

The Redmond Brothers' Australian Tour 1883: A Narrative Account



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Introduction

For ten months in 1883 John Redmond and his brother William toured Australia and New Zealand promoting the cause of Irish self-government and raising funds for the Irish National League. The Redmond brothers' tour has received limited coverage in the published literature despite the length of the visit, the public controversy it caused and the significance which some historians have ascribed to it.¹ Biographies of John and William Redmond and general works on the history of the Irish in Australia often mention the tour, but only in a few pages and then usually thematically to illustrate a wider issue or a particular argument.²

This account is designed to provide a reasonably comprehensive narrative of the tour, concentrating on times, places and events and the press coverage thereof. Its purpose is not only to tell a story about the Redmond brothers' tour, which is worthy enough in itself, but also to assist researchers who in the course of their research need to be aware of what happened, where and when during that ten months in 1883 in a way not covered in the existing literature.

The account has been prepared mainly by trawling through contemporary reports in metropolitan, provincial and local newspapers as well as the religious press.³ It provides a more complete, fully referenced and, hopefully, more accurate account of the tour than the short and thematic treatments of it, which often contain errors of fact. Although such errors are not necessarily significant in themselves, they can lead to confusion when a reader comes across inconsistent accounts.

¹ Colm Kiernan argued that the branches of the Irish National League formed by the Redmonds in 1883 provided a basis on which the Australian Labor Party was established in 1891 (Colm Kiernan, "Home Rule for Ireland and the formation of the Australian Labor Party, 1883 to 1891", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 38, 1992, pp. 1-11) See also Terence Denman, *A Lonely Grave: The Life and Death of William Redmond*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1995, p. 27.

² See, for example, Denis Gwynn, *The Life of John Redmond*, Harrap & Co., Sydney, 1932, pp. 51-53; LG Redmond-Howard, *John Redmond: The Man and the Demand*, Everett & Co., London, 1912, pp. 40-42; Warre B Wells, *John Redmond: A Biography*, Nisbet & Co., London, 1919, pp. 44-46; Denman, *A Lonely Grave*, pp. 26-28; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, NSW University Press, Sydney, Revised Edition, 1993, pp. 226-229; Chris McConville, *Croppies, Celts and Catholics*, Edward Arnold, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 82-84. An exception is Malcolm Campbell, "John Redmond and the Irish National League in Australia and New Zealand, 1883", *History*, Vol. 86, 2001, pp. 348-362, which covers the main elements of the tour but which is not comprehensive, barely mentioning Queensland and omitting reference to John Redmond's second visit to South Australia in November 1883. Campbell also discusses the tour in his *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United State and Australia 1815-1922*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 2008, pp. 140-145. The tour is also covered in some detail in GM Tobin, "The Sea-Divided Gael: a study of the Irish Home Rule Movement in Victoria and New South Wales, 1880-1916", PhD Thesis, ANU, 1969, pp. 98-125.

³ Where possible I have tended to use local or provincial newspapers in rural districts as they often contained more detail. In time further work can be done to make the study more comprehensive. For instance, for Melbourne I have used *The Argus* but not *The Age*. My original aim was simply to develop a chronological overview for my own research on a biography of Hugh Mahon, one of the tour's organisers. However, in the course of doing so my interest broadened to look at the press coverage itself. In time, that aspect can be further extended and the paper rewritten following the examination of additional newspapers, such as *The Age* as well as more instances of the religious press.

Landfall Australia

The Irish National League had been established in October 1882 at a conference in Dublin of 800 delegates representing a wide range of Irish nationalist opinion. The new body superseded the Irish National Land League, a tenants' rights organisation established as a national body in October 1879, which had been suppressed by the British government in October 1881 following a campaign of agrarian agitation including the boycotting of landlords, their agents and suppliers. The principal object of the new body was the attainment of national self-government; agrarian reform, the *raison d'être* of the Land League, was relegated to a subsidiary aim.⁴

This conference's decisions represented a significant shift in strategy that would require the leaders of the overseas Irish to reorganise themselves and to recalibrate their propaganda in support of the cause back home. Accordingly, it was decided to despatch to the Antipodes John Redmond, the Irish Party member for New Ross in the House of Commons, to explain the new program to the Irish in Australia and New Zealand and to raise money for the cause. In early December the president of the Irish National League Charles Stewart Parnell cabled the Land League's representative in Australia John W Walshe to inform him that Redmond would set sail for Australia on the *Indus* on 6 December 1882.⁵

On Monday 5 February 1883 John Redmond MP arrived in Australia, but not by the *Indus* as had been expected. His journey from Ireland had been interrupted in Naples, where his brother William had been sojourning "for the good of his health" following a bout of malarial fever contracted during his visit to America during the latter part of 1882. But it was not only William's health that had kept him from returning to his homeland. Parnell had warned him to stay away as a warrant had been issued for his arrest for sedition following a speech he had made in Cork the previous December. Consequently, when the *Indus* docked in Naples John Redmond disembarked and made arrangements for William to accompany him to Australia. After a fortnight's delay the brothers came on to Australia on board the Peninsula and Oriental's next steamer, the RMS *Siam*, which made its landfall in Australia at Glenelg, ten kilometres west of Adelaide, South Australia.⁶

⁴ *The Times* (London) 18 October 1882, p. 7; TW Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1846-82*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982, pp. 334-336; 497; 543-545. The Land League was suppressed by a proclamation dated 20 October 1881 (Command Paper 3125, 1882).

