claims
4/4		
25/4		
27/6	The Truth about Ireland	
4/7		England, Ireland and America An Unholy Alliance [Protestant Federation]
11/7	Orangeism: Its Origin & Objects	
25/7		Ireland and the Peace Rejoicings
8/8	The Irish Impasse	
15/8	The Toll of War	
22/8	The Return of Hughes	Ireland Again
29/8	Anti-Irish Propaganda	Deportation of Disloyalists The State of Ireland
19/9		
3/10	Two Races & Two Laws in Ireland	
17/10		Irish and English Outrages Hughes or Ryan? Garbled Irish News The <i>Argus</i> and Dr Mannix
31/10	The Irish Race Convention	
14/11	The Irish Convention in Melbourne	
28/11	President Wilson, Ireland & the Senate	
5/12		Dr Mannix, Mr Mahon & Mr Hughes
<b>1920</b>		
2/1	The Home Rule Abortion	The Latest Irish Outrages
9/1		Ulster and Ireland
23/1	The UIL [in South Australia]	

Date	Editorial	Topic
30/1	The Indian Peril [linked to Ireland]	
13/2	The Irish Reign of Terror	
20/2	Opening of the Imperial Parliament	
27/2		When Will Autocracy End in Australia?
12/3	The Barrier to Irish Freedom	
26/3	'Irish Disloyalty'	More Press Untruths
2/4	'Neither Seditious nor Slanderous'	Australia and the Union Jack
9/4		Easter in Ireland
16/4	St George and St Patrick	Loxton 'Disloyalty'
23/4		Another Change of Irish Policy
30/4		Ireland
7/5		English Labor Delegates in Ireland
14/5	The Coming of the Prince	The Home Rule Farce
4/6		Privileged Irish Freemasons
25/6	The Tragedy of Ireland	Mean Cable Campaign against Dr Mannix
9/7		The Prince's Visit
16/7	The Perils of Imperialism	Military Massacres [India and Ireland]
23/7	Czarism in Action in Australia	The Ballarat Election [Hughes]
6/8		Archbishop Mannix & the Prime Minister
		The Case of Fr Jerger and the IWW
		The Exclusion of Archbishop Mannix
		The Irish Impasse: The Way Out
13/8	Ireland in Bondage	
20/8		The Sectarian Wave
17/9	The English Wolves in Ireland	
24/9		
1/10	Anti-Irish Propaganda	
8/10	The Campaign against Catholics	
15/10	The Irish Problem	
22/10	The Cant of Loyalty	Factors of Falsehood
29/10		[Terence] McSwiney's Martyrdom
5/11		The King and the Subject
12/11		Ireland and Cricket
19/11	Mr Mahon's Expulsion	No Sectarianism
		Not Peace but the Sword [in Ireland]
26/11	The Horrors in Ireland	
10/12	The Issue of Kalgoorlie [Byelection]	
17/12	Peace on Earth	
24/12		The Feast of the Bigots
		The British Firebrand in Ireland
<b>1921</b>		
7/1		The Curse of Cromwell
		The Kalgoorlie Election
14/1		The Power of the Pope
21/1	The Murder of Ireland	Imperialist Propaganda
		Our Liberties in Danger (WPA)
28/1		The Colonial Office and Imperialism
18/2	The Irish National Association	
25/2	The Return of His Grace the Archbishop	Italian Sympathy with Ireland
		Grattan or Wolf Tone
4/3	The Archbishop and His Critics	The South African Elections (Smuts)
11/3	The Ethical Aspect of the Irish Question	
18/3	Ireland's National Festival	Flag Flapping and Lip Loyalty
1/4	The Census (Australian and Irish)	Ireland and Belgium
8/4	Flag Fanaticism	
22/4	The Irish Self-Determination League	
6/5	The Barbarous Policy of Reprisals	The Imperial Conference
13/5	The <i>Southern Cross</i> Campaign	
20/5		Irish Affairs
27/5	The Great Loyalty 'Stunt'	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Topic</b>
3/6	The Irish Elections	Owen Smyth's Suppressed Speech
10/6	Religion and Loyalty	
17/6	What is 'Loyalty' and 'Disloyalty'?	Archbishop Mannix's Return
24/6	Ireland Again	
1/7	The Empire Conference	Ireland and the Olive Branch Has the War Censorship been Revived?
8/7	The Prospects of Peace in Ireland	Mr Reidy [Local MP] and Ireland
16/7	Australasia, America, Ireland & Japan	The Annual Orange Orgies
22/7	The Dog Days of July	
12/8	The Return of Archbishop Mannix	
19/8		General Smuts and Ireland
26/8	Ireland at the Crossroads	
2/9		Ireland's Reply: No Surrender
9/9	The Belfast Peace Wreckers	Ireland and Dominion Home Rule
23/9		Ireland in the Forefront
11/11	Ireland	
18/11	The Great Obstacle to Irish Peace	
25/11		The Via Media (Middle Way)
2/12	Belfast Pogroms & British Responsibility	
9/12	The [INA] <i>Feis</i> and the Celtic Revival	The Irish Settlement
16/12	Peace on Earth	The Gentle Art of Cable-Faking
23/12		Ireland and Partition

#### **Editorials in the *Advocate***

##### **1916**

6/5	The Dublin Outbreak
13/5	Mr Scullin's Apologia [Labor and ACF]
20/5	The Position in Ireland
27/5	Liberals and the Catholic Claims [Education Policy in Australia]
3/6	The Unctuous Ulsterman Ulster and the National Parliament
10/6	The Austrian Advance
17/6	The Ulster problem
24/6	Two Radical Leaders [Hughes and Lloyd George]
8/7	Mr Hughes' Return The Ulster Problem
15/7	The Holy See and Peace
22/7	Returning to Health [Snowball's July 12 Attack on Ireland]
29/7	Proposed Division in Ulster
12/8	Mr Hughes' Return The Situation in Ireland
19/8	About Clouds of Obloquy [Irish Settlement] Conscription
26/8	The German Schools [Pressure for Closure] Restoration of Poland
2/9	The Irish Cause President of the United States
16/9	The Coming Referendum <i>The Times</i> and Ireland
23/9	A Great Patriotic Demonstration [Irish Relief Fund in Melbourne]
30/9	Conscription Referendum Stray Thoughts on Loyalty [Protestant Churchmen's Views on Conscription]
7/10	A Matter of Conscience Dr Leeper and Liberty
14/10	The Church, Politics, and Freedom of Speech The Arguments Against Conscription
21/10	Referendum or Plebiscite? Ireland and Conscription
28/10	Should Australia Answer NO? Bernard Shaw on the Irish Situation



Date	Editorial	Topic
4/11	The Voice of the People The American President	
11/11	After the Referendum Government by Regulation [WPA Powers]	
25/11	Cheating the Electors [Life of Parliament] Irish Bad Times	
2/12	The Emperor of Austria	
16/12	The British Crisis [Asquith and Lloyd George] Progress of the War	
23/12	Peace Proposals Christmastide [in wartime]	
<b>1917</b>		
6/1	A Council of Empire Man Power of the Allies	
20/1	A New Political Party [Hughes and Nationals]	
3/2	Ireland's Future An Orange Outburst [Queensland Bigotry]	
10/2	On the Verge of War [America] Trade and the Flag	
17/2	The Federation [Importance of ACF] Ireland and Home Rule	
24/2	Neutrals and the War	
10/3	Appealing to Caesar [Election Called] Muzzling the Watch Dog [Deputation to Dr Carr re Restraint of Dr Mannix]	
17/3	The [Irish] Nationalist Manifesto	
24/3	The Irish Problem	
31/3	The Irish Problem Field Service [Religious Provision in Army Camps]	
14/4	America Comes In Democracy and the War	
21/4	Is Conscription the [Election] Issue? Mr Hoare's Indiscretions [Conflict with Dr Mannix]	
28/4	What is the [Election] Issue? The Irish Question	
5/5	Conscription the Issue	
12/5	A Good and Faithful Servant of his Maker [Death of Archbishop Carr]	
19/5	The [New] Archbishop of Melbourne	
26/5	A National Convention A Decadent Empire [Austria]	
2/6	Home Rule Convention Sectarian Animosity [Mayor's Insult to Dr Mannix and Catholics]	
9/6	The Cry for Conscription	
16/6	Alsace-Lorraine Canada and Conscription	
23/6	Facilus est Descensus [Critchley Parker]	
30/6	Benevolent Coercion	
7/7	Electoral Enrolment [and ACF]	
14/7	An Orange Ebullition A Pantheistic Proposal [Protestant Anti-Catholic and Anti-Papal Views]	
21/7	The Church and Socialism The Sinn Fein Movement	
28/7	A Contrast [Protestant and Catholic Meetings] The Age on Democracy	
4/8	Mr Hughes and Mr 'Critchley' Parker Repatriation of Soldiers	
11/8	Mr Justice Higgins on the Irish Question The Purchase of Titles [in Britain]	
18/8	The Proposed Peace Conference A Policy of Humbug [Anti Hughes Government]	
25/8	A New [Post-War] World	

Date	Editorial	Topic
1/9	Peace Proposals of the Holy Father	
8/9	America Replies to the Pope's Proposals	
	The <i>Argus</i> and the Democracy	
15/9	Conscription in Canada	
	The British in Mesopotamia	
22/9	Winning the War – New Style [Anti Hughes]	
29/9	The Prospects of Poland	
6/10	Catholic Clergy and Bachelor's Tax	
	The Government and Politics	
13/10	High Court Decisions [WPA]	
	The Aristocracy of Intellect [Protestant Federation]	
27/10	The Ukrainians	
3/11	A Great Leader [Mannix]	
	Conscription at Home and Abroad	
10/11	A Great [Irish] Demonstration [in Melbourne]	
	The Cloven Hoof [of Conscription as Government Intention]	
17/11	What is Sinn Feinism?	
	A Sugar-Coated Pill [Conscription Plans]	
24/11	The Passing of the Superman [Loss of this delusion in War]	
	'Your Money or Your Life!' [Wartime Taxation]	
8/12	Conscription And – Spooks	
15/12	Food Wanted Not Men	
22/12	Another Christmas	
	'Kamerad Vot Nein' [Conscription]	
29/12	Australians' Christmas Box [Defeat of Conscription]	
<b>1918</b>		
5/1	Should Ireland be Represented at the Peace Conference?	
	Political Pecksniffs [Political Fallout of Conscription Referendum]	
12/1	The Old Firm [Hughes and 'Win the War Party']	
	The Neutrality of the Papacy	
19/1	Peace By Negotiation	
	The Federal Jigsaw [Political Issues]	
26/1	Babylon Then and Now [Mesopotamia]	
	A Tottering Government	
2/2	The <i>Argus</i> and Democracy	
	What of Australia [Food Supplies]	
9/2	World War-Weary	
	The New Word Camouflage [Applied to Press]	
16/2	Secret Diplomacy	
	Fair Play for the Soldiers	
23/2	Mess and Muddle [under Hughes]	
2/3	The Question of the Poles	
	Secret Diplomacy Must End [Quoting Mannix]	
9/3	Those Empty Pews [in Protestant Churches]	
	War Prices	
16/3	Death of the Irish Leader [John Redmond]	
23/3	Enforcing the Law [in Ireland]	
30/3	The Hymn of Hate [Dr Mannix under Attack – Herbert Brookes]	
	The Irish Problem	
6/4	Slanderers are Answered [Melbourne Meeting]	
	The Polish Problem	
13/4	The <i>Argus</i> and Sectarianism	
	The Governor-General Moves [on Recruiting Issue]	
20/4	The Situation in Ireland	
	War a Stalking Horse [Government Policy Failure]	
27/4	The Irish Problem	
	The War and Religion	
4/5	The Hierarchy in Ireland	
	What of Ireland?	
11/5	Another Deportation Wail [Mannix]	

Date	Editorial	Topic
	Failure of the [Irish] Convention	
18/5	An Irish-Australian Convention	
	The Cromwellian Touch [Critique of Hughes Government]	
25/5	Defence of Catholic Readers [Press Hostility and Need for Catholic Daily]	
1/6	Divide et Impera [Irish Policy Plans to Divide Nation]	
	A Travesty of Parliament [in Australia]	
15/6	The Holy See and High Diplomacy	
	Procrastinating Politicians and Profiles	
29/6	A Press-Ridden Government [Lloyd George]	
	The Two Willies [Hughes and Watt]	
1/7	The Writing on the Wall [British Coalition Government]	
	Mr Hughes is Found Out [A Nuisance Overseas]	
13/7	Patriots or Profiteers?	
	Our Melbourne Chadband [Wartime Wowzers]	
20/7	Puritanism and Prohibition	
	Mr Hughes Sees Visions [In Britain]	
27/7	Dr Leeper in London <i>Spectator</i>	
	Windbagger at Work [Anti-ACF Pressure]	
3/8	The Smaller Nations	
	The Economy Shibboleth [Anti Hughes]	
10/8	Post War Problems [Democracy]	
17/8	Still Marking Time {Parliament not yet assembled post-Election}	
24/8	The Irish Bishops and Conscription	
	What is War Economy? [Response to Attacks on Church Wartime Spending]	
31/8	The Food Question in Ireland	
7/9	Approaching Changes [Lloyd George]	
14/9	Protestant Federation	
	Queensland Strong Man [Premier TJ Ryan]	
21/9	A Muddle Headed Thinker [Hughes]	
28/9	The Two Williams [Hughes and Holman, NSW Premier]	
	Conscription Talks Revised [for Ireland]	
5/10	Peace Proposals	
12/10	Undesirable Publications	
	Billy Loses His Halo [Overseas]	
19/10	A Splenetic Attack [on Mannix about Ireland]	
	Catholics and Peace	
26/10	Another Conscription Fizzle [Ireland]	
2/11	Irishmen at the Front	
9/11	The Coming Elections in Great Britain	
	The Return of Mr Hughes	
16/11	The American Elections	
	'Kultur' – The Osborne Brand	
23/11	Peace Proposals	
	Not Mr Hughes	
30/11	The Coming Elections in Great Britain	
7/12	British Democracy Asserts Itself	
14/12	Martyrdom of Nurse Egan [Catholic Nurse in Sydney's Influenza Epidemic]	
	The Good Effect of Organisation	
21/12	What Will President Wilson Do for Small Nations?	
28/12	What of the Censorship?	
<b>1919</b>		
11/1	Bonfires of Erin's Triumph	
	British Elections	
18/1	A Practical View of the Irish Question	
½	The Situation in Ireland	
	Falsehood Factories at Work	
8/2	'Australia First'	
5/4	Ireland and the Peace Conference	
12/4	Will President Wilson Support Ireland's Claim?	
19/4	The Resurrection of Poland [comparison with Ireland]	