⁵ Cable from Parnell to Walshe published in *The Freeman's Journal* (Sydney) (FJS) 9 December 1882, p. 14. This was not the first time that it had been proposed that Redmond visit Australia. In February 1882 and again in July 1882 Redmond had told Hugh Mahon that he expected to be sent to Australia (Letters John Redmond to Hugh Mahon 25 February and 27 July 1882 (Mahon Papers, NLA MS 937/286 and 290)).

⁶ *The South Australian Advertiser* (SAA) 22 January 1883, p. 4; *The South Australian Register* (SAR) 3 February 1883, p. 5; 6 February 1883, p. 6; *The New Zealand Tablet* (NZT) 23 March 1883, p. 23; Denman, *A Lonely Grave*, p. 25. Precisely what happened is unclear. The FJS of 10 February 1883 carried two different versions of John Redmond's travels. Citing *The Nation* of 16 December, the first version said that Redmond "has just left Paris in company with his brother, who is compelled by ill health to remain at Nice for the winter months. From Nice the member for New Ross will journey to Suez via Brindisi, and on Monday next, the 18th instant, he will sail in the *Indus* for Australia" (p. 6). The second version said that "he stopped en route at Venice to visit his brother, who is an invalid, and who has accompanied him to South Australia" (p. 8). However, the report in the SAA refers specifically to a telegram received by the Australian Central Committee advising of the stopover in Naples.

Adelaide: 5 February to 13 February⁷

The Australian Central Committee of the Land League, which had planned a bumper welcome for the Irish National League's delegate, only learned of the change of itinerary the day before the *Indus* arrived in Australia.⁸ And when Redmond eventually reached Australian waters the welcoming committee's plans were once more disrupted when the *Siam*, which was due on the Sunday afternoon, did not dock until the Monday morning. The committee had hired a steam tug, the *Adelaide*, to ferry the welcoming party, some 270 strong, from Adelaide to Glenelg, where they arrived just after 6pm. On the jetty a crowd numbering about 1000 waited in expectation. However, when it became apparent the *Siam* would not be arriving that day, they dispersed with the majority returning to Adelaide, though most of the executive committee remained in Glenelg.

The next morning word was received of the *Siam's* imminent arrival. At 9.30am the *Adelaide*, flying "the national flag of Ireland" at its bow and complete with a brass band playing "national airs", sailed out into the gulf to greet and accompany the *Siam* to the dock, where a crowd numbering about 200 had gathered. JW Walshe and his erstwhile assistant Pierce Healy were among the official welcoming party, but Hugh Mahon was not present. He had remained in Sydney to help organise the next stage of the tour. Later that day he sent a telegram from the office of *The Freeman's Journal* proclaiming, "Irishmen of Sydney send thousand welcomes to self and brother". He must have received word from Adelaide after the brothers' arrival as the committee were unaware of William Redmond's presence on the *Siam* until it docked. After speeches of welcome and the presentation of an address to the older brother, the Redmonds were conducted by special train to Adelaide and then by carriage to the United Service Club Hotel where they would remain during their stay in Adelaide.⁹

Redmond's principal official engagement during his visit to Adelaide was a public meeting at the Adelaide Town Hall on the evening of Friday 9 February 1883. The large and enthusiastic crowd attending the meeting included members of parliament and the Catholic Bishop of Adelaide Dr Christopher Reynolds. Charles Kingston MP presided. In a speech that lasted an hour and a half, Redmond criticised British rule in Ireland, attacked landlordism and outlined the program of the Irish National League. At the end of his address a motion was passed dissolving the Irish National Land League and establishing a branch of the Irish National League in Adelaide. William Redmond also spoke. His speech was shorter but more fiery than his brothers, arguing that reform was only ever "wrung from the Government of England by fierce and threatened agitation".¹⁰ The forthright tone of both addresses, particularly that of William, at such an early stage of the tour served to arouse the immediate hostility of the metropolitan press both in Adelaide and in the eastern colonies, which in the normal course needed little excuse to express disapproval of Irish nationalism and its proponents.

Soon after the meeting John Redmond set in motion his plans to establish in the Australian colonies branches of the Irish National League. On the Monday following his public address, a meeting was held in the Town Hall to give effect to the resolution

⁷ From time to time the Redmond brothers split up. Unless otherwise indicated, the dates in the headings relate to John Redmond.

⁸ SAA 20 January 1883, p. 4; 22 January 1883, p. 4.

⁹ SAR 6 February 1883, p. 6; SAA 6 February 1883, pp. 5-6; FJS 10 February 1883, pp. 8-9; *The Wexford People* 14 April 1883, p. 3.

¹⁰ SAA 10 February 1883, pp. 6-7; SAR 10 February 1883, pp. 6-7.

passed the Friday before. Redmond explained to those in attendance that it was intended to establish in Australia an Irish National League on the same lines as the one in Ireland and that in a couple of months he would summon a convention of delegates from all parts of Australia to meet in Melbourne to form a central authority for governing the movement. Charles Kingston, who was not present was offered the presidency of the local branch. A few days later he would decline the offer after news began to arrive from Dublin implicating the Land League in the Phoenix Park murders of May 1882.¹¹ But before that storm erupted the Redmond brothers, accompanied by JW Walshe, had left Adelaide, departing on Tuesday 13 February on board the *South Australian* bound for Melbourne en-route to Sydney.¹² On the morning of their departure members of the committee met at the United Service Club Hotel to present addresses to William Redmond and JW Walshe. Redmond and Walshe responded, with Walshe telling the gathering of his and his family's personal experiences of eviction:

Let me tell you, fellow-countrymen, that I myself am a victim of that infamous system. I am an evicted tenant-farmer. I am the son of a thrice evicted tenant-farmer. [When my sister was evicted, I] succeeded in getting shelter from a kind neighbor for her and her twelve children. Scarce two months had passed by when that kind neighbor was himself evicted. That man was my father. Is it any wonder that I should have taken up the cause of the Land League, and try to assist my fellow countrymen in getting rid of an evil which has brought so much misery upon them.¹³

That night a meeting of a different sort took place. A large audience attended the Adelaide Town Hall to hear an "Anti-Land League Lecture" delivered by Mr Edward Riley, who described Redmond's sentiments as seditious and deplored the fact of Irish agitators coming to Australia to stir up strife. Riley was unknown in Adelaide. The *Register* reported that he was recently arrived from England, while the chairman of the meeting, the Hon GW Cotton MLC, confessed in his introduction to having only a slight knowledge of the man. Sensitive to his position, Riley told the audience that he had a perfect right to address the meeting because he was an Irishman and a Catholic and he wished to contradict and expose the doctrines of the Land League. The *Advertiser*, which was no supporter of Redmond, was not so sure. In an editorial it raised questions as to Riley's identity and his qualifications to speak on the subject. It described his performance as "inane and twaddling" and "a farce". Nevertheless, the audience, numbering about 300-400, warmly endorsed the speaker's comments.¹⁴ So too, it would seem did many others. The *Register* uncritically observed that:

The report of Mr. Riley's address in Adelaide last night, in reply to Mr JE Redmond's appeal on behalf of the Land League, has created a favourable

¹¹ SAR 13 February 1883, p. 5; 3 March 1883, p. 1S; SAA 14 February 1883, p. 4; 22 February 1883, p. 4. Kingston's letter declining the position was written the same day that news of the Phoenix Park murders inquiry reached Adelaide leading at least one newspaper to link the two events (*The Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) 22 February 1883, p. 11).

¹² SAA 14 February 1883, p. 4; SAR 17 February 1883, p. 1S. They landed in Melbourne on Thursday 15 February (*The Argus* 16 February 1883, p. 6), passed through Albury on Sunday 18 February (*The Argus* 19 February 1883, p. 5) and arrived in Sydney on the morning of Monday 19 February (*The Argus* 20 February 1883, p. 8).

¹³ SAA 14 February 1883, pp. 6.

¹⁴ SAA 14 February 1883, pp. 4, 5; SAR 14 February 1883, p. 5. Riley was also probably the author of letter to the SAA signed "An English Roman Catholic". In the letter he was critical of Bishop Reynolds for his support of the movement (SAA 14 February 1883, p. 6).

impression. The Press is generally taking the matter up, and the large majority of the newspapers condemn Mr. Redmond's one-sided statement.¹⁵

One of those favourably impressed was Sydney's *The Evening News*, which proclaimed that Redmond "has found in Mr Riley ... a more formidable opponent than he probably expected to meet in Australia".¹⁶ However, a correspondent to the *Register* DM McCarthy claimed that Riley was an agitator in the pay of and for the interest of the Irish landlords.¹⁷ This allegation must have been in circulation before the meeting as Riley referred to it in his speech. But, although he dismissed its credibility, he did not specifically deny it.

Potentially more damaging to Redmond's mission, however, was a report in the *Register* of an allegation that the tenants on Parnell's Wicklow estate, which Parnell had put up for sale, had applied to the Land Court for a reduction of rent. The *Register* asserted:

It is verily a turning of the tables on this disinterested patriot for the tenants on his own property to complain not only that their landlord makes them pay rent, but that those rents are and have been higher than is right and proper, and in fact higher than is allowed by those very land laws which Mr Parnell sneers at as being utterly inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. The *exposé* is cruel. The Wicklow tenants have at one fell blow not only destroyed the enhanced value which "the abominable system of rack-renting" must have attached to Mr Parnell's property, and thus seriously damaged its prospects in the market, but have swept away the great League leader's claim to be considered either a disinterested patriot or a kind and generous landlord.¹⁸

Redmond issued a denial of the accuracy of the report stating that it was Henry Parnell, the brother of the Irish leader, whose tenants had begun the court action. Redmond noted that on Charles Stewart Parnell's estate the rents were all considerably below government valuation and that no application had been made by his tenants for rent reductions. On the contrary Parnell had recently written off their arrears. Redmond's statement was published in *The Freeman's Journal* but not *The South Australian Register*.¹⁹

Despite that episode, the Adelaide press's coverage of Redmond's visit to the city was generally fair and moderate in tone. On the day of his arrival *The Advertiser* had acknowledged in its editorial that Redmond was one of the ablest members of the Irish party in the House of Commons but predicted he would have a difficult task to persuade the general community that the program of the Irish National League deserved its sympathy. Noting that Irish self-government involved changes to the constitutional arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland that were vast, the editorial observed that it would require "the most potent advocacy before the empire is likely to adopt them".²⁰ Despite this sober assessment, the editor of *The Advertiser* was willing to acknowledge the legitimacy of Redmond's attempting to make a case, unlike much of the press on the east coast, which branded talk of Irish self-government as seditious and disloyal. For example, Sydney's *The Evening News* described Redmond's Adelaide speech

¹⁵ SAR 15 February 1883, p. 5.