Date	Editorial	Topic
3/5	Ireland and the Peace Conference	
24/5	Ireland and Empire	
14/6	Irish-American Delegates Demand Justice	
28/6	Queensland's Strong Man [Premier TJ Ryan]	
2/8	Ireland and a Patchwork Peace	
9/8	A Constitution for Ireland	
20/9	Misgovernment in Ireland	
4/10	Why the [Irish] Convention [in Melbourne]?	
11/10	The Convention and the Empire	
25/10	The Convention	
1/11	The Great Convention	
29/11	Catholics and Public Positions	
27/12	In Ireland – the Next Move	
<b>1920</b>		
24/1	The Late Dr [Nicholas] O'Donnell	
31/1	What's Wrong with the Australian Flag?	
21/2	The War Precautions Act	
13/3	St Patrick's Day	
18/3	The VC Heroes <sup>235</sup>	
25/3	St Patrick's Day, 1920	
8/4	Freedom of Speech	
15/4	Catholic Church and the Secular Press	
29/4	Australia for Australians	
24/6	Our Imperial Relations	
8/7	The Play's the Thing [Freemasonry]	
19/8	English Diplomacy [Dr Mannix removed from ship]	
25/8	Interference or Recognition?	
14/10	Liberty Admits No Exceptions	
28/10	Another Volunteer is Dead, and the Cry is, 'More Volunteers'.	
4/11	The Chivalry of England [Terence MacSwiney]	
	Ireland, England and Archbishop Mannix	
11/11	Must Loyalty Cover Outrage? [Hugh Mahon]	
	The Australian Parliament and Ireland	
18/11	Mr Hughes and the <i>Advocate</i>	
	Party Politics – Mr Hugh Mahon's Expulsion	
25/11	Things We Must Not Discuss [Imperial Policy]	
	Murder – and Reprisals	
9/12	Imperialism in Australia	
23/12	Are They Australians? [Claim re Troops in Ireland]	
30/12	The Irish War	
<b>1921</b>		
13/1	The <i>Herald</i> and the Poison Gas [Claims of Irish-German Conspiracy]	
	The <i>Herald</i> and Recent History	
20/1	Mr Esmonde's Detention [Irishman refused permission to land in Sydney]	
27/1	Militarism in Australia	
3/2	The Detention of the Archbishop	
10/2	A Damper on Ulster	
17/2	Mr [GB] Shaw Attacks Sinn Fein	
24/2	Robbery, Murder and Looting – By Crown Forces	
3/3	Australia, the Empire, and Ireland	
10/3	False Alarm [Self-Determination League and Disloyalty]	
	Disloyalty!!! [Railwaymen's Union Protest against British Policies]	
17/3	The Day We Celebrate	
	Self-Determination League Active	
24/3	The Victimisation of the Railway Men [Two Dismissals]	
	Australia Grows Critical [British Methods in Ireland]	

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<sup>235</sup> Publication day changed from Saturday to Thursday at this point.

Date	Editorial	Topic
31/3	Intolerance of the 'Loyalists'	
7/4	Ireland	
14/4	Australia First	
	The City Council and St Patrick's Day Procession	
21/4	The VPF Spirit – Vituperation, Persecution and Falsification	
	The Empire Premiers' Conference and Ireland	
	A Question of Moral Courage	
5/5	Discrimination against Catholics	
12/5	Conferences and Envoys [Ireland]	
	Lawless Loyalists	
19/5	The City Council and Processions	
	Ireland's Remarkable Unity	
26/5	The Vendetta Continues [against Catholics]	
	The Prohibition of Processions	
2/6	The Coming [Imperial] Conference	
	Afraid of the Truth [Return of Dr Mannix]	
	The 'Northern' [Ulster] Parliament	
9/6	A Mandate to the City Council [Street Processions]	
	The <i>Argus</i> Fears an Invasion of England	
	A Poorly-Supported Motion [in Federal Parliament re Ireland]	
16/6	Self-Determination Sunday's Great Meetings	
23/6	Lost – An Empire	
	Mr Justice Starke and the Irish Question [Libel Trial, TJ Ryan MHR v Hobart <i>Mercury</i> ]	
30/6	The Dominions and Ireland	
14/7	Is the [Irish] Truce Permanent?	
	The Archbishop of Melbourne	
21/7	The Ebb Tide [of Sectarianism]	
	The Conference on the Irish Question	
4/8	A Great Australian Passes [TJ Ryan MHR]	
11/8	Archbishop Mannix Comes Home	
	Mr Stead Prescribes [Open Letter to Dr Mannix]	
18/8	The Archbishop's Return	
	The Reductio of Mr Lloyd George [over Ireland]	
1/9	The Irish Situation	
8/9	De Valera's Reply [to Britain's Terms]	
29/9	Labour and Self-Determination	
13/10	The Irish Conference and British Desires for Peace	
20/10	Soldiers and Self-Determination	
10/11	Putting It Up to Ulster	
17/11	The War on Catholic Citizens	
	Britain and a Certain Dissenting Minority	
24/11	Australia Goes to the Pan-Irish Congress	
8/12	The Reported Irish Settlement	
	The Chautauqua League [Herbert Brookes, an anti-Catholic/Irish Speaker]	
	The Stain of [General] Dyer [in India and Ireland]	
15/12	What of the Irish Treaty?	
22/12	A Brilliant Journalist Passes [Henry Stead]	
29/12	The Old Year and the New	
	Ireland's New Order	

## APPENDIX H–2: Editorials and ‘Topics’ in *Southern Cross* and *Advocate* 1922–3

### Editorials and Topics in the *Southern Cross*

Date	Editorial	Topics
1922		
13 January	The Anglo-Irish Treaty	The British Atrocities in Ireland Belfast Backs Down
20 January		
27 January	The Sovereign Status of Ireland	The Ulster Boundary Dispute The Irish Situation Bigotry in Melbourne City Council The Irish <i>Ard Fheis</i> Alleged Irish Intolerance Descendants of Henry Grattan
3 February		
10 Feb		
17 February		
24 February		
3 March		
10 March		
17 March		
24 March	Ireland's Day	St Patrick's Day and the Bigots
31 March	Hatred of Catholicity: The Real Reason The Irish Settlement	Fanning the Sectarian Flame
7 April		
28 April	Anti-Irish Propaganda in State Schools	
12 May	What of Ireland?	
19 May	The Trial of Bishop Liston Ireland	Sir Henry Wilson and Murderers
26 May		
2 June		
9 June		Anti-Irish Propaganda in Schools Better News from Ireland Britain and India
16 June		
23 June	Ireland's Magna Charta	
30 June	The Assassination of Sir Henry Wilson	What is Sedition? [Bishop Liston] Press Hysteria [About Ireland] July Fever [Orange Outbursts] Orangemen Break Faith Melbourne Bigots Routed Italy and Ireland
7 July	The Future of the Irish Free State	
14 July		
28 July		
4 August		
18 August		
25 August	Protestant Poison Gas	
1 September	The passing of Michael Collins	Archbishop Mannix's Visit [To SA] The Honorable Hugh Mahon
8 September	The Dominions and War The Situation in Ireland	
13 October		
20 October	The Passing of Lloyd George	
27 October	The Armistice and After	
17 November	The British Elections	
24 November	The Situation in Ireland	British Politics and Parties
1 December		
1923		
5 January	Ave Atque Vale	
26 January	Ireland	The Irish Constitution The Connaught Rangers Republican versus Free State
16 March		
30 March	Exit the Self-Determination for Ireland League	
6 April	King George and the Pope	Scotland Yet! Boer and Britain [John] Dillon's Dirge
13 April		
20 April		
27 April	The Situation in Ireland	
4 May	Will There be Peace in Ireland?	Bigotry in New Zealand [Liston] The 'Protestant' Protest against the King's Visit to the Pope Bonar Law's Retirement Irish Fiscal Autonomy
11 May		
25 May	Catholics and the State Statistics of Religion	
1 June	The Decay of Empires	

6 July	The Jubilees of June [Bishop Cleary, and <i>New Zealand Tablet</i> ]	
20 July		Exeunt the Envoys
10 August	An Irish Invasion of Scotland	
24 August	The Irish Elections	
31 August	The Voice of Ireland	The Early Celtic Church and Rome
21 September		Ireland and the League of Nations
5 October		John Morley [Former Irish Viceroy]
26 October	The Archbishop of Adelaide	
2 November	New Ireland Among the Nations	
9 November		Bonar Law
23 November	The British Elections	Distress in Ireland
30 November	The New Irish Judicial System	Protestant Filchers of Catholic [musical] Treasures
14 December	Is Our Civilization Doomed?	
21 December		British Politics

### ***Editorials in the Advocate***

<b>Date</b>	<b>Editorial</b>
1922	
12 January	The End Is Not Yet ( <i>Dail</i> Vote)
19 January	<i>Dail Eirann</i> and a 'Democratic' Humorist
9 February	A Challenge that Must be Accepted (City Council and St Patrick's Day)
16 February	Raids and Their Reason (Ulster)
23 February	A Procession that Will Be Held
9 March	No Sectarian Provocation Can Make St Patrick's Day Procession Disorderly
16 March	St Patrick
	The Procession that Will Be Held
23 March	The Great Procession of 1922
30 March	Loyalty's Only Hope
	Belfast Takes the Offensive
6 April	Sectarian Separativeness (sic) and a Protestant Admission
	Lies About Ireland
	A Delegate and His Credentials
20 April	Testing the Teacher [Loyalty]
	Affairs in Ireland
27 April	Marry England and St George
	Anzac Day
4 May	'A Right Rose Tree' [WB Yeats Poem about 1916 Executions in Dublin]
11 May	A Unique Gathering of Priests [Manly Graduates Meet in Melbourne]
	Effects of New Truce in Ireland
25 May	Three Opinions on India
8 June	Suppressing Free Speech at Prahan [Town Hall Refused]
	The Situation in Ireland
22 June	The Irish Constitution
29 June	The Tragedy in Eaton Square [Assassination of Sir Henry Wilson]
6 July	Within the Law [St Patrick's Day Procession Court Victory]
	The Fighting in Dublin
13 July	A Great Man Gone [Killing of Cathal Brugha]
	Bringing Belfast to Albert Park [Attempt to Burn Convent]
20 July	A Challenge to Mr O R Snowball [Melbourne Orangeman]
	Dumping the Black and Tans
27 July	Counsel for the Council [Procession Case]
	These Loyalist Refugees [Black and Tans]
3 August	Truth at Last re Black and Tans in Empire
17 August	Arthur Griffith Sinn Feiner
31 August	Michael Collins, Irish Leader
7 September	A Little Forgotten History [Ireland]
	Street Procession – Appeal to the High Court

14 September	Dealing with Sectarians and Misdealing with Others Violets, Daffodils and Cuckoos [English Attitudes] A Knockout Blow [Archbishop Mannix Visits Adelaide]
21 September	What Does Irish Labour Want?
28 September	A Great Catholic Editor [Death of Tighe Ryan, editor of NSW <i>Catholic Press</i> ]
5 October	The Irish Constitution as Amended Life Pension of £1 a Week for Opposing Freedom [Black and Tans in NSW]
16 November	The Catholic Population of the State An Irish Bishop on Belfast
23 November	In Ireland Today
30 November	The Execution of Erskine Childers
14 December	Ireland Today
21 December	The Gentle Art of Misrepresentation That Invalid Bylaw [Failure of City Council Appeal]
28 December	The Year in Retrospect
<b>1923</b>	
4 January	The Protestant Federation and Sectarianism
15 February	A Free Plebiscite in Ireland
15 March	Make St Patrick's Day a Success The Coming of the Gael Again
22 March	The King's proposed Visit to the Pope The Art of Continuity [St Patrick's Day Procession]
5 April	Free Speech and Strange Bedfellows [Irish Delegates, Freedom of Speech]
19 April	Anzac Day: The proper Spirit in Which to Celebrate It Orange Tactics – How Elections are Won
3 May	An Excess of Courtesy [Cromwell] The Republican Offer [re Civil War]
28 June	Immigration from Ulster Banned
19 July	Der Tag of the Ulstermen
3 August	Were We a Nation Before 1914?
23 August	Constitutional Methods in Ireland: The Infamous Preference of the Temporary Powerful
20 September	Ireland Not a Nation Yet
11 October	Mr Edgar' Blows the Gaff' [Victorian MP on visit to Ireland]
1 November	Open the [Irish] Prisons and Free the Patriots
29 November	Unconditional Release of Irish Political Prisoners Demanded
6 December	True Imperialism: A Problem Attacked from the Wrong End [Criticism of <i>New Zealand Tablet</i> ]



## APPENDIX I: AIF Casualties and the 1916 and 1917 Conscription Plebiscites

- 1916                      Fromelles: The First AIF's initial battle was at Fromelles on 19/20 July. The 5th Division, recently arrived in France, lost a total of 5533 men, killed, wounded and captured.<sup>236</sup>
- Bean stated that the 5<sup>th</sup> Division 'was crippled by the fight at Fromelles', and that it was not until the end of the summer that it regained its 'full self-confidence'. Pedersen said that it 'was effectively destroyed as a fighting formation for several months.'<sup>237</sup>
- Pozières and Mouquet Farm: The 1<sup>st</sup> Division went into action for the first time on 19/20 July, and in the period until 4<sup>th</sup> Division was withdrawn on 4 September, the AIF lost 23,000 officers and men.<sup>238</sup>
- Plebiscite on 28 October 1916.
- 1917                      The AIF was involved in several other major battles in 1917:  
Bullecourt, 11 April and 3-16 May  
Messines, 7-14 June  
Menin Road, 20 September  
Polygon Wood, 26 September  
Broodseinde Wood, 2-4 October
- Gammage stated that from July to mid-November, 38,093 Australians had become casualties. This was 'almost 60 per cent of the AIF in France'.<sup>239</sup>
- Plebiscite on 20 December 1917.
- Recruitment.           The peak months for AIF recruitment were July (36,575) and August (25,714) 1915. Throughout 1917 numbers declined: 4575 enlisted in January, then 3274 in August, but only 2460 in September. These were gross enlistment figures, not the numbers that embarked for further training in the UK where some were rejected and returned to Australia. The numbers actually joining infantry units were therefore reduced further.<sup>240</sup>
- Declining enlistments and high casualties led to the disbandment of 11 of the AIF's 60 battalions in 1918.

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<sup>236</sup> CEW Bean (ed), *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (hereafter 'OH'), Volume III, 'The AIF in France 1916' by CEW Bean, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (first published 1929), 442,

<sup>237</sup> OH, Vol III, p.447. Peter Pederson, *The Anzacs: Gallipoli to the Western Front*, Penguin, Camberwell, 2007, 158.

<sup>238</sup> OH, Vol III, p.862. See also, Bill Gammage, *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974, 169.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, 190.

<sup>240</sup> OH, Vol 11, Appendix 3, 871-872.