¹⁶ *The Evening News* (EN) 21 February 1883, p. 4.

¹⁷ SAR 19 February 1883, p. 2S.

¹⁸ SAR 14 February 1883, p. 4.

¹⁹ FJS 3 March 1883, p. 16.

²⁰ SAA 5 February 1883, p. 4. See also *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 3 February 1883, p. 5.

as “violent, seditious, disloyal and inflammatory” and Redmond himself as one of those “men of the firebrand order, public agitators, and disturbers of the public peace”.²¹

The South Australian Register adopted a similar tone to that of *The Advertiser* stating that “it was only right that a fair and candid hearing should be given to what [Redmond] has to say”. It expressed tentative sympathy with the Irish National League’s goals of peasant proprietorship and local government but raised a number of questions as to what the League meant when it spoke of “the great object” of Irish home rule.²²

After the town hall meeting the Adelaide papers once more expressed their opinions on Redmond’s mission. The *Register*’s analysis of Redmond’s speech was reasoned but critical. Although the leader writer acknowledged Redmond’s skilful oratory, he remained unconvinced that the Land League was not responsible for the recent disorder in Ireland. He was particularly critical of William Redmond, arguing that he appeared to be advocating unlawful agitation, supporting its claim by quoting from William’s Cork speech of December 1882, which had led to the issue of a warrant for his arrest. In that speech William was alleged to have said:

I say, as a Nationalist, that no man yearns more than I do to see Ireland a free nation, untrammelled by any shadow of British laws ; but I say to you that no league will do that, it can only be accomplished by the swords and united arms of the Irish people. I have some belief in constitutional agitation, but greater still is my belief in the sword, for history teaches us that no country ever gained her liberty without using the sword.²³

The editorial concluded:

Are South Australians asked to subscribe in aid of a peaceful and constitutional agitation for needed reforms, or are they asked to facilitate an appeal to the sword, to encourage the use of brute force, and to promote revolution? Upon a plain and straight forward answer to these questions will largely depend the measure of practical sympathy shown by South Australians, generally with Mr. Redmond's mission and the avowed objects of the Irish National League.²⁴

The *Advertiser* expressed similar misgivings noting that the land question could be settled without repeal of the union and that “Redmond’s arguments in favour of repeal did not carry conviction with them”. The editorial concluded by saying that in South Australia the subject could be “discussed calmly and without any danger of creating bitter feelings among Irishmen or between them and their fellow subjects of English and Scottish birth, with whom they live in harmony”.²⁵ And there was much discussion. Both newspapers carried numerous letters, most of them opposing the Land League and critical of Redmond. But generally the tone was civil and without resort to outlandish allegations of sedition and disloyalty.²⁶

²¹ EN 21 February 1883, p. 4.

²² SAR 6 February 1883, p. 4.

²³ Many Australian newspapers carried a detailed report from *The Times* of the prosecution initiated by the British government against William Redmond arising from his Cork speech See, for example, *The Argus* 17 February 1883, p. 4; *The Echo* 20 February 1883, p. 5; SMH 21 February 1883, p. 5.

²⁴ SAR 10 February 1883, p. 4.

²⁵ SAA 10 February 1883, p. 4.

²⁶ See, for example, See SAR 13 February 1883, p. 7; 14 February 1883, p. 6; 15 February 1883, pp. 6-7; SAA 13 February 1883, p. 6; 14 February 1883, p. 6

In the result, although the Adelaide press remained unconvinced by the Irish National League's case, Redmond's visit was not seen in a negative light. *The Advertiser* concluded:

[W]e do not believe that the harmony heretofore existing among South Australians of all creeds and nationalities will be seriously disturbed by this agitation of the Irish question, which is likely to be very shortlived.²⁷

Sydney: 19 February to 5 March

Redmond had originally intended to travel from Adelaide to Melbourne for the second stage of his Australian tour. However, the unexpected calling of parliamentary elections in Victoria led to a change of plan and he travelled to Sydney instead.²⁸ Irish issues were still contentious in Victorian politics following the Grattan Address affair the previous year, and the Irish Catholic premier Sir Bryan O'Loughlen advised Joseph Winter, proprietor of *The Advocate* and an organiser of the Redmonds' Victorian tour, to keep the brothers away.²⁹ Redmond therefore agreed to postpone his visit to Melbourne until he might stand a better chance of having his message heard. Consequently, the Redmond brothers passed quietly through Melbourne and travelled on to Albury where they were met by some friends.³⁰ On the overland journey to Sydney they stopped briefly at Wagga Wagga, where they were "most hospitably entertained by Mr P Moran and other gentlemen, who warmly welcomed them and drank the health of the visitors in bumpers".³¹

When on Monday 19 February they eventually arrived in Sydney they found time on their first day to attend a game of Test cricket then being played between England and Australia at the Sydney Cricket Ground.³² According to *The Protestant Standard*, "the Irish flag and two American flags were flying on the Pavilion, and nowhere the English flag". Scandalised by the likelihood that the "green flag with the harp and the inscription 'Cead Millia Failthe' on it" was a gesture to welcome "the sedition mongers", the newspaper indignantly called for an explanation.³³ However, the dudgeon of *The Protestant Standard* soon faded into insignificance, for just as Redmond was arriving in Sydney the colony's news services been receiving cable reports of the police court hearing in Dublin of the men charged with the murders in Phoenix Park the previous May of Chief Secretary of Ireland Lord Cavendish and his Under-Secretary Thomas Bourke.