## Appendix J: Timeline of Australian Political Surveillance 1914-1922 with particular reference to Irish-Australians.<sup>241</sup>

3 August 1914	Cable and wireless censorship established;
6 August	District Censors in all mainland states, Tasmania by November;
24 September	Press censorship given retrospective legal sanction to 3 August;
28 September	General newspaper censorship instructions issued;
28 October	War Precautions Act (WPA) based on Britain's Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) introduced by Attorney General. WM Hughes, passed House of Representatives within an hour, less in Senate. Six WPA regulations provided authority for censorship;
23 April 1915	WPA No 2 introduced to remedy weaknesses in first, tighter controls of postal transmission, penalties increased; first DORA deviation; opposition from some Labor members;
22 May	WPA Provisional Regulations 25 and 53, amendments drawn from British emergency legislation – preventing mail/messages entering or leaving country except through authorised mail system;
5 August	Memorandum from Bonar Law, Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, Governor-General about gaps in counter-espionage material from Australia;
24 November	WPA Regulations: 19 – military/naval details, 28 – reports affecting recruiting, 28A – newspapers to submit doubtful material before publication, 28C forbade showing evidence of censor press alteration
26 November	Loss of August memorandum led to restatement of key points, forwarded by George Steward (Governor-General's Secretary) to PM Hughes. '[A] stable organisation [with] <i>access to all sources of intelligence in the country</i> ' and contact with head of London's Central Counter Espionage Bureau proposed; <sup>242</sup>
29 November	Steward communicated with London's Lieut-Colonel Kell, seeking details about body 'on which [his bureau was to be modelled and to which he would report]'; <sup>243</sup> Steward recommended authorisation for his direct contact with state police commissioners, that communication with Naval and Military Intelligence be facilitated allowing coordination of all records;
11 December	Censors circularised about 'minimising harmful agitation and resentment among our people of Irish descent' with press asked to avoid publication of material reflecting 'on the loyalty of our Irish fellow subjects' while emphasising unity needed for success in war. <sup>244</sup>
14 January 1916	Commonwealth Counter Espionage Bureau (CEB) established;
5 April	Regulation 28A amended so any journal placed 'under order' had to submit all war-related material;
August	Defence Minister informed Bureau fully operational; Steward listed 7 areas of interest, <sup>245</sup> arguing Military Intelligence areas from 1914 could be more effectively covered by Bureau;

<sup>241</sup> The dates are largely derived from Frank Cain, *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1983, and Kevin Fewster, *Expression and Suppression: Aspects of Military Censorship in Australia during the Great War*, PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1980.

<sup>242</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 1-2. (Emphasis in original.)

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>244</sup> Quoted in LF Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger 1914-1952. William Morris Hughes, A Political Biography, Volume II*, Angus and Robertson Publishers, Australia, 1979, 60-1.

<sup>245</sup> Cain, *The origins*, 5. The areas were seaport passenger control, tracking histories of enemy agents/suspects, hostile secret service activity, enemy activities affecting British trade, sedition, espionage investigation and suspect warnings/descriptions. The last 4 were those only partly achieved.

9 August	WPA Regulations required all recruiting pamphlets to be censored;
28 October	First Conscription Referendum defeated – 51.61% to 48.39%;
15 December	Unlawful Associations Bill made IWW illegal, CEB responsible for its monitoring, this led to clarification of own goals; <sup>246</sup>
31 January 1917	Deputy Chief Censor issued ‘Rules for the Censorship of the Press’;
February	London ordered renaming as Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB), more staff permanence, recognition and career structures, appointment of senior staff;
7 February	Melbourne Censor refused publication of any Mannix speech which prejudiced recruiting in any way;
March	Major EL Piesse becomes Director of Military Intelligence;
March	Military Intelligence passes IWW details to Bureau, accepting its role in surveillance;
May	Munro-Ferguson’s voiced his concerns re SIB and Steward’s role to London;
27 July	Amended Unlawful Associations Act proscribed IWW, SIB only intelligence body reporting directly to PM, able to initiate surveillance independently;
5 August	Opening of Sydney SIB office, head known as ‘Traffic Inspector’;
29 August	Correspondence between Munro-Ferguson and PM about Steward’s removal from SIB. Governor-General anxious for his office to be distanced from party politics; <sup>247</sup>
October –November	Appointment of ‘Traffic Inspectors’ to Hobart, Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide;
15 November	Steward communicated with offices re removing his name from SIB connection;
17 November	Circular 15 to all branches about evidence that Sinn Fein existed in Australia, the danger and need for increased vigilance emphasised;
13 December	Circular to all ‘Traffic Officers’ re sending reports to Mr HE Jones, or if secret, to ‘Rowantrees’;
December	‘Traffic Inspector’ appointed to Melbourne; <sup>248</sup>
20 December	Second Conscription Referendum defeated – 53.79% to 46.21%;
January 1918	Card/dossier to be kept on all Sinn Fein suspects;
13 March	WPA Regulation 28AA – offence to sell/distribute any publication forbidden by censor’s office;
28 March	WPA Regulation 28A directed against all SF items and advocacy of Independence for Ireland;
April	Press Censorship Advisory Board (PCAB) established;
30 June	Final revision of ‘Rules for the Censorship of the Press’;
28 October	Secret, official meeting re establishment of ‘Citizen Information League’ focussing on unnamed ‘disloyal and hostile activities’ – these were probably Sinn Fein and Bolshevik;
18 November	British advice sought re continuation of censorship in Australia;
21 November	WPA extended either for 3 months after war’s official end, or to 31 July 1919, whichever period was the longer;

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, 19-20. SIB surveillance incorporated secret reports about ‘suspect’ aliens, action against ships smuggling enemy agents, passport controls including analysis of applicant family history, monitoring port traffic, reporting unlawful association activity, and espionage detection.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*, 24. Cain describes Munro-Ferguson’s concern re the Colonial Office cipher (held by Steward) – he wanted to prevent Hughes from obtaining this lest he ‘communicate with London [behind his] back’. Thus Steward remained with the Bureau only to encode and decode London messages.

<sup>248</sup> Until 1927, Australia’s Governor-General and Federal Government were in Melbourne.

5 December	Colonial Secretary advised mail, cable and press censorship was to be retained with minor adjustments;
24 February 1919	Bureau relocated to Attorney-General's Department, renamed as Investigation Branch; Jones appointed Director;
27 February	Official ban on news that provisional government had proclaimed an Irish Republic;
23 May	All information collected by Defence and Naval Intelligence handed to Investigation Branch on orders of Acting Attorney-General, former Traffic Inspectors became 'Inspectors in Charge';
14 August	Government Gazette announces end of press censorship;
22 August	Jones distributed 'Most Secret' list of 'Socialist and Revolutionary Papers published in Australia,' asking state officers for suggestions, in SA Connard nominated the <i>Southern Cross</i> ; <sup>249</sup>
2 December 1920	War Precautions Repeal Act; defined sedition, inserting it into Crimes Act of 1914-5, modification of other aspects rather than total removal;
16 June 1921	Customs Act (Proclamation No 37) prohibited importation of literature expressing seditious intention or advocating a seditious enterprise;
15 March 1922	Posts and Telegraph Act 1901-16, Statutory Rules 1922, No 92, Regulation 116 (c) prohibited transmission by post of publications or articles where transmission was prohibited by Customs Act or by proclamation.

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<sup>249</sup> Cain, *The Origins*, 195-6.

**APPENDIX K: Letter from P.E. O’Leary of Adelaide to Patrick O’Leary of Cootehill, County Cavan, 15 May 1919<sup>250</sup>**

Well, regarding the Irish question and the [Versailles] Conference Self-Determination for small nations etc etc if Ireland’s affairs are set aside or overlooked, then may well Ireland cry out its bitter agony as our dying Saviour did on the Cross of Calvary. My God, My God, Why hast thou forsaken me? The eyes of Ireland all over the Universe are fixed intently on this Conference. Surely, O God, tis not possible that Tyranny, oppression, hypocrisy, perjury, misrepresentation and national robbery should always be triumphant? Surely, O God, you will not hide your face from those who have been most faithful to you? Surely, O God, you will not abandon those who forfeited everything, everything they possessed in this world but their immortal souls for your sake? How long, O God, how long will the torture continue? An ancient race with all the mental and physical and spiritual requirements of a great and virile race, with all the ideals of an unconquerable people, with a record unparalleled in the world history, with not a national asset left, – all in the hands of the despoiler – all gone but the faith alone!! – and still subject to the torture, calumny, misrepresentation and outrage that animated the Tudor, Stuart, Cromwellian and Williamite and Guilphine Hordes. Aye, still ready, waiting like bloodhounds on the leash to rend, tear, murder, burn destroy and confiscate, as they did before – as their Teutonic cousins have done in Belgium, France, etc etc, everywhere that they placed their hellish hands on.

The position is awful in a so called civilised world. God Almighty has been cast aside and the Devil has sowed the wind skilfully amongst the Nations, and he is now reaping the whirlwind. He sows and he reaps. If President Wilson can withstand his enemies at the Conference (he has many enemies there), and enforces his 14 points on self determination there is hope and all may be well. But Wilson is playing against miscreants who are using loaded dice. The so-called democracy of Lloyd George is a mockery and a thorn and history records in many instances the fate meted to such men by wronged and frenzied people.

I am sending you a paper to show you that we in Australia are not forgetting some of our National ideals. The UIL is doomed, I recognise it. The majority should rule, and we in Adelaide will support the majority. In regard to the UIL it did tremendous work for Ireland, but its occupation is gone, the old must make way for the new. There’s no use in division in our ranks at home or abroad, disunion destroys. United we stand, divided we fall, we must stand or fall together. I’ve watched the UIL in its cradle in Australia and bedew its hearse with tears like poor Grattan when Ireland lost her parliament. Such is political life in this world. The hero of today is cast aside like a torn garment tomorrow. O’Connell, Parnell, Redmond all outlived their usefulness and had to make way for the new leaders.

I cannot forget the Old Land nor the old people. May God save the land and the people, they are in sore trial, but we must keep on, never despair. We have done much, and achieved successes for the last 30 years that no supposed sane man would predict 50 years ago, and the Irish race will, with God’s good help, keep on until ‘The Day’. The Celtic Der Tab arrives.

Keep the Gaelic League going and every other movement that has for its object – Irish Ireland.

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<sup>250</sup> NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt 2, ‘Irish National Association’. The Censor’s report of 2 June 1919 commented that ‘The writer is evidently an Irishman whose emotions run away with him and who cannot express a sane opinion in regard to the true condition of Ireland’. See Chapter 7, Figure 104 for photo of PE O’Leary.

## APPENDIX L: The Irish National Association and the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Australia<sup>251</sup>

- 1888 Birth of Albert Thomas Dryer in Sydney, to Irish mother and German father.
- 1911 Dryer graduated from Sydney University with a BA.
- 1914 Dryer read Alice Stopford Green's book, *Irish Nationality*.
- 1915 Dryer wrote 'An Appeal to Irishmen, Be Irish' to Sydney *Freeman's Journal*, made contact with Melbourne friend for details of Victoria's Irish societies to plan for a Sydney Irish club/society. Following advertisement in *Sydney Morning Herald* re non-sectarian Irish society, 18 attended a meeting on 21 July. Dryer made secretary *pro tem*. Next meeting on 27 July attended by 40, adopted constitution based on Melbourne's Celtic and Shamrock Clubs. Irish National Association (INA) to be non-sectarian. Archbishop Kelly refused support because it was not exclusively Catholic, and discouraged clerical participation, moving Fr Patrick Tuomey (who joined in November), to country parish. Constitution limited politics to discussion of Ireland's welfare. Membership was open to those of Irish birth or extraction. First 6 months included social gatherings, euchre parties, harbour trip, Irish music and dancing followed business meetings. Lectures presented by members included: Irish Nationality (Dryer), Fenians (E McSeeney), Irish Race Overseas (Dr McCarthy), and Thomas Davis (P O'Farrell). Dryer worried about expansion of INA through social programme, Irish cultural nationalism and Irish cultural revolution in Australia were his goals. In November he met representatives of Melbourne's Irish Pipers' Association, Young Ireland Society, Irish Musical Society, UIL, Irish Benefit Society, Hurlers' Association, Shamrock and Celtic Clubs but no radical groups. First INA Grand National Concert on 23 November in memory of Manchester Martyrs. Dryer wrote to Dublin Gaelic League in 1915, the reply advised INA to focus on study of Irish language and history, the need for 'steadfast members', not those wanting amusement. Gaelic League pamphlets promoting these ideas were included.
- 1916 By January there were 211 members. In February, a committee dispute revealed divisions between idealists, moderates and radicals. Issues about public support for unpopular cause of Irish independence in April led Dryer's motion about expulsion of those bringing INA into disrepute or opposing its spirit or objects. These were amended from Home Rule to Ireland's complete independence. By Easter 1916, the INA 'was an organisation whereby the Irish in and out of Australia could identify enthusiastically with the aims and aspirations of their nationally emergent homeland.'<sup>252</sup>
- 1918 Including Sinn Fein banners in Melbourne's St Patrick's Day procession was seen as disloyal, precipitating anxiety about Irish issues in Australia. In Sydney INA homes were raided on 25 March, and books, letters and documents seized, Melbourne's Celtic Club also searched. On 28 March, WPA regulations responded to Sinn Fein and support for Irish independence.<sup>253</sup> Further searches of Sydney INA offices on 23 and 24 May seized documents; 11 houses searched in Sydney, 4 in Melbourne and 1 in Brisbane. A stipendiary magistrate interrogated Dryer about the INA, Australian Sinn Fein and Irish activities. On 17 June, 7 INA members arrested and interned in

<sup>251</sup> This material is largely based on material from Patrick O'Farrell, "The Irish Republican Brotherhood in Australia: the 1918 Internments" in MacDonagh, *Irish Culture and Nationalism*, 182-93, 'Dreaming of Distant Revolution: AT Dryer and the Irish National Association, Sydney, 1915-16' in Grey, *Passing The Torch*, 63-85 (The paper was presented in 1983.), and O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 254-61, 274-8, 304-5 and 307-9.

<sup>252</sup> O'Farrell, 'Dreaming of Distant Revolution', 81.

<sup>253</sup> O'Farrell, 'The IRB in Australia', 182.

Darlinghurst Gaol; arrests announced 2 days later but names were not publicised for a fortnight. Acting PM called for calm amidst allegations of ‘conspiracy’ and intentions of enlisting volunteers to aid armed revolution. Irish community responded by donating to a Mannix-suggested defence fund, Labour politicians called for trial, not enquiry.

Justice Harvey presided over a judicial enquiry from 8-30 August, Edmund McSweeney, Michael McGing, William McGuinness, Maurice Dalton, Frank McKeown and Thomas Fitzgerald were all Irish-born, Dryer a local. O’Farrell saw Harvey’s report as ‘remarkably mild’. Found that Dalton (founder of INA in Melbourne) and John Doran started IRB in 1916. In July, Doran went to Sydney, spent 2 months organising 2 IRB sub-circles of 10 men, Dryer and McSweeney in one, McGuinness and McGing another. Doran then went to Brisbane where Fitzgerald was founding IRB member. Details were recorded in letter to Dalton and to John Devoy (US). Doran’s September departure for America left Dryer as local organiser; 50 adherents by December.<sup>254</sup> No communication means between Australia and America uncovered, Harvey’s suspicions correct – Irish seamen used. December 1917 Dryer’s dispatch of £20 to Doran led Harvey to conclude he was central, anti-British and pro-German in terms of Ireland. McSweeney was equally significant, McGing as having limited IRB influence, but like McGuinness, active in INA, (O’Farrell points out that Harvey’s was unaware of latter’s links to 1916 Rising participants), Harvey found Dalton and Fitzgerald implicated in IRB activities, he could not link McKeown. No direct enemy contact, but money collected money to buy arms and INA used as front. None gave any evidence.<sup>255</sup>

O’Farrell saw this as self-protection – establishing a secret training camp could have led to charge of high treason against Dryer based on possibility of training to fight against Britain. All bar McGing and McKeown were later described by Dryer as members of IRB. The historical roots of IRB in Australia traced back to 1877 International Revolutionary Directory.<sup>256</sup> O’Farrell judges Harvey’s report as ‘sympathetic’; no compulsion of suspects to give evidence, Crown case diluted by his reading of some of the seized Irish revolutionary documents.<sup>257</sup> Defence argument that charges were absurd, unproven by evidence may have partly taken him in. Dryer used range of largely successful protective tactics, but incompetence of Doran’s letters (with poorly coded material), and Dalton’s possession of compromising evidence, established Crown case.<sup>258</sup> Harvey’s findings confirmed detention for all, even Dalton (73) whose release was sought.

All released on 19 December 1918 except Dryer. O’Farrell argued delay ‘related to the fact that the government would not act in the matter without reference to Britain’.<sup>259</sup> Prior to his February 1919 release Dryer was informed his employment with Customs Department was terminated. He spent the next 2 decades attempting to find secure employment. Although engaged in 1915, he did not marry until 1933.<sup>260</sup> Enrolled in Medicine 1929, graduating 1937. ‘To his death in 1963 he remained the backbone of the INA.’<sup>261</sup> In 1950s was listed as only overseas contributor to Ireland’s Military Commission into the 1916 Rising.

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<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-189

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 188-9.

<sup>257</sup> He was known to have read a 1917 publication by Francis P Jones, *History of the Sinn Féin and the Irish Rebellion of 1916*. See *Advocate* of 10 September 1917 for a lengthy review of this book.

<sup>258</sup> O’Farrell, ‘The IRB in Australia’, 189-191.

<sup>259</sup> O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 276.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

#### APPENDIX M: *The Republic* (Extracts read in court)<sup>262</sup>

This newspaper described in NAA: A8911/255 'INA Newspaper Melbourne 1919' was handed out at Melbourne's Irish Convention of November 1919. The file does not contain any copy of the allegedly offensive material so having access to excerpts read as part of the prosecution case is an important legacy.

"Ireland is a nation held by an invader, not a British colony. Nothing less than the withdrawal of the forces of the invader can honourably be accepted by any true Irishman. No measure of Home Rule, Dominion self-government, or any other form of government within the British Empire, no matter how broad it may be, will suffice.

Ireland, in chains, calls to her people in every land to support her gallant struggle against the invader, and it is for her children to rally to her aid.

Helpless though the people are now, confronted on all sides by English bayonets, the time may come when they will be able to set up a Government of their own, as their forefathers did, and even attack England.

Why should not the Irish do something to free their country? Cast expediency to the winds, and demand recognition of the Irish Republic.'

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<sup>262</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1920



## APPENDIX N: Speakers and Topics at Adelaide and Melbourne Ireland–Related Meetings 1919–1923<sup>263</sup>

### Adelaide

1919

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
March	HACBS	Fr FA Connell	‘The Day We Celebrate’ <sup>264</sup>
March	Irish Societies	Patrick Healy (UIL)	Toast to the King <sup>265</sup>
		Fr Ronayne OCC	‘The Day We Celebrate’
		JJ Daly	‘Ireland A Nation’
		Bro Sebastian	Tribute to Patrick Healy <sup>266</sup>
April	Irish Pipers	Bro Purton	‘Irish Music’ <sup>267</sup>
September	INF	Fr Hyland	‘Ireland’ <sup>268</sup>
October	HACBS	Fr O’Connell	‘Loyalty – Catholic and Irish’ <sup>269</sup>

1920

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	INS	Fr Coleman SJ	‘The Ethics of Resistance’ <sup>270</sup>
February	INS	Fr Gearon OCC	‘The Truth About Ireland’ <sup>271</sup>
March	INS	PE Rice	‘The Irish Political Situation’ <sup>272</sup>
March	INS	Fr Hyland MSC	‘The Day We Celebrate’ <sup>273</sup>
		Bro Purton	‘Ireland a Nation’
		Fr Gearon	
April	INS	PE O’Leary	‘The St Patrick’s Day Speeches’ <sup>274</sup>
		PA Greene	
		CS McHugh	
May	INS	Bro Purton	‘Ireland & Australian Sympathy’ <sup>275</sup>
		John McGee	‘Ourselves Alone in Ulster’
May	Port Adelaide	Fr Gearon	‘The Truth About Ireland’ <sup>276</sup>
June	INS	MJ Kirwan MP	‘Misrepresentation of Ireland: the Empire’ <sup>277</sup>
July	INS	Fr Morrison	‘Irish Minstrelry’ <sup>278</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Smaller numbers in Melbourne were more than counteracted by the occasions when Dr Mannix spoke publicly, see Tables 7 and 9.

<sup>264</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21, 28 March 1919. 200 attended the dinner.

<sup>265</sup> *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1919. Formerly a UIL event, this was the first time the Hibernians, INF and INS had combined with the UIL to organise the St Patrick’s Night Social.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.* Healy followed his suggestion that the UIL would disappear given Sinn Féin in Ireland by thanking the other societies for their support and indicating he would step down. Bro Sebastian eulogised his almost 4 decades of supporting the Irish cause in Adelaide.

<sup>267</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 April 1919.

<sup>268</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 September 1919.

<sup>269</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 October 1919.

<sup>270</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 January 1920.

<sup>271</sup> *Southern Cross*, 17 February 1920.

<sup>272</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1920. Winner of the INS ‘Prepared Speech Competition,’ the speech from a former CBC pupil was presented on St Patrick’s Day, at the dinner and in the ‘*Cross*.’ See also NAA: D1915, SA29, Pt.1. 22 March 1920: ‘The possibilities of training young speakers as Sinn Féin propagandists...[in] these competitions are immense.’

<sup>273</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1920.

<sup>274</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 April 1920. The speeches had been referred to Crown Law authorities on grounds of their seditious intent, they were judged as non-disloyal.

<sup>275</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 May 1920

<sup>276</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 May 1920.

<sup>277</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 June 1920. See Appendix C for details about Kirwan.

<sup>278</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 July 1920.

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
August	INS	Dr Herbert Heaton	'The Economic Background of the Irish Question' <sup>279</sup>
September	INS	JV O'Loughlin	'Would an Independent Ireland be a Danger to the Empire?' <sup>280</sup>
September	Adelaide Catholic Club	WJ Denny MP	'Travels in Ireland, Rome and Elsewhere' <sup>281</sup>
September	Port Adelaide	Fr Gearon Fr Maloney	'Why All This Talk About Ireland? Why Join the INS: No <i>Shoneens</i> Here' <sup>282</sup>
October	INS	Fr Connell SJ	'The Truth Will Out: Religion & Tolerance' <sup>283</sup>
November	Sermon	Fr Connelly	'The Late Lord Mayor of Cork' <sup>284</sup>
November	Norwood	Bro Purton	'The Irish Situation' <sup>285</sup>
December	INS	Fr Connolly	'England's Domestic Question: The Keystone in the Arch of World Peace' <sup>286</sup>

1921

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	Hindmarsh	Fr O'Donnell	'Ireland's Struggle for Freedom' <sup>287</sup>
January	INF	Fr Hourigan	'Experiences in Ireland' <sup>288</sup>
February	INA	Fr O'Mara SJ	'Ireland' <sup>289</sup>
March	Sermon	Fr Lockington SJ	'Ireland and Irish Ideals' <sup>290</sup>
March	St Patrick's Day	Archbishop Spence	'Ireland: His Grace States the Facts'
March	INA	Fr McLaughlin Frank Brennan	'The Day We Celebrate' 'Ireland A Nation' <sup>291</sup>
May	INA	P McMahon Glynn JJ Daly	'Self-Determination' Self-Determination' <sup>292</sup>
July	INA	Fr McLaughlin	Irish Reminiscences and Reflections <sup>293</sup>
August	INA	Fr McEvoy OP	'Life Seen Through Irish Eyes' <sup>294</sup>
September	INA	Fr Hartnett SJ	The Influence of Celtic Culture on Civilization' <sup>295</sup>
September	SDIL		
October	INA	WJ Denny MP	An Australian Abroad, with Special Reference to Ireland' <sup>296</sup>

<sup>279</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 August 1920. Heaton was a lecturer from 1916 at Adelaide University. See Marilyn Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania During World War One*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1975, 24-6 for details of Heaton's previous loyalty issues at the University of Tasmania.

<sup>280</sup> *Southern Cross*, 10 September 1920.

<sup>281</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 September 1920.

<sup>282</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1920.

<sup>283</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 October 1920.

<sup>284</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 November 1920. He preached this at the Cathedral Requiem Mass for MacSwiney who died on a hunger strike in Brixton jail.

<sup>285</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 November 1920.

<sup>286</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 and 10 December 1920.

<sup>287</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 January 1921. See Appendix C for details about this priest.

<sup>288</sup> *Southern Cross*, 4 February 1921.

<sup>289</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 February 1921. The INS had changed its name in January to the INA.

<sup>290</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 March 1921. See Appendix C and also NAA: A8911/232 'Father Lockington WJ (Superior of the Jesuits) for SIB concern about his American travel.

<sup>291</sup> *Southern Cross*, 25 March 1921.

<sup>292</sup> *Southern Cross*, 13 May 1921.

<sup>293</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 July 1921. The priest had recently arrived from County Galway.

<sup>294</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 August 1921.

<sup>295</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 September 1921.

<sup>296</sup> *Southern Cross*, 14 October 1921.

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
November	INA	Dr Herbert Heaton	'The Stage Irishman, Past and Present' <sup>297</sup>
December	INA	Rev ES Kiek	'Nationalism and Internationalism' <sup>298</sup>
December	INA	JV O'Loughlin	'The Anglo-Irish Treaty' <sup>299</sup>

1922

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
February	INA	JJ Flaherty	'A Good Year's Work' <sup>300</sup>
February	INF Smoke Social	JV O'Loughlin WJ Denny	'Ireland , a Nation; 'Irish National Foresters' <sup>301</sup>
March	INA, ISDL, HACBS and Irish Pipers	Fr Hogan OP John McGee	'The Day We Celebrate' Ireland A Nation' <sup>302</sup>
May	INA	JV O'Loughlin	'Scottish and Irish Evening' <sup>303</sup>
June	Salisbury	Fr O'Mara SJ	'Ireland and its People' <sup>304</sup>
June	INA	Fr Clery OCC	'The Life and Times of Charles Stewart Parnell' <sup>305</sup>
August	INA	P McMahon Glynn	The Sense of Style in Music and Song – Keltic (sic) Links' <sup>306</sup>
August	Exhibition Building	Fr W Lockington SJ	'Catholic Australia' <sup>307</sup>
September	INA	Rev ES Kiek	'The Perils of Modern Democracy' <sup>308</sup>
September	Exhibition Building	Archbishop Mannix	'Ireland, and the Current Situation, Australia's Flag' <sup>309</sup>
September	Norwood	Fr McEvoy OP	'Pictured Ireland' <sup>310</sup>
October	INA	Dr Herbert Heaton	'Is It True?' <sup>311</sup>
November	INA	Prof Damley Naylor	'The League of Nations' <sup>312</sup>
December	Clare	Fr Power	'Ireland' <sup>313</sup>
December	INA	JB Anderson	'Celtic Poetry and Folk Lore' <sup>314</sup>

1923

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	WEA	Dr Herbert Heaton	'The Stage Irishmen' <sup>315</sup>
February	INA	JV O'Loughlin, others	Annual Meeting <sup>316</sup>

<sup>297</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 November 1921.

<sup>298</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 December 1921. Kiek was Principal of Parkin Congregational College.

<sup>299</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 December 1921.

<sup>300</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 February 1922.

<sup>301</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 February 1922.

<sup>302</sup> *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1922.

<sup>303</sup> *Southern Cross*, 12 May 1922.

<sup>304</sup> *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1922. Bro Purton was in the audience.

<sup>305</sup> *Southern Cross*, 16 June 1922.

<sup>306</sup> *Southern Cross*, 11 August 1922.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.* Archbishop Spence introduced the speaker who referred to the Irish dimension and quoted from John O'Brien's *Around the Boree Log*.

<sup>308</sup> *Southern Cross* 8 September 1922.

<sup>309</sup> *Southern Cross*, 15 September.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> *Southern Cross*, 6 October 1922. The problem of truthful history and newspapers

<sup>312</sup> *Southern Cross*, 3 November 1922.

<sup>313</sup> *Southern Cross*, 1 December 1922. Mr Anderson was President of the Lothian Club.

<sup>314</sup> *Southern Cross*, 8 December 1922.

<sup>315</sup> *Southern Cross*, 19 January 1923.

<sup>316</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 February 1923.