On 13 February 1883, the day the Redmonds left Adelaide, the Australian press had briefly reported that 13 men had been charged with the murders.³⁴ But on 19 February,

²⁷ SAA 14 February 1883, p. 4.

²⁸ The election was called on 30 January 1883 for 22 February (*The Argus* 31 January 1883, p. 8).

²⁹ Patrick Naughtin, "Championing Ireland: Redmond in Australia 1883", *Tintéan*, November 2007, pp. 18-19. Keeping the Redmonds out of Victoria does not seem to have helped save Irish members of parliament from defeat. Many of them lost their seats in the elections including O'Loughlen. The Melbourne correspondent of *The Brisbane Courier* (BC) wrote on 31 March 1883 that Sir Bryan owed the loss of his seat "just as much to the undisguised efforts of his Irish friends on his behalf as to political reasons. The Redmond mission is intensifying the anti-Irish feeling here very perceptibly" (BC 6 April 1883, p. 5).

³⁰ *The Age* accused them of "skulking past Melbourne" (15 February 1883, p. 5).

³¹ FJS 24 February 1883, p. 9.

³² *The Echo* 20 February 1883, p. 1. The point of the article was to note that they received from their fellow countrymen in the crowd "that peculiar kind of coolness towards doubtful strangers, popularly known as the 'cold shoulder'".

³³ *The Protestant Standard* (PS) 24 February 1883, p. 4.

³⁴ SMH 13 February 1883, p. 7.

the day the Redmonds arrived in Sydney, the Australian papers carried reports of the testimony of James Carey, one of the assassins, who had turned informant. According to the Sydney dailies there was "strong reason to believe that the assassins implicated in the outrages at Dublin and elsewhere were provided with money from a 'murder fund' raised and maintained by the Irish Land League"³⁵ Carey had told the court that all but one of the prisoners were assassins directed by a man called "Number One" who supplied them with funds subscribed in America or by the Land League.³⁶ Two days later, the day before Redmond was due to give his first public address in Sydney, *The Sydney Morning Herald* published a cable from its London correspondent reporting that the London press was demanding that the leaders of the Irish Land League come forward and clear themselves of the imputations being made against them.³⁷ The prejudicial effect of Carey's evidence on Redmond's mission was palpable, particularly as the press reports included Carey's detailed descriptions of how the gruesome murders were carried out.

Some Sydney dailies, perennial opponents of Irish nationalism, were quick to judge. *The Daily Telegraph* was unequivocal: "we have the news ... of the discovery that the Phoenix Park and other murders were instigated by the Irish Land League, and that there was actually in that League a 'murder fund' and an 'assassins' committee". It described Carey as a "prominent member of the League". Alluding to William Redmond's Cork speech, the newspaper claimed that "Lord Cavendish and Mr Burke were ... removed – not by the swords of the Irish people, but by the knives of Mr Redmond's Land League" and suggested to its readers that John Redmond was an "itinerant preacher of sedition" who was "inviting us to contribute to what is literally a murder fund".³⁸ *The Echo* claimed that the Land League "according to last accounts, had devoted its funds to assassination", that it "stinks in the nostrils of decent people all over the civilised world" and that it "has devoted a portion of its funds to the hiring of assassins and the employment of miserable wretches who will participate in murder". One of its columnists wrote that Carey was a member of the Land League and suggested that he might just as easily have been sent to Australia as its representative instead of Redmond.³⁹

The Evening News, on the other hand, did not assert as fact the various allegations Carey had made. Instead it posed them as questions for Redmond to answer.⁴⁰ *The Sydney Morning Herald* cautioned, "The suspicion as to the 'murder fund' is, however, at present only a probable belief, and therefore we must not assume that what is now reasonably suspected will turn out to be absolutely true".⁴¹ Someone with a sick sense of humour or a desire to damage Redmond placed an advertisement in *The Sydney Morning Herald* which read:

IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE – Monster Gathering in Masonic Hall, THURSDAY, to
hear LECTURE on INNER CIRCLE, by MYSTERIOUS NUMBER ONE.

³⁵ SMH 19 February 1883, p. 7; *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) (DTS) 19 February 1883, p. 3.

³⁶ *The Echo* 19 February 1883, p. 4; SMH 20 February 1883, p. 7.

³⁷ SMH 21 February 1883, p. 9.

³⁸ DTS 20 February 1883, p. 2; 22 February 1883, p. 2.

³⁹ *The Echo* 20 February 1883, p. 1.

⁴⁰ EN 21 February 1883, p. 4.

⁴¹ SMH 20 February 1883, p. 7.

The advertisement appeared directly below the official notice of Redmond's public lecture which he proposed to give on Thursday 22 February 1883 at the Masonic Hall.⁴²

Redmond's first response was to write to the press refuting Carey's allegations and stating that Carey and his associates were never members of the Land League and that the League's funds had been audited and satisfactorily accounted for. He rejected reports that almost £100 000 was missing from the organisation's funds. He added that the news of the assassinations had done damage to the League and its leaders who had just been released from detention pledged to promote the tranquillity of the country. The League had immediately condemned the crime and called upon the Irish people to apprehend the murderers, offering rewards for their capture.⁴³ The local newspapers were unimpressed and although most accepted that the Land League was not directly responsible for the murders, they argued that the League had created the atmosphere in which they occurred.⁴⁴ *The Echo*, however, went further, claiming, "The connection between the organisation and the assassinations seems too clear even to admit a doubt".⁴⁵

It was in this context that Redmond prepared for his address to the people of Sydney. The warmth and rationality of his Adelaide visit had vanished; in Sydney the atmosphere was one of hostility and cynicism. The change in mood manifested itself in a very practical sense when the directors of the Masonic Hall withdrew their permission for Redmond to use their venue.⁴⁶ The Gaiety Theatre was booked as a replacement but it too became unavailable. Eventually the Academy of Music in Castlereagh Street was secured. *The Sydney Morning Herald* was unsympathetic to Redmond's difficulties, arguing that he had no right to expect that facilities would be made available to him "for stirring up that animosity here which in Ireland has reached the point of the Phoenix Park assassinations".⁴⁷ *The Echo* was gushing in its praise of the Masons for having shut their doors on the "preaching of sedition".⁴⁸

Despite the changes of venue the meeting was packed out well before the advertised starting time. JG O'Connor took the chair and the platform was occupied by a number of private citizens and several Catholic priests – but no bishops and no members of parliament. One MP, Daniel O'Connor MLA, was present in the hall, but he stood in the wings during the proceedings.⁴⁹ Undeterred by the setbacks, Redmond came out swinging. He immediately accused the Sydney press of extraordinary ignorance of the political situation in Ireland which caused them to make statements which, if they were not caused by ignorance, he would have to characterise as "malicious and criminal falsehoods". He accused some people of seeking to deny him the right of free speech. He referred in particular to the attempt by "a member of the local legislature", which he described as "stupid insolence", to "prevent a member of the Imperial Parliament from the exercise of his undoubted right to explain to the public the principles which he

⁴² SMH 21 February 1883, p. 1.

⁴³ SMH 22 February 1883, p. 7.

⁴⁴ SMH 24 February 1883, p. 11; *The Sydney Mail* 24 February 1883, p. 368.

⁴⁵ *The Echo* 21 February 1883, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *The Echo* 21 February 1883, p. 4; SMH 22 February 1883, p. 9.

⁴⁷ SMH 24 February 1883, p. 11.

⁴⁸ *The Echo* 22 February 1883, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Redmond drew attention to the absence of MPs except for "one gentleman, who, he was informed, had been skulking at the back all the night". O'Connor wrote to the SMH and *The Echo* denying that he had been "skulking behind the arches" as was reported. He explained he arrived late and took up a position where he could find room (SMH 24 February 1883, p. 7; *The Echo* 23 February 1883, p. 5).

holds". This was a reference to a speech in the parliament by James Young MLA calling on the people of the colony to prevent the meeting from taking place as it "might give rise to evil consequences".⁵⁰ Redmond said he treated with disdain accusations of his disloyalty, saying that such accusations would not distract him from the main purpose of his visit to Sydney, to speak of the Irish cause. He then addressed the meeting on the Land League and its work before dealing with the recent allegations surrounding the Phoenix Park murders, repeating the arguments he had laid out in his letter to the press. The meeting, composed largely of people whom *The Freeman's Journal* described as "most appreciative and enthusiastic",⁵¹ applauded him loudly, passing the usual resolutions to support the objects of the Irish National League and to establish a branch in the city.⁵²

Unlike the Adelaide press, Sydney's dailies were not particularly interested in giving Redmond a fair hearing before they judged him. *The Echo* was especially hostile, urging Sydney's citizens to emulate the approach of the Masons: "Shut the doors and say, 'Pass on'".⁵³ *The Echo* became obsessed with Redmond, devoting many of its leading articles to him and his mission, usually in an offensive tone. In one editorial it claimed that Redmond's teachings "should not be less dreaded than the implanting of germs of smallpox or cholera or any horrible disease".⁵⁴ The paper even linked the Phoenix Park murders with Henry O'Farrell's attempted assassination of Prince Alfred in 1868 at Clontarf in Sydney. O'Farrell had claimed, when confessing the crime to Henry Parkes, that the assault was part of a Fenian plot. While acknowledging that O'Farrell's "confession was at the time ridiculed as the incoherent raving of a lunatic", *The Echo* suggested that "the revelations recently made in connection with the Land League throw a new light upon his disclosures".⁵⁵ How was not made clear.

The dailies' antagonistic approach to the Land League was due in part to their chronic opposition to Irish nationalism. But, more specifically, the atmosphere had been poisoned following the cable reports of Carey's evidence in the Dublin police court. Accepting Carey's sensational claims at face value and drawing the worst possible inferences, the local newspapers effectively reversed the onus of proof. Denials were not sufficient. They insisted that it was for Redmond to prove his and the Land League's innocence. But when Redmond attempted to do so in letters to their journals they responded, like a hectoring prosecutor, with sarcasm, cynicism and lengthy editorial replies.⁵⁶

Needless to say the Catholic papers were more sceptical of Carey's claims and apart from publishing letters from readers that refuted particular points they gave editorial backing to the integrity of both the Land League and Redmond.⁵⁷ But they also denounced the tone of the dailies accusing them of being anti-Irish. *The Freeman's Journal* complained:

⁵⁰ SMH 22 February 1883, p. 6. The government resisted requests by loyalists to take steps to silence Redmond (PS 3 March 1883, p. 4).