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
March	INA Fr McEvoy OP	Fr Crowley	Annual St Patrick's Day Banquet <sup>317</sup>
April	INF Breakfast	Fr T O'Loughlin MSC	'The Vocation of the Kelt' <sup>318</sup>
May	CBC Old Collegians	Fr O'Loughlin MSC	'Towards Australianism' <sup>319</sup>
June	INA		A Gaelic Night <sup>320</sup>
July	Orphanage	Irish Pipers	Irish Concert <sup>321</sup>
September	HACBS	Fr Gearon	'Relief of Irish Distress' <sup>322</sup>
October	Kingswood	Dr Mannix	'On Ireland: Stands Where He Has Always Stood' <sup>323</sup>
November	Public Meeting	JV O'Loughlin	Launch of Irish Distress Fund <sup>324</sup>
<b>Melbourne</b>			
<i>1919</i>			
Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
March	Richmond	Fr W Ryan SJ	'Ireland as St Patrick Left It' <sup>325</sup>
August	Newman Society	CEW Bean	'Australian Characteristics and the War' <sup>326</sup>
August	Brunswick	Frank Anstey MHR	'My Visit to Ireland' <sup>327</sup>
September	S Melbourne	Fr Gearon	'Ireland Today' <sup>328</sup>
October	Melbourne	Fr Gearon	'Ireland's Case' <sup>329</sup>
November	Sermon	Fr Lockington SJ	Ideals of the Irish Race <sup>330</sup>
November	W Brunswick	Fr Gearon	'The Case for Ireland' <sup>331</sup>
November	Middle Park	Fr Gearon	'The Case for Ireland' <sup>332</sup>
<i>1920</i>			
Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
April	N Melbourne	Fr Norris	'Policy of Frightfulness in Ireland' <sup>333</sup>
May	Irish-Ireland League	AA Calwell	'Aims of Irish-Ireland League' <sup>334</sup>
July	Fitzroy	Fr J Egan SJ	'Ireland, with reference to Easter 1916' <sup>335</sup>
September	Melbourne	Fr JJ Kennedy	'Militarism: German & English' <sup>336</sup>
September	Labour Party	F Burke	'Ireland A Nation' <sup>337</sup>
October	Gaelic League	Fr J O'Dwyer	'The Gaelic Language: Why It Should Be

<sup>317</sup> *Southern Cross*, 23 March 1923

<sup>318</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 April 1923.

<sup>319</sup> *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1923.

<sup>320</sup> *Southern Cross*, 22 June 1923

<sup>321</sup> *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1923.

<sup>322</sup> *Southern Cross*, 28 September 1923.

<sup>323</sup> *Southern Cross*, 26 October 1923.

<sup>324</sup> *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1923.

<sup>325</sup> *Advocate*, 29 March 1919.

<sup>326</sup> *Advocate*, 9 August 1919.

<sup>327</sup> *Advocate*, 16 August 1919. See Appendix C for details about Anstey and his time in Ireland.

<sup>328</sup> *Advocate*, 27 September 1919.

<sup>329</sup> *Advocate*, 25 October 1919.

<sup>330</sup> *Advocate*, 1 November 1919.

<sup>331</sup> *Advocate*, 15 November 1919.

<sup>332</sup> *Advocate*, 22 November 1919.

<sup>333</sup> *Advocate*, 15 April 1920. The priest had visited Ireland during his 12 months in Europe.

<sup>334</sup> *Advocate*, 20 May 1920.

<sup>335</sup> *Advocate*, 8 July 1920. The priest had witnessed the 1916 events, it was an illustrated lecture.

<sup>336</sup> *Advocate*, 9 September 1920.

<sup>337</sup> *Advocate*, 16 September 1920.

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
			Preserved <sup>338</sup>
November	CYMS	Frank Brennan	'Australia and Ireland' <sup>339</sup>
November	Tatura	Fr O'Connell	'Tribute to Terence MacSwiney' <sup>340</sup>
December	Abbotsford	Bro Galvin	'Irish Reign of Terror' <sup>341</sup>
<i>1921</i>			
Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	W Melbourne	Fr M Forrest MSH	'The Truth About Ireland' <sup>342</sup>
January	Coburg	Fr M Forrest	'The Truth About Ireland' <sup>343</sup>
January	HACBS	Fr Lockington	'Australia and Ireland' <sup>344</sup>
February	St Kilda W	Fr M Forrest	'Ireland as She is.' <sup>345</sup>
February	Essendon	Fr M Forrest	'Ireland as She is.' <sup>346</sup>
March	HACBS	Dean Hegarty	'The Archbishop [Mannix]: A Martyr for Ireland' <sup>347</sup>
March	Ballarat INF	Fr Reidy TJ Landrigan JH Scullin	'British Crimes in Ireland' 'Ireland a Nation' 'British Frightfulness' <sup>348</sup>
March	Wonthaggi	Frank Brennan	'The Irish Situation: Mr Brennan's Catechism' <sup>349</sup>
March	Richmond	Fr McGrath SJ	'Ireland Under Alien Rule' <sup>350</sup>
March	Exhibition	Bishop Phelan	'The procession and the Day' <sup>351</sup>
March	Melbourne	Fr JJ Kennedy	'Ireland Under Alien Rule' <sup>352</sup>
May	Ballarat	Frank Brennan	'Irish Self-Determination' <sup>353</sup>
May	St Kilda W	Fr P McCaffrey	'Should Ireland's Case Appeal to Australians?' <sup>354</sup>
May	Melbourne	Dr Gerald Baldwin Frank Brennan	'American Sympathies Alienated' 'Propaganda Against Ireland' <sup>355</sup>
June	St Kilda W	Fr JJ Kennedy	'The Rights of Ireland' <sup>356</sup>
June	S Melbourne	Fr J Egan SJ	'Oppression in Ireland' <sup>357</sup>
August	Richmond	Fr TJ O'Mara SJ	'Australian Impressions of Ireland' <sup>358</sup>
August	Clifton Hill	Fr JJ Kennedy	'Irish Wit and Humour' <sup>359</sup>

<sup>338</sup> *Advocate*, 18 November 1920.

<sup>339</sup> *Advocate*, 25 November 1920.

<sup>340</sup> *Advocate*, 2 December 1920.

<sup>341</sup> *Advocate*, 16 December 1920. He was speaking to Christian Brothers Past Pupils after a visit to Ireland.

<sup>342</sup> *Advocate*, 20 January 1921.

<sup>343</sup> *Advocate*, 27 January 1921. AA Calwell provided a 'stirring' appeal at the meeting which was linked to a local branch of the Irish-Ireland League.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>345</sup> *Advocate*, 10 February 1921.

<sup>346</sup> *Advocate*, 10 February 1921. The meetings were described here as 'overflow.'

<sup>347</sup> *Advocate*, 17 March 1921.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>349</sup> *Advocate*, 24 March 1921.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>352</sup> *Advocate*, 31 March 1921.

<sup>353</sup> *Advocate*, 5 May 1921.

<sup>354</sup> *Advocate*, 26 May 1921.

<sup>355</sup> *Advocate*, 2 June 1921.

<sup>356</sup> *Advocate*, 9 June 1921.

<sup>357</sup> *Advocate*, 30 June 1921.

<sup>358</sup> *Advocate*, 11 August 1921.

<sup>359</sup> *Advocate*, 1 September 1921.

Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
September	Melbourne	Fr JJ Kennedy	'Ireland and Her Happy People' <sup>360</sup>
November	Clifton Hill	Fr JJ Kennedy	'The Dead Who Died for Ireland' <sup>361</sup>
1922			
Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	Irish Piper's Annual Entertainment	Archbishop Mannix	'The Unconquerable Irish Spirit' <sup>362</sup>
March	INF National Conference	T J Landrigan	'Irish Nationhood' <sup>363</sup>
April	MacSwiney Branch of Gaelic League	Fr J O'Dwyer	<i>Ceilidhe</i> and address to mark 'glorious Easter Week' <sup>364</sup>
June	Ballarat	Bishop Foley	'Unspeakable Belfast Horrors' <sup>365</sup>
September	Melbourne	Fr W Lockington SJ	'Catholic Australia' <sup>366</sup>
1923			
Month	Organisation	Speaker	Topic
January	Launch of Irish Republican Association	JJ McDonald Fr J O'Dwyer Agnes Murphy	Aims of IRA and importance of new association in Melbourne <sup>367</sup>
March	INF National Conference		<sup>368</sup>
April	HACBS Annual Conference	JP O'Rourke Archbishop Mannix	'Fair Play for Ireland, Irish Envoys Spoke' <sup>369</sup>
July	Michael Dwyer INF Branch		'Michael Dwyer in Australia' <sup>370</sup>
July	Gaelic League	Fr J O'Dwyer	'Irish Cultural Evening' <sup>371</sup>
August	IRA Meeting	FJ Riley JF Hannan Fr J O'Dwyer	'Treatment of Irish Political Prisoners' <sup>372</sup>
September	IRA Meeting	TP Walsh JJ McDonald AA Calwell	'Demand for Release of Irish Political Prisoners' <sup>373</sup>
October	Gaelic League	Art Mac Cathmhaoil Fr O'Duibir	Anniversary <i>Ceilidhe</i> for Terence MacSwiney <sup>374</sup>
December	Gaelic League	Art Mac Cathmhaoil Fr Seumas O'Duibir	Latest News from Ireland; Letter from Padraic Pearse's Mother <sup>375</sup>

<sup>360</sup> *Advocate*, 8 September 1921.

<sup>361</sup> *Advocate*, 1 December 1921.

<sup>362</sup> *Advocate*, 6 January 1922.

<sup>363</sup> *Advocate*, 9 March 1922.

<sup>364</sup> *Advocate*, 4 May 1922.

<sup>365</sup> *Advocate*, 29 June 1922.

<sup>366</sup> *Advocate*, 7 September. 1922

<sup>367</sup> *Advocate*, 25 January 1923.

<sup>368</sup> *Advocate*, 15 March 1923.

<sup>369</sup> *Advocate*, 26 April 1923.

<sup>370</sup> *Advocate*, 12 July 1923.

<sup>371</sup> *Advocate*, 19 July 1923.

<sup>372</sup> *Advocate*, 9 August 1923. FJ Riley, a printer, had been a surveillance target.

<sup>373</sup> *Advocate*, 4 October 1923.

<sup>374</sup> *Advocate*, 11 October 1923. The speakers, Calwell and Fr O'Dwyer, were now using the Gaelic form of their names.

**TABLE SEVEN: Functions Attended by Archbishop Mannix June 1917 to December 1921**

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
16/6 1917	South Melbourne	School additions blessed	'Good'	Love of Irish and Australian children	
14/7 1917	North Melbourne	Bazaar		Orange Loyalty; Ireland and Home Rule	Victories of Sinn Fein explained
15/8 1917	Geelong	School additions blessed	5,000	Misrepresenting Mannix; freedom of speech; conscription	No appearance on recruiting platform
8/9 1917	Cathedral Hall	All-Irish Concert	'Overflow attendance'	No address given	'God Bless Dr Mannix'
27/9 1917	Stadium West Melbourne	Catholic Women's Social Guild	6,000	Vital Questions of the hour; Race Suicide; the Press	
29/9 1917	Northcote	Grand Victory Parade	3,000	Topics of the Day; Bachelor Tax; Education	
2/10 1917	Ballarat	Empire Fair		Ireland a 'small nation'; Sinn Fein victories	Martyrs of Easter are now heroes
5/11 1917	Richmond Racecourse; refusal of Exhibition Building	Monster meeting re Ireland	100,000	Irish rights as 'small nation'; Home Rule; Christian burial for 1916 heroes	'God Save Ireland' sung by thousands
11/11 1917	Cathedral	CYMS Mass & Communion Breakfast	'Large number'	'Topics of the day'	'They would follow his lead in referendum'
2/12 1917	Exhibition Building		20,000 plus	Conscription and reasons against it	'God Save Ireland'
26/12 1917	Frankston Park	Catholic Demonstration	50,000	Conscription as failed campaign; Thomas Ashe death	Ireland never forgotten to win favour locally
2/12 1917	Exhibition Building	Parish concert (Collingwood)	Enthusiastic reception	Victory against conscription	
2/12 1917	Winchelsea	Fete and tennis court opening		No address reported	Enslaving of Australia has failed
9/2 1918	North Melbourne	School Opening	6000	Conscription speech summarised here	
2/2 1918	Cathedral Hall	Concert		Ireland and Australian affairs	
2/2 1918	Town Hall	ACF Annual Demonstration		Demand for educational justice	
2/2 1918	West Brunswick		Great and enthusiastic assemblage		
28/2 1918	Cathedral Hall	Lecture by Belgian priest – fund appeal	Large crowd	First appeal was to Ireland; it needs Australian help	Use of pictures in lecture
3/3 1918	South Melbourne	Reopening of Parish Hall	3000	Current topics	Pride in Archbishop

<sup>375</sup> *Advocate*, 13 December 1923.

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
10/3 1918	Sydney Town Hall	INF Breakfast	Large crowd	Imperial disloyalty; Sinn Fein; threats of deportation	Archbishops Kelly and Redwood there
14/3 1918	North Melbourne Town Hall	Irish National Concert		Loyalty to Rome amid Irish greetings	Irish vocal & instrumental items
18/3 1918	S Melbourne Town Hall	Irish National Concert	Enthusiastic reception		'God Save Ireland'
18/3 1918	Melbourne Town Hall	Irish National Concert	Crowded & enthusiastic	Redmond's death; Sinn Fein	'God Save Ireland'
16/3 1918	Exhibition Building	Grand Concert	Great gathering	St Patrick's Day demonstration a great success	Faith and loyalty of people
?/3 1918	Melbourne Streets	St Patrick's Day Procession	60,000		Ovation to Mannix
?/ 1918	University of Melbourne	Opening of Newman College	40,000		
24/3 1918	Cathedral	Annual HACBS Communion	3,000 at Mass, 8,000 at Breakfast	Advice re disloyal accusations; no Sinn Fein here	'God Save Ireland'
24/3 1918	Exhibition Building		10,000		Suggestions re avoiding disloyalty.
?/3 1918	Sydney		75,000		
?/4 1918	Bendigo	Unveiling of Honour Roll			'God Save Ireland'
13/4 1918	Castlemaine	Address and coronation	3-4,000, with 1100 visitors	The situation in Ireland	'God Save Ireland' & 'God Save the King'
?/4 1918	Clifton Hill	Hall opening & Queen Display		Irish conscription, sectarianism	
?/4 1918	Cathedral	Anzac Day			
?/5 1918	University of Melbourne	Opening of Women's University College			
28/4 1918	Elwood	Opening of Church/School	3000	Irish conscription, abuse campaign	Anti-Carson dimension
?/5 1918	Croydon	Queen Carnival		Irish and Australian affairs	
4-5/5 1918	Kilmore	Confirmation/meeting	Mass meeting	Australia, Ireland and the war	Thomas Hunt's address <sup>376</sup>
10/5 1918	Exhibition Building	4 <sup>th</sup> Victorian Irish Convention	500 delegates	Irish conscription, demand for Irish autonomy	Mannix in the chair, invited by Jageurs
?/5 1918		Christian Bros Communion Breakfast		Schools, War, and its misrepresentation	

<sup>376</sup> *Advocate* 13 May 1918 describes Hunt as having attended Parnell's Irish Convention in 1890 where he represented Victoria and South Australia; this may be a mistaken reference to the 1896 Convention.



Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
2/5 1918	Newport	Bazaar and Queen Carnival		Press intolerance, Anti- Catholicism	
2/5 1918	North Fitzroy	Church opening	10,000	Generous Catholics, unity	
20/5 1918	Archbishop's Library	St Patricks Day Final Meeting	Full attendance	Australian patriots exceed Irish	He ignores ugly incidents
15/6 1918	Geelong	Bazaar and Concert	Dense throng	Short address	Patriotic Irish atmosphere
21/6 1918	Clifton Hill	Night of Comedy	Appreciative audience	No address given	'God Save Ireland'
25/6 1918	Cathedral Hall	All-Irish Concert	Crowded attendance	No Speech; Robert Emmet's speech from dock one item	'God Save Ireland'
26/6 1918	Cathedral Hall	CYMS Smoke Social	Crowded attendance	Australian arrests; secrecy criticised	Tribute to pioneers
29/6 1918	Kyneton	School opening	Dense throng	Arrests in Ireland and Australia	Attacks on patriotism
30/6 1918	East Malvern	Church/Hall opening	5,000	Irish question; his loyalty greater than Carson's	He quoted Asquith on conscription
4/7 1918	Collingwood Town Hall	Irish Concert	Crowded attendance	Home Rule; Irish disloyalty? 'As a good Irishman I am proud of my country'.	'God Save Ireland'
6/7 1918	Kilmore			Aust arrests and unsettled Eire	
9/7 1918	South Melbourne	Grand Irish Concert	Hall was crowded	Irish national sentiment	'God Save Ireland'
10/7 1918	Cathedral Hall	Grand Irish Concert	Newman College involved	No address given	'God Save Ireland'
2/7 1918	Essendon	Blessing of new Church altar		State of affairs In Ireland	'God Save Ireland'
2/7 1918	Clifton Hill	Queen Crowning			
11/7 1918	Collingwood Town Hall	Concert	Crowded attendance	Loyalty in 1916; Home Rule; love of patriotic ballads	'God Save Ireland'
17/7 1918	Town Hall	Irish Pipers' Association		No address given	'God Save Ireland'
28/7 1918	Oakleigh	Opening new hall	Immense gathering	Questions of the day	'God Save Ireland'
30/7 1918	Melbourne Town Hall	Lecture on war in France by Cyril Bryan	Large & enthusiastic attendance	Short address and commendation of Captain Bryan	Paid £5 to help tax Bryan had to pay for speeches
7/8 1918	Cathedral Hall	Gaelic Revival Concert (YIS)	Photo shows Large crowd	YIS' thanked by Mannix	'God Save Ireland'
21/8 1918	North Fitzroy	All-Irish Concert	Densely crowded	Questions of the day	'God Save Ireland'
4/9 1918	Auditorium	Cyril Bryan Lecture, and Irish Concert	Mannix unwell	'With artillery in France' – details of war	Audience brought to France in spirit

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
9/9 1918	Cathedral Hall	Gaelic Concert	Mannix unwell		'God Save Ireland'
18/9 1918	Cathedral Hall	Grand Concert Tableaux Vivants	Irish Pipers made a guard of honour		'God Save Ireland'
19/9 1918	Coburg Town Hall	Grand entertainment		Current Topics	'God Save Ireland'
22/9 1918	Albert Park	Opening of St Kevin's school	3,000	What makes charity? Education	
23/9 1918	Cathedral Hall	All-Irish Night (INA)		Current topics at length	'God Save Ireland'
24/9 1918	Collingwood Town Hall	Lecture on Ireland		Unconquerable spirit of Irish	Mannix in attendance
16/10 1918	Kensington Town Hall	Lecture on Rome		War & Peace & Irish question	
17/10 1918	Auditorium	All-Australian Concert	Large and enthusiastic audience	Australia being put first	Boomerang to Mannix; 'God Save Ireland'
23/10 1918	Cathedral Hall	Meeting of ex- Christian Bros students	Rally to mark 50 Years	Work of Christian Brothers in Australia	
24/10 1918	Pt Melbourne Town Hall	Queen Carnival/ Concert		No address given	'God Save Ireland'
25/10 1918	Trentham	Queen Competition	Record crowd for district	Subjects of immediate interest	'God Save Ireland'
25/10 1918	North Melbourne	Fete	Crowded attendance	Current topics	Irish Pipers and national airs
27/10/ 1918	St Kilda West	Sacred Concert	Enthusiastic crowd	No address given	Mannix a ' <i>soggarth aroon</i> '
28/10 1918	Cathedral Hall	'Ireland's Own Picture Show' first Exhibition of films	Large and appreciative audience	Brief review of Illustrated lecture by Mr E Adams	INA event, 3 Bishops; 'God Save Ireland'
30/10 1918	South Yarra	Lecture on wit and humour of the Irish	Very crowded hall	Current topics/local Council ban on use of Town Hall	HACBS & CYMS guard of honour
2/11 1918	Bendigo	Fete		Opposition to his presence; recruiting figures; disloyalty and 'small nations'	Hopes for Ireland at Peace Conference
6/11 1918	Cathedral Hall	Irish Night (YIS)	Good attendance	State of Ireland, local recruiting	'God Save Ireland'
2/12 1918	Cathedral Hall	Grand Irish- Australian Night	Good attendance	Current topics; Peace Conference	Tableaux of Catholic-Irish sentiment
7-8/12 1918	Kilmore	Coronation of Queen	Enthusiastic crowd	Congratulations only	'God Save Ireland'
8/12 1918	Kilmore	New Convent Blessed	Immense assemblage	Current topics addressed at length	'God Save Ireland'
8/12 1918	Oakleigh	Irish-Australian Concert			
10/12 1918	Abbotsford School	Grand Concert Christian Bros	Densely crowded	Quarantine issues, Dr Rentoul	'Salvos of cheers for Mannix'

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
11/12 1918	Kew	Xavier College Speech Day	Crowded attendance	Jesuits praised, new chapel honouring old boys to the Front	
13/12 1918	North Melbourne Christian Brothers	Speech Night	Large attendance	Congratulated teachers and students	Guard of honour to welcome Mannix, 3 ringing cheers
14/12 1918	Preston	Garden Fete	Enthusiastic welcome	Local issues only	
15/12 1918	Kew	Blessing of new church	5000	Peace Conference, hopes for Ireland	
15/12 1918	Elwood	Sacred Concert		Congratulated performers	'God Save Ireland'
18/12 1918	Brunswick	Juvenile Pageant			
19/12 1918	Richmond City Reserve	Mass Meeting re autonomy for all Ireland	50,000	Right of Australia to support Ireland	'God Save Ireland'
23/12 1918	Exhibition Building	Hospital Pageant	Large and enthusiastic attendance	WPA. Promotion of soldier prejudice against Mannix	'Australia' by Fr O'Reilly sung here
26/12 1918	Aspendale Racecourse	Great Catholic Reunion	25,000	Conscription's rejection not a Catholic victory	Need for a satisfactory peace
27/12 1918	Drysdale (nr Melbourne)	Confirmation, blessing new presbytery	3,000	Peace Conference progress, plea for self-determination	Cheering, sustained & tumultuous
2/2 1919	Coorooke	New convent welcomed	'Immense assemblage'	'Questions of the hour addressed'	Illuminated address
8/3 1919	Flemington	Garden Fete opening	Large and enthusiastic	Press hostility to Wilson & League	
11/3 1919	Collingwood Town Hall	Irish National Concert		No address given	Celtic blood lauded
2/3 1919	West Brunswick	Opening of church	3,000	Ireland's case at Peace Conference	A Catholic daily paper needed
13/3 1919	St Kilda Town Hall	Grand Concert	Crowded and enthusiastic		Mannix flag auction – £17
17/3 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	St Patrick's demonstration	6,000	Ireland's rights as a 'small nation'	'God Save Ireland'
19/3 1919	St Patrick's Hall, City		Crowded	Ireland one of the 'little nations'	'God Save Ireland'
29/3 1919		Jubilee Fete – Christian Bros	Crowded and enthusiastic	Bigotry in Flu epidemic	Proud float of Irish flag
30/3 1919	Glenhuntly	Foundation stone laying	5,000	Rain limited his speech	Silver trowel given to him
2/4 1919	S Melbourne Convent	Concert & tableaux	Crowded and appreciative	No address given	'God Save Ireland'
4/4 1919	Parade Christian Brothers	Jubilee Garden Fete		Short address	Champion of education and liberty
5/4 1919	Sale	Fete, speech at hall	Dense crowd, 3,000 plus	Union Jack, Irish nationalism	'God Save Ireland'
8/4 1919	Cathedral Hall	Annual ACF Meeting			

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
12/4 1919	North Fitzroy	Garden Fete	Large and enthusiastic	No address given	Enthusiastic reception
24/4 1919	Kerang	Queen Competition	Huge assemblage	Speech reduced, bigotry not needed	'God Save Ireland'
29/4 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Ambrose McMahon Benefit	Large and appreciative audience	Union Jack and Irish flag	'God Save Ireland'
29/4 1919	Cathedral Hall	Young Ireland Society	Large and enthusiastic	Ireland's claims, congratulated YIS	'God Save Ireland'
1/5 1919	West Brunswick	May Fair	Large attendance	Irish situation	Enthusiastic farewell
1/5 1919	Woodend	Queen Coronation	Immense assemblage	Ireland and Australia	
2/5 1919	St Kilda East	Christian Brothers Jubilee Fete	Large gathering	Barbarous prison treatment; flags	Ireland must get freedom
8/5 1919	South Melbourne	Visit to Orphanage		Christian Brothers thanked for work	Feast for orphans
12/5 1919	Castlemaine	Opening of new hall	Large crowd	Protestant soldier's conscription letter	'God Save Ireland'
21/5 1919	Melbourne University	Newman College dinner		Praised work of Jesuits	Cheered by students
25/5 1919	West Melbourne	Combined Breakfast	Large number	Bigotry in Victoria	
27/5 1919	Cathedral Hall	CYMS Smoke Night	Large and enthusiastic crowd	Class warfare and bigotry in Australia	1920 St Patrick's Day <sup>377</sup>
7/6 1919	Albert Park	Fete	Crowded attendance	Catholic education and sectarianism	Irish Pipers performed
15/6 1919	North Brunswick	HACBS Breakfast	470 at Mass, 300 at Breakfast	Effects of the War	Mannix has friends
17/6 1919	Cathedral Hall	Catholic Women's Club Concert	Large/highly appreciative audience	Club valued for its support of soldiers	Irish Pipers; 'God Save Ireland'
14/6 1919	Elsternwick	School opening	Immense gathering	Church enemies are enemies of Ireland	Irish Pipers performed
24/6 1919	West Brunswick	Parish priest for 25 years	Crowded congregation	Australia owes Ireland for priests	Ireland and Australia
22/6 1919	Clifton Hill	Communion Breakfast	400	Irish situation and inevitable change	His future Irish visit
28/6 1919	Clifton Hill	Christian Brothers Bazaar	Good attendance	Christian Brothers; deporting Mannix	Hughes & Pearce criticised
29/6 1919	Middle Park	Hall opened	5,000	Current affairs	Papal, Irish and Australian flags
6/7 1919	Dandenong	Communion Breakfast		Mannix worked for Church progress	Negative about peace terms
6/7 1919	Dandenong	Opening of presbytery	Large gathering	Irish claims for self-determination	Peace in Ireland for Empire
10/7 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Welcome to all Catholic military	4000 but 2000 missed event	Australia fought for 'small nations', what is Ireland?	Large Irish flag, 'God Save Ireland'

<sup>377</sup> In 1919 public celebrations were cancelled due to the Influenza epidemic.

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
16/7 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Irish Pipers' All-Irish Concert <sup>378</sup>	Large and appreciative	Mannix thanked for his interest and community care	'God Save Ireland', war medals
18/7 1919	St Patrick's Cathedral	Mass for Dead Aust soldiers	Large congregation	Mannix presided, did not preach	Aust flag on catafalque
19/7 1919	Brunswick	INF Mass and Breakfast	Large attendance	Peace and war, social unrest	Referred to censorship
21/7 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Christian Brothers Jubilee Fete	Large and enthusiastic	War and peace, work of Christian Bros	Continuous cheering
6/8 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Christian Brothers Jubilee event	Large group and 800 boys	Praise of Christian Brothers	'Hallelujah Chorus'
16/8 1919	Elsternwick	Sports/Physical Culture display	Good attendance	No address given	Pipers, flags 'God Save Ireland'
17/8 1919	Northcote	Blessing of marble altars	Densely crowded		'Hallelujah Chorus'
20/8 1919	Melbourne Town Hall	Christian Brothers Jubilee event	Huge crowd	Praise of Christian Brothers	'Hallelujah Chorus', cheering
6/9 1919	Brighton	Garden Fete Opening	Large gathering	Disappointments of peace, Ireland	Mrs Frank Brennan the organiser <sup>379</sup>
7/9 1919	Northcote	Opening of School	Several thousand	Education unjust; Irish Race Convention	Convention for all Irish-Australians
25/9 1919	North Brunswick	Grand Concert	Crowded	Current topics	Green banner
1/10 1919	Carlton	Conversazione	Hall was full	Local comments	Enthusiastic welcome
1/10 1919	Geelong	Re-opening of Hall		Short address	Many other Prelates
2/10 1919	Geelong	Visit to a Convent		All delighted to see him	Dr Hayden there
5/10 1919	Richmond	Communion Breakfast	Crowded	Brief address	Long ovation
9/10 1919	Cathedral Hall	Italian Melody Concert	Very large attendance	No address given	Many prelates
11/10 1919	Essendon	Opening of Garden Fete	Very large attendance	Nation's sympathy for Ireland	Value of TJ Ryan MP
11/10 1919	Sunshine	Blessing of new school	Immense assemblage	Race hatred in Federal election	Appreciation of Mannix
12/10 1919	Yarraville	Communion Breakfast	All men of the Parish	Federal election, Irish Race Convention	Ireland and Belgium
14/10 1919	St Kilda Town Hall	Concert	Large and enthusiastic	No address due to next engagement	Irish flags waved
16/10 1919	Hawthorn Town Hall	Conversazione	Crowded	No address given	Many Prelates present
17/10 1919	Lancefield	Blessing of convent	Enthusiastic crowd	Appealed strongly for Irish sympathy	Australian and Irish flags

<sup>378</sup> The event had happened for ten years.