⁵¹ FJS 3 March 1883, p. 18.

⁵² SMH 23 February 1883, p. 8; EN 23 February 1883, p. 3; FJS 24 February 1883, pp. 15-16; 3 March 1883, pp. 18-19; *The Express* 24 February 1883, pp. 6-7.

⁵³ *The Echo* 22 February 1883, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *The Echo* 24 February 1883, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *The Echo* 20 February 1883, p. 1; FJS 24 February 1883, p. 12.

⁵⁶ See, for example, SMH 27 February 1883, p. 5; DTS 23 February 1883, p. 2.

⁵⁷ See, for example, FJS 24 February 1883, p. 12 and *The Express* 24 February 1883, pp. 3, 4.

Day after day the Press of the city has teemed with brutalities of every kind – brutalities of language in regard to truth as well as good taste – which every man of Irish birth or of Irish blood in the country must bitterly resent as insulting slanders on his race and nation.⁵⁸

The Express referred to “the thick mists of prejudice and ill feeling with which the Press have so industriously striven to surround the mission of Mr Redmond”.⁵⁹ Such criticisms were not confined to the Catholic papers. *The Bulletin*, an anti-imperialist weekly, also attacked the dailies, devoting more than a full front page of one of its issues to criticising their coverage of Redmond’s visit, particularly in relation to the Phoenix Park hearings and the accusations of Land League involvement in the murders:

It has suited reverend editors to accept every declaration of the informer as gospel, and to refuse credence to a single statement which does not tally with the sensational disclosures which the wretched CAREY spews forth under the pressure of a sickening anxiety to save his worthless life by gratifying his captors with information to suit their appetite.⁶⁰

And it was true, as Redmond was at pains to point out, that much of what Carey alleged was wide of the mark. Nevertheless, we now know that a number of leading Land League officials, including PJ Sheridan, Patrick Egan, Thomas Brennan and Frank Byrne, supported the aims and methods of the Invincibles and had been in contact with them. Also, it would later emerge that Byrne, the secretary of the English branch of the League, had been an accessory to the murders of Cavendish and Burke by storing in the League’s Westminster offices the knives used in the attack and arranging for his wife to smuggle them to Carey in Dublin. Had this been known at the time then, as historian Paul Bew observes in his recent biography of Parnell, it would have been explosive.⁶¹ So, while it is true that the dailies too readily gave credence to the adage “where there’s smoke there’s fire”, it is also the case that the Catholic papers too readily dismissed it.

Despite the embarrassing news from Dublin and invitations from the press for Redmond to pack his portmanteau and return to Ireland, the Irish MP continued to advance the cause of the Irish National League in New South Wales.⁶² On Monday 26 February 1883, assisted by JW Walshe and Hugh Mahon, Redmond convened a preliminary meeting for the purpose of establishing a branch of the League in Sydney. A committee was elected with JG O’Connor as president and a subcommittee appointed to plan the St Patrick’s Day celebrations. The meeting was told that prior to St Patrick’s Day Redmond would visit a number of towns west of the Blue Mountains with the object of establishing there

⁵⁸ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 12.

⁵⁹ *The Express* 31 March 1883, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *The Bulletin* 3 March 1883, pp. 1-2. In the same issue at p. 11 it complained of the SMH’s parsimonious coverage of Redmond’s public lecture.

⁶¹ Paul Bew, *Enigma: A New Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*, Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 2012, p. 102. In the biography Bew details the murky relationship between the League and the Invincibles and discusses Parnell’s ambiguous relationship with the advocates of physical force. Nevertheless, how much Parnell knew of the Invincibles’ activities and plans remains debatable. At p. 98 Bew wrote, “Patrick Egan told Luke Dillon that Parnell had had foreknowledge of the Phoenix Park murders and neither approved nor disapproved the plan”. Yet, the Report of the Special Commission into Parnellism and Crime in 1890 found “there is no foundation whatever for the charge that Mr. Parnell was intimate with Invincibles, knowing them to be such, or that he had any knowledge, direct or indirect, of the conspiracy which resulted in the Phoenix Park murders” (Command Paper 5891, 1890, p. 58).

⁶² *The Echo* 24 February 1883, p. 8.

branches of the League.⁶³ Neither Mahon nor Walshe was named as a member of the committee. Perhaps they felt they should remain separate from the branches, consistent with their positions as representatives of the Irish National League of Ireland. In newspaper advertisements inviting applications for membership of the Sydney branch and soliciting donations their names appeared with the Redmond brothers at the bottom of the notice, separate from the names of the committee members.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Mahon did later become involved in the affairs of the Sydney branch, sometimes chairing its meetings.⁶⁵

If Redmond had hoped that the atmosphere in Sydney would improve as the impact of the Dublin revelations receded, he was to be disappointed. He suffered further embarrassment on the evening of 6 March when a group of his supporters attempted to disrupt a meeting at the Protestant Hall in Castlereagh Street organised by opponents of the Irish National League. Even *The Freeman's Journal*, while critical of the heavy-handed way in which the organisers of the meeting dealt with dissenters, described the meeting as "the most disgraceful and certainly the most disorderly meeting ever held in the city", echoing the sentiments of *The Sydney Morning Herald*.⁶⁶ It had to admit that it gave "a moral victory to our enemies".⁶⁷ *The Bulletin* opined, "The rowdies who tried to stifle the speakers by clamour merely evinced the same spirit as the insensate bigots who sought to stifle Mr Redmond's voice by refusing him a place in which to speak".⁶⁸