<sup>379</sup> Sheila Brennan was the daughter of former UIL President, Nicholas O'Donnell

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
18/10 1919	Romsey	Confirmation	Large crowd	Plea to support Irish Convention	Focus on 'small nations'
25/10 1919	North Fitzroy	Blessing of convent	Enthusiastic gathering	Irish Convention, Fr O'Donnell	Frank Brennan there
25/10 1919	North Fitzroy	General Communion	Crowded Church	Current topics	'God Save Ireland'
30/10 1919	East Melbourne	Re-opening of Parish Hall		Ireland's case	'God Save Ireland'
1/11 1919	Bendigo	Opening of Garden Fete	Successful gathering	Federal Election & PM Hughes	Heartily thanked
2/11 1919	St Patrick's Cathedral	CYMS	2000 men	Irish and Australian politics	Many Prelates there
8/11 1919	Windsor	Garden Fete	Very large Attendance	Election, race, and sectarian issues	Prolonged applause
8/11 1919	Kew	Garden Fete		Mannix obliged to his people	Cordial reception
9/11 1919	Glenhuntly	Blessing of Church	Overflowing congregation	Praise of people and their pastor	'Hallelujah Chorus'
11/11 1919	Middle Park	Lecture on Ireland	Crowded hall	Speaker praised for powerful talk	'God Save Ireland'
12/11 1919	Cathedral Hall	Concert		Noble Guards like Vatican Guards	'God Save Ireland'
13/11 1919	Castlemaine	Queen Competition	Crowded	Election issues, PM Hughes	Mannix a drawcard
14/11 1919	Oakleigh	Bazaar Opening	Crowded attendance	Dangers of bigotry	
15/11 1919	Ashby	Bazaar Opening	Crowded hall	Election issues, sectarianism	
16/11 1919	Geelong	Opening of schools	Very large crowd	Voting issues, sectarianism	
18/11 1919	Abbotsford	Past Pupils of Christian Bros	Crowded	Australia's soldiers went as free men	Value of Australian flag
20/11 1919	North Melbourne	Christian Bros Speech Night	Crowded	Australian flag never second to Union Jack	Congenial link – Irish and Australian flags
22/11 1919	Northcote	Garden Fete		Federal election, sectarian issues	Mannix not able to talk
22/11 1919	Heidelberg	Garden Fete	Large and enthusiastic	Election for Australians, not sectarians	Respect & affection
23/11 1919	Botanical Gardens	School Band Concert	Enormous attendance	No address given	'Hallelujah Chorus'
23/11 1919	Broad– meadows	Irish Pipers' Fete	4,000	Election a sectarian fight	Guard of honour
23/11 1919	Ascot Vale	Communion Breakfast	200 men	No address given	Sparing Mannix for Australia
25/11 1919	Hawthorn Town Hall	School Concert	Large and appreciative	Speech in response to event	Prolonged applause
26/11 1919	S Melbourne Town Hall	Christian Brothers Concert	Crowded	H Mahon's telegram about conscription	
29/11 1919	Brunswick	Garden Fete	Crowded attendance	Hugh Mahon and Hughes, the election	Mannix very dedicated

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
29/11 1919	East Melbourne	Garden Fete for school	Crowded attendance	Hugh Mahon, sectarian issues	Kindness of Mannix
29/11 1919	North Brunswick	Sacred Concert	Overflowing hall	Election issues	Rounds of cheers for Mannix
1/12 1919	Cathedral Hall	Aust Catholic Truth Society AGM		Affirmed work of Society	Debt of gratitude to Mannix
3/12 1919	Echuca	Garden	2,500 on very hot day	Self-determination for Ireland	Two mile procession
5/12 1919	St Kilda	Concert	Large attendance	Election pamphlets	Irish Race Convention
6/12 1919	Gordon	Garden Fete	Enormous attendance	Australian flag first, not Union Jack	
9/12 1919	Collingwood Town Hall	Christian Bros break up	Immense gathering	Election issues, praised brothers	Mannix praised
10/12 1919	Guild Hall	School concert	Very large audience	Ireland, election and sectarianism	Cheque for Irish cause
21/12 1919	East Melbourne	Christian Brothers Old Boys	Very large congregation	Brief reply to toast	Zeal and influence
2/1 1920	Armidale NSW	Orphanage – foundation stone laying		Sectarian bigots, elections	
2/1 1920	Sydney Town Hall	Hibernian Concert	Crowded		
10/1 1920	Mornington	Carnival and Concert	Crowded	Response to this event	Address presented
13/1 1920	Cathedral Hall	Concert	Crowded	America & Ireland, St Patrick's Day	Ovation on leaving
16/1 1920	Geelong			'Small nations'	
24/1 1920	Sandringham	Garden Fete	Very large attendance	Irish crime facts; Australian soldiers and chaplains	Prolonged acclamation
25/1 1920	Portalington	Opening of Hall	1,100	Irish questions	Three cheers for Mannix
30/1 1920	Brighton	Church Fund		Irish crime; sectarianism	
1/2 1920	Gisborne	Concert	Crowded to overflowing	Question of state of Ireland today	Prolonged applause
7/2 1920	Kensington Town Hall	Bazaar	Enthusiastic attendance	St Patrick's Day procession	
8/2 1920	Numurkon	Coronation ceremony	Immense assemblage	Ireland and Australian politics	Brilliant function
16/2 1920	Melbourne Town Hall	ACF Annual Meeting	Large attendance	Self-Determination for Ireland	Cable from Arthur Griffith
22/2 1920	Port Melbourne	Communion Breakfast	300	Irish outrages; St Patrick's Day	Standing ovation
5/3 1920	Warwick, Queensland	Church foundation stone	Record local crowd of 15,000	War, Ireland, St Patrick's Day	Illuminated address presented

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
10/3 1920	St Kilda Town Hall	Concert	Largely attended	St Patrick's Day, a promise to return from Ireland	Place of Mannix in people's hearts
14/3 1920	North Brunswick	Church foundation stone	Large gathering	Rain prevented his address	Concern he will stay in Ireland
14/3 1920	St Patrick's Cathedral	HACBS Communion	1000	Ireland's issues; St Patrick's Day	Refused a testimonial
14/3 1920	Camberwell	Blessing of new pulpit	Crowded	Responded to occasion	
15/3 1920	West Melbourne	Concert	A filled hall	Self-determination and Australia's Irish	'God Save Ireland'
15/3 1920	Richmond	Irish Jubilee Concert	Crowded audience	St Patrick's Day; role of teaching nuns	Love for Mannix
18/3 1920	S Melbourne Town Hall	Concert	Crowded audience	Given Irish flag and emblems, Pipers	'God Save Ireland'
18/3 1920	Exhibition Building	Welcome to Catholic Soldiers	40,000 inside, equal number outside	Australia and the war; Irish reign of terror	Carried by 14 VC Winners
19/3 1920	Exhibition Building	VC Winners honoured	10,000	Soldiers fought for the Empire	'God Save Ireland'
20/3 1920	Essendon	Communion Breakfast	300	No address given	Prolonged cheering
21/3 1920	Caulfield	Blessing of Church/School	Large and enthusiastic	St Pat's Day, visit to Ireland and Europe	Praise for success of Procession
21/3 1920	Exhibition Building	Farewell concert to VCs	10,000	VC's message to Britain, giving men a royal send off	'God Save Ireland'
23/3 1920	Port Melbourne	Concert	Crowded and enthusiastic	No address given	Irish Pipers escorted Mannix
24/3 1920	Epping	Entertainment	Large and appreciative	His speedy return from Ireland	'God Save Ireland'
25/3 1920	Kensington Town Hall	Irish Concert	Densely crowded	Policy in Ireland; St Patrick's Day	'God Save Ireland'
29/3 1920	Exhibition Building	Farewell to VC Winners	10,000	Soldier bravery; defends himself	'God Save Ireland'
4/4 1920	East Malvern	Foundation stone laying	Very large gathering	Australia and the War; Sinn Fein	Hugh Mahon there
6/4 1920	Exhibition Building	St Patrick's Day Sports	Huge crowd	Ireland, VC's on St Patrick's Day	Praise from Hugh Mahon
7/4 1920	Cathedral Hall	Women's Social Guild	200	Guild praised; Catholic education	
10/4 1920	Elsternwick	Bazaar	Crowded	Irish Republic mentioned	Irish Piper escort
18/4 1920	Middle Brighton	School foundation stone	3000	Australia's Irish message; Catholic education	Frank Brennan involved
18/4 1920	S Melbourne Town Hall	April Fair		Irish situation, Wilson's 14 points	
21/4 1920	Brunswick	Bazaar	Large and enthusiastic	Ireland & Australia, Self-determination	INF guard of honour
21/4 1920	Footscray	Bazaar		British reputation; state of Ireland	The day's third engagement



Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
24/4 1920	Cathedral Hall	All-Irish concert Irish Pipers	Well filled hall	No address given	Pipers pride in Mannix
25/4 1920	Dalyston	Official visit to region	Large numbers	Lengthy comment on current topics	Address of welcome
26/4 1920	Richmond	HMS Pinafore performed	Crowded	Brief reference to current topics	People very proud
1/5 1920	Northcote	Bazaar, hall opening	Enthusiastic reception	Current topics, no education justice	Message to Ireland
1/5 1920	West Brunswick	Fete	Large and enthusiastic	Current topics and Catholic schools	Honouring by HACBS & INF
2/5 1920	Fitzroy	Opening of Convent	6000	No need to import Orange ideas	Frank Brennan there
4/5 1920	Kilmore	Confirmation/ Concert	Huge crowds	St Patrick's Day a total vindication	'God Save Ireland'
5/5 1920	Cathedral Hall	CYMS Smoke Social	500	Value of CYMS, meaning of loyalty	'God Save Ireland'
5/5 1920	Sandringham	School foundation stone	Large assemblage	Sinn Fein's meaning; place of Union Jack	
6/5 1920	North Melbourne	Communion Breakfast	Largely attended	Irish-Aust spirit, Aust Sinn Feiners	Toast from AA Calwell
6/5 1920	Camberwell	Opening of Convent chapel	Large assemblage	Education, teaching sisters valued	Loud, prolonged cheering
10/5 1920	Princess Theatre	'Ireland Will be Free', opening night of film	Crowded and enthusiastic	Easter Week Heroes, outrages condemned	'God Save Ireland', huge cheers
11/5 1920	Christian Brother's	Undergraduate Dinner	140	Old boy, Irishman, pride in being Australian citizen	Plans to visit old Christian Bros school in Cork
12/5 1920	East Melbourne	Opening of clubroom		Ireland's claims are just	Money for Ireland
12/5 1920	St Francis Hall	Opening of Boys Club	Large and enthusiastic	Newman College work for club	Visit on return
13/5 1920	Exhibition Building	ACF Farewell to Archbishop	30-40,000 – <i>Argus</i> 20,000	Love for Australia, 7 strenuous years	Horseshoe – Irish colours
14/5 1920	Cathedral Hall	Speech Night	Very large gathering	Congratulated Christian Brothers	Prolonged applause
14/5 1920	Princess Theatre	'Ireland Will be Free', closing night of film	Crowded to overflowing	Disastrous Irish policies, strength of Irish spirit	Left amidst greatest enthusiasm
15/5 1920	East Melbourne	Additions opened	Large gathering	Affection for Australian people – loyalty & generosity	Left amidst cheering
18/5 1920	Sydney Town Hall	Lord Mayor's Lunch	4,000	Time for Ireland's friends to speak	Kneel at graves of 1916 heroes
4/8 1921	Brisbane	Welcome Home	Everywhere crowded	Ireland's Coming 'Day of Freedom'	Warmth of welcome
7/8 1921	Cannon Hill	Opening of church	Thousands	Castigated press, Ireland's issues	£2000 for Ireland
10/8 1921	Sydney	Welcome Home	Nos beggar description	No address given	Returned soldiers visible
13/8 1921	Seymour	Welcome	Large and representative	Australia and Ireland; English a disgrace	Parish memorial to Mannix

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
13/8 1921	St Patrick's Cathedral	Reception	10,000, scene indescribable	Mannix was 'deeply touched'	Papal Blessing
14/8 1921	Kew	Blessing Church	30,000	Glad to return, impertinent English	Bravest Archbishop
15/8 1921	Exhibition Building	Public reception	25,000	Irish situation, Australia & Ireland	Address by Clergy/laity
17/8 1921	Cathedral Hall	Concert	Large and enthusiastic	Self-Determination for Ireland, home	Irish Pipers
18/8 1921	Cathedral Hall	Welcome from students – girls	Hall filled	Disappointed not to visit Ireland	'God Save Ireland', flag
20/8 1921	Wirth's Olympia	Welcome from students – boys	3000	Australia first; trust in Ireland's leaders	'God Save Ireland'
22/8 1921	Stadium	W Melbourne's Welcome	Thousands	Empire disgraced, but Irish not fooled	'God Save Ireland'
23/8 1921	Athenaeum Club	Gaelic League Concert	Large and enthusiastic	Focus on Gaelic Revival	'God Save Ireland', flag
27/8 1921	Brighton	Blessing of presbytery	6000	Ireland's rights are inalienable	Archbishop Redwood present
27/8 1921	Exhibition Building	Welcome from schoolchildren	5000	Teachers greatly valued by Mannix	Bouquet of wattle
28/8 1921	Middle Park	Concert	Large gathering	Peace in Ireland, power of press	'God Save Ireland'
2/9 1921	Cathedral Hall	Hibernian Golden Jubilee	Large and representative gathering	Australia First and support of Ireland, state of Ireland	No Irish flag on display
3/9 1921	Elwood	Garden Fete	Enthusiastic welcome	Belfast problems, press 'impudence'	Irish peace coming
4/9 1921	Richmond Hall	Communion Breakfast	1,000 men	Peace in Ireland, prejudiced press	Mayor very effusive
4/9 1921	Werribee	School opening	Unparalleled enthusiasm	Australia's flag, progress of Irish self-determination	Prayer for peace in Ireland
8/9 1921	West Melbourne Stadium	YIS All-Irish Entertainment	4000	Militarism/jingoism denounced	'God Save Ireland'
11/9 1921	South Melbourne	Old Collegians Breakfast	250	De Valera's role, self-determination	Betrayal of Ireland
11/9 1921	Glenhuntly	Opening of parish hall	–	Anti-Lloyd George, Irish history	'God Save Ireland'
14/9 1921	South Yarra	Music/Drama entertainment	Crowded attendance	Glad to be back in Australia	'A world figure'
17/9 1921	East Melbourne	Bazaar	Large numbers	Christian Brothers praised	Generous donations
18/9 1921	Footscray West	Bazaar/school opening	Enormous attendance	Loyalty to Empire – Australia a member	Irish claims are valid
20/9 1921	Melbourne Town Hall	Concert	Large and appreciative	Misleading press about Ireland	Real peace needed
22/9 1921	Sydney	Entertainment for hospital	Large and enthusiastic	Press misreports, Irish situation	England to offer more
24/9 1921	West Brunswick	Bazaar	Crowded attendance	Mannix's concerns for e-soldiers	Priests and Mannix