The meeting had been convened by the Mayor of Sydney Alderman Harris at the request of a group of "citizens of Sydney" who wished to protest against the mission of the Redmond brothers.⁶⁹ Chaired by the mayor, the meeting attracted a large audience both inside and outside the hall, including, according to the *Herald*, "an organised body of dissentients". On the platform sat numerous members of parliament. When Sir Henry Parkes moved, "That this meeting emphatically protests against the mission of the Messrs Redmond", he was met by groans from dissenters in the audience, who interrupted his speech by howling and groaning while fights broke out in the audience at regular intervals. Disturbances continued to occur during the other speeches and when one speaker described the dissenters as "miserable howlers" a fight broke out in which chairs and sticks were used as weapons, interrupting the meeting for about a quarter of an hour.

Scuffles also occurred when attempts were made to eject interjectors. The fighting erupted more than once and when the contestants were pushed out of the hall they continued brawling in the street. The *Herald* claimed that the dissenters then gathered outside in order to attack and "inflict bodily harm" on Parkes when he emerged from the meeting and that they surrounded his cab and pelted it with stones. The paper also claimed that the senior police officer present Inspector Anderson had been set upon and kicked. *The Freeman's Journal* rejected these allegations, quoting an account of the incident by Anderson himself. *The Bulletin* reckoned "there is reason to believe that the accounts of the disturbance given by the SM Herald are gross exaggerations". In support

⁶³ FJS 3 March 1883, p. 16.

⁶⁴ See, for example, FJS 3 March 1883, p. 11.

⁶⁵ See, for example, FJS 14 April 1883, p. 17; 12 May 1883, p. 9; 19 May 1883, p. 16.

⁶⁶ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 15; SMH 7 March 1883, p. 5, 8.

⁶⁷ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 12. According to the FJS, when a dissenter attempted to move an amendment the chairman refused to accept it.

⁶⁸ *The Bulletin* 10 March 1883, p. 2.

⁶⁹ SMH 1 March 1883, p. 2.

of that assessment it quoted from the report in *The Daily Telegraph* which concluded that “nothing serious occurred”.⁷⁰

A correspondent to *The Freeman's Journal* attributed blame for the disturbance to Sir Henry Parkes, claiming it was prearranged and that the “malcontents” were “bogus Fenians ... expressly selected for the occasion”.⁷¹ *The Freeman's* itself did not go so far but, based on a report by Inspector Anderson that the police had not recognised one face among the men who caused the disturbance, suggested that the men were strangers, possibly new arrivals from New Zealand.⁷² It seems that only one man was arrested, a 24 year old labourer of Irish birth Joseph Darby, who was later convicted of riotous behaviour and sentenced to 7 days imprisonment for his part in the affair.⁷³

Redmond, while addressing a meeting in Bathurst later in the week, expressed regret for what had taken place at the Sydney meeting, though he added “that he would have found it difficult to restrain himself when listening to speeches which were from the beginning to end unsupported calumnies and falsehoods”.⁷⁴ *The Bulletin* agreed with this characterisation of the speeches, at least as regards the Phoenix Park murders: “On reviewing the speeches, nothing is so striking as the uniformity of assumption that the Land League is responsible for the Phoenix Park assassination”.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the damage had been done, giving Redmond's opponents a free kick: “It is evident,” opined *The Daily Telegraph*, “that Mr Redmond is regarded in his true light as a public enemy, a disturber of the peace, a breeder of strife and faction, and a dangerous advocate of rebellion, if not of actual bloodshed. The sooner we are rid of such men as this the better”.⁷⁶

Central West of New South Wales: 5 March to 15 March

Redmond's Bathurst speech was part of his swing through western New South Wales prior to the St Patrick's Day celebrations in Sydney. He had arrived in Orange on the night of Monday 5 March by the day train from Sydney. William, who was suffering a bout of illness, remained behind. A crowd estimated by the correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal* to be at least 1000 met Redmond at the station, where Hugh Mahon introduced him to members of the Orange branch of the Land League. From the station he was taken by carriage to Dundryleague, the residence of James Dalton, a leading citizen and magistrate of Orange, who presented him with an address formally welcoming him to the district. The address referred to Redmond as one of the ablest of Parnell's lieutenants and “a member of that noble band which has won a world's admiration by its resolute resistance to the oppressive proceedings of a foreign senate”.⁷⁷

The next evening Redmond gave a public lecture at a local auction room, having been denied access to both the School of Arts and the Oddfellows' Hall. James Dalton presided. Redmond spoke for an hour and a quarter, following which a motion was carried

⁷⁰ *The Bulletin* 10 March 1883, p. 2.

⁷¹ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 15.

⁷² FJS 10 March 1883, p. 15.

⁷³ SMH 9 March 1883, p. 3. In a civil case, William Bourke sued George Sparkes for assault as a result of Sparkes having thrown him out of the meeting. Sparkes cross claimed against Bourke for assault and for damage to his coat. Mr Dillon SM dismissed both claims (SMH 16 March 1883, p. 5).

⁷