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
24/9 1921	Iona	Confirmation & Concert	Wonderful reception	Terrible year but hopes for peace	Ireland's day Is coming
29/9 1921	Richmond	Bazaar	Crowded	Sinn Fein vindicated but press exposed	Irish and Australian flags
1/10 1921	Coburg	Bazaar	Crowded & enthusiastic	Glad to be back, Irish must decide	'God Save Ireland'
1/10 1921	South Melbourne	Bazaar	Large and enthusiastic	Daily press; Irish sovereign state	Anti-Lloyd George
2/10 1921	Yarraville	Communion Breakfast	400	Ireland & Australia English misrule	Surrender not for Irish
9/10 1921	East Melbourne	Additions to school	Large attendance	Immigration issues	Irish and Australian flags
15/10 1921	Hippodrome Sydney	Public welcome home		British oppression of Ireland not tolerated	Sinn Fein flags in decorations
16/10 1921	Mascot, Sydney	Convent opening	Large assemblage	Press silence about Ireland	In English cold storage
18/10 1921	Cathedral Hall Sydney	ISDL farewell to Paris Pan-Irish delegates	Large attendance	Fr M O'Reilly fare-welled; hopes for Irish settlement	Irish issue's importance in Australia
18/10 1921	Sydney Hippodrome	Welcome to Catholic sailors and soldiers	Huge gathering	Australia's flag; the value of soldiers and sailors	Sinn Fein's banner has no stain
17/10 1921	Wangaratta	Opening of school	4000	Committed to Sinn Fein; Australia First	Terence MacSwiney
17/10 1921	Albury	Concert	Packed audience	Self-Determination, victory very close	Champion of downtrodden
21-24 Oct 1921	Sydney	Centenary of St Mary's Cathedral	A number of large gatherings	Many speeches on Ireland	Mannix feted in all situations
29/10 1921	Windsor	Garden Fete	Enthusiastic welcome	Catholic schools in Australia	Flags, Irish, Papal & Aust
29/10 1921	North Brunswick	Opening new church	5000	Irish situation; Paris Pan-Irish Congress	Three ringing cheers
29/10 1921	Clifton Hill	Garden Fete	Very large gathering	Spoke about aims of Irish Republic	Left amid cheering
31/10 1921	Belgrave	Queen Crowning	Crowded and enthusiastic	Democratic Australia's future	Huge welcome
3/11 1921	Essendon	Concert	Enthusiastic welcome	Comment on event only	Prolonged applause
4/11 1921	Richmond	Coronation	Crowded and enthusiastic	Church not a political body	Loud applause
4/11 1921	Melbourne Town Hall	INF Concert	Very large crowd	Parts of Empire paying for other's misdeeds	Irish Distress Fund
5/11 1921	Bendigo	Garden Fete	Large attendance	Immigration, the Irish situation	Sinn Fein will proceed
9/11 1921	Kensington	Concert	Crowded gathering	Ireland's day here, Ulster a problem	Ovation on leaving
10/11 1921	South Melbourne	Carnival	Crowded and enthusiastic	Comment on event only	Scenes of enthusiasm
12/11 1921	Collingwood	Bazaar	Enthusiastic welcome	Irish question has world significance	Juvenile Brass Band

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
13/11 1921	St Patrick's Cathedral	CYMS Communion	6000	Citizenship; Paris Pan-Irish Congress	Australia and Irish links
16/11 1921	North Melbourne	School Entertainment	Crowded and enthusiastic	Congratulated Christian Bros	Sinn Fein and Australian flags
17/11 1921	Elsternwick	Bazaar	Enthusiastic welcome	Irish settlement, Pan-Irish Congress	Fr O'Reilly spoke
18/11 1921	Cathedral Hall	Fr O'Reilly farewelled	Large gathering	Irish legal rights and Australia's voice	Hugh Mahon a delegate
19/11 1921	Port Melbourne	<i>Aeridbeacht</i> (Carnival)	Large and enthusiastic	Pan-Irish Congress, Aust & Ireland	700 year Irish struggle
20/11 1921	Corowa	Opening of church	4000	Hopeful events in Ireland	Australian support
22/11 1921	Richmond	'Pirates of Penzance'	Crowded	Ireland's future, Penzance issue	'Burlesque & paradox'
23/11 1921	Koramburra	Conference	Large gathering	Irish question at great length	Many there not Catholics
26/11 1921	Ballarat	Official visit	Huge crowds	Australian unity; his English visit	Value of Empire for Australia
26/11 1921	Ballarat	Concert	Crowded attendance	Spoke of England, Sinn Fein values	'God Save Ireland'
1/12 1921	Caulfield	Carnival	Large gathering	Comment on event only	Enthusiastic scenes
3/12 1921	South Melbourne	Garden party	Large gathering	Spoke about orphanage	Australian flag prominent
3/12 1921	Kew	Garden Fete	Large gathering	Irish troubles, a truce in Belfast?	Count O'Loughlin there
5/12 1921	North Fitzroy	School Concert	Crowded and enthusiastic	Values of Catholic education	Prolonged applause
5/12 1921	Cathedral Hall	Aust Catholic Truth Society	Fairly large attendance	Society doing great work	Mannix acclaimed
7/12 1921	Myrtelford	Carnival	Very large gathering	Effects of war, his return to Australia	Hearty cheers
10/12 1921	Heidelberg	Garden Fete	Large assemblage	Sinn Fein success in ruling Ireland	Sinn Fein colours displayed
10/12 1921	Ascot Vale	Garden Fete	Crowded attendance	Triumph for Sinn Fein	Irish and Australian flags
10/12 1921	Brighton	Queen Competition	Overflow attendance	Irish situation at length	Sinn Fein bannerettes
12/12 1921	St Kilda East	Speech Day	Very crowded hall	Work of Christian Brothers	'God Save Ireland'
13/12 1921	Collingwood Town Hall	Speech Night	Crowded	Irish question, Sinn Fein success	'God Save Ireland'
14/12 1921	Cathedral Hall	Speech Night	Large attendance	Resurgence of Ireland	Hesitation re Irish peace
15/12 1921	Kew	Speech Night	Crowded	Advance of Irish, English/Scot tour	Cheers for Mannix
16/12 1921	Fitzroy	Speech Night	Enthusiastic demonstration	Work of the school	'God Save Ireland'
16/12 1921	Cathedral Hall	Irish Congress delegates farewelled	Crowded gathering	Distrust of British politicians, Australia and the Treaty	'God Save Ireland'

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
17/12 1921	Surry Hills	Garden Party	Large and enthusiastic	Work of Sisters of St Joseph in Australia	Irish Pipers, Sinn Fein colours
18/12 1921	East Melbourne	Communion Breakfast	350	Australia First, the Australian anthem	'God Save Ireland'
19/12 1921	Moonee Ponds Hall	Speech Night	Utmost capacity	Comment on event only	Heartily cheered
20/12 1921	Castlemaine	Queen Carnival	Crowded attendance	Who are loyalists? Irish Peace Treaty	Sinn Fein flags waved

**TABLE EIGHT: Functions Attended by Archbishop Mannix January 1922 to December 1923.**

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
22/12 1921	Playhouse	Irish Pipers Entertainment	Large & enthusiastic	Irish music; Treaty signing	'God Save Ireland'
26/12 1921	Aspendale	Annual Catholic Excursion	15,000	Signing of Treaty, lying cables	Sinn Fein colours, Irish flags
28/12	Sandringham	Bazaar	Very large attendance	Draft Treaty; Ireland's cause	Frank Brennan there
21/1 1922	South Richmond	Foundation stone of Church/School	Large assemblage	Ireland	People highly moved
28/1 1922	North Brunswick	HACBS Communion Breakfast		Late Pope; value of HACBS in Australia	Sinn Fein and Australian flags
29/1 1922	West Footscray		Large attendance	Late Pope	Bishop Hayden there
15/2 1922	Queenscliff Town Hall	ACF		St Patrick's Day Procession	
7/2 1922	Seymour	Queen Carnival		Ireland & St Patrick's Day	'God Save Ireland'
8/3 1922	Cobram	Procession, Sports, Queen Carnival		St Patrick's Day & Returned Soldiers response	Sinn Fein flags, photo Of Mannix
5/3 1922	Nagambie	Opening of Convent and School	3000	Ireland's future & Treaty; Catholic schools	Sinn Fein flags, Irish colours
12/3 1922	Sale	Opening School	Record gathering	Challenging bigotry; Irish independence	
15/3 1922	North Fitzroy	Concert	Crowded attendance	Catholic Schools; City Council issue	
15/3 1922	Kensington Town Hall	School event	Crowded audience	Irish affairs	'God Save Ireland'
16/3 1922	South Melbourne	Concert – Irish Pipers there		St Patrick's Day Procession	Sinn Fein; Irish & Aust
17/3 1922	Town Hall	Concert	Every seat occupied	St Patrick's Day was not sectarian	'God Save Ireland'
19/3 1922	Coburg	Opening of School	3000 plus	St Patrick's Day a 'fine victory'	Irish and Australian flags
22/3 1922	Kensington	Concert	Largely attended	Local Council's position, people's answer	'God Save Ireland'
23/3 1922	Richmond	Concert		St Patrick's Day; unreliable Irish news, treaty issues	'God Save Ireland,' flag and colours
26/3 1922	Ivanhoe	School Foundation stone		St Patrick's Day; role of soldiers	Irish, Australian and Papal flags
26/3 1922	Preston	Communion Breakfast	Crowded	As good Irishman Mannix didn't trust cables	Sinn Fein and other flags
29/3 1922	Tatura	Gymkhana & Queen Carnival	3000	Aust generosity, needs of returned soldiers	Australian and Irish flags

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
2/4 1922	Little River	Blessing of Church	1000 plus	Acknowledged local donors	Escorted by horsemen
2/4 1922	Mansfield			Close analysis of Irish affairs	Irish flags and colours
9/4 1922	Mansfield	Communion Breakfast	Largely attended	Strength of Irish faith in Australia	'God Save Ireland'
15/4 1922	South Caulfield	Blessing new Church/School		Catholic Education	
16/4 1922	Pakenham	Blessing new School		Irish question; Catholic schools	Sinn Fein Sentiment
17/4 1922	Healesville	Fete opened by Archbishop		Irish situation, his travels, St Patrick	Mannix has 'wonderful magnetism'
22/4 1922	Kensington	Bazaar	Large numbers		Irish Pipers
23/4 1922	South Melbourne	Fundraising for Girls Orphanage	4000	Australian generosity; Irish crime figures	Australian and Irish flags
27/4 1922	Ascot Vale	Communion Breakfast	Overflow audience	Ireland, the Treaty & peace	Sinn Fein Banner
2/5 1922	Wagga	Concert	Large & enthusiastic	'A spirited address'	'Soldier's Song'
15/6 1922	Hawthorn Town Hall	Irish Pipers Entertainment	Crowded & enthusiastic	Tribute to Pipers; Irish situation	'God Save Ireland'
18/6 1922	St Kilda East	Communion Breakfast	500 men	Irish need for peace, Treaty	Australian and Irish flags <sup>380</sup>
25/6 1922	Elsternwick	Communion Breakfast	300 men	Shooting of Sir Henry Wilson	'God Save Ireland'
16/7 1922	South Caulfield	Blessing/ opening Church/School	Very large gathering	Irish situation, St Patrick's Day	
20/8 1922	Kew	Extensions to Boys' Home	Vast gathering	Birth control; bigotry in Aust	
6/9 1922	Adelaide	Reception at Exhibition Hall	Hundreds turned away	Aust First, war, Irish Treaty <sup>381</sup>	Irish Pipers Played
10/9 1922	Broken Hill	Blessing of Church extension	Several thousand	Futility of force in Ireland	Australian Flag
2/10 1922	Collingwood	Communion Breakfast		How the Treaty was signed	
14/10 1922	St Kilda East	Bazaar	Crowded attendance	Supporting the event	
17/10 1922	Mentone	Concert	Largely attended	Enjoyment of the entertainment	
21/10 1922	Carlton	Bazaar – Appeal for Christian Bros	Crowded	Lauding work of Christian Brothers	
2/11 1922	Deepdene			Irish executions, and failure of force for peace	

<sup>380</sup> *Advocate*, 22 June 1922. TP Walsh and Frank Brennan proposed toasts.

<sup>381</sup> *Advocate*, 14 September 1922. The headline was 'I Would Not Have Put My Signature To The Treaty.'

Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
2/12 1922	North Fitzroy	Fete		Tribute to pastor and people	Mannix – substantial donations to each stall
10/12 1922	Ashby	Communion Breakfast	Crowded	Australia First, Irish comparison	National Anthem played
10/12 1922	North Geelong	Blessing of Church/School	Big crowd	Australian priests needed to replace Irish	
26/12 1922	Aspendale	Annual Catholic Excursion	10,000	Irish unrest, its enemies and its future	
26/12 1922	Chelsea	Christmas Carnival	Crowded gathering	Catholic schools	
3/1 1923	Sandringham	Concert		Irish cause, his recent silence	
7/3 1923	St Patrick's Cathedral	HACBS Breakfast		Importance of HACBS in Aust	'God Save Ireland'
16/3 1923	Melbourne Town Hall	Irish National Concert	Large audience	Ireland's day and honouring Irish	'God Save Ireland'
7/3 1923	Melbourne Exhibition	St Patrick's Day	Thronged thousands	Irish cause just, it will triumph	'God Save Ireland'
21/3 1923	Richmond	Concert	Crowded & appreciative	Spirit of St Patrick in Aust	'God Save Ireland'
22/3 1923	Brighton	Concert	Well filled hall	Irish troubles of British origin	'God Save Ireland'
1/4 1923	Belgrave	Annual Fair	Large gathering	Irish Delegates; Irish problem misrepresented	
18/4 1923	Cathedral Hall	HACBS Annual Conference	Large & representative	Value of HACB to Irish cause	Irish Envoys Present
27/4 1923	Launceston	Demonstration	2000	His disloyalty?; the Irish issue	'God Save Ireland'
29/4 1923	Hobart	Communion Breakfast	600 men		
29/4 1923	Hobart	Schools blessed and opened	Large gathering	Rights of Irish people; his press critics trounced	
30/4 1923	Hobart	Reception in City Hall	3000	Irish peace prospects	'Australia' Sung
24/6 1923	N Melbourne Town Hall	Communion Breakfast		Pope, Bishops & Irish Envoys	
12/8 1923	Elsternwick	Communion Breakfast		Irish elections & hopes for peace	
26/8 1923	Cathedral Hall	Irish Distress Appeal Launch	Crowded & enthusiastic	Call of charity for Ireland	Brennan & JH Scullin there
6/9 1923	Sydney	Citizen's Concert		Irish distress, the election not free	
12/10 1923	Melbourne Town Hall	Concert for Irish Distress Appeal	Overflowing attendance	Irish troubles, Sinn Fein policy	'God Save Ireland'
21/10 1923	Adelaide	Cathedral extension	25,000	Congratulated Adelaide Church	Ovation to Mannix



Date	Place	Nature of Event	Crowd Size	Topic/s Addressed	Special Features
22/10 1923	Kingswood (in Adelaide)	Queen Coronation	Large	Extolled Pipers in both cities	
17/11 1923	Windsor	Bazaar	Crowded	Tribute to Sisters	HACBS Guard of Honour
3/12 1923	Wirth' Olympia, Melbourne	Demand for release of Irish Prisoners	3000	Irish situation reviewed	'Soldiers Song'

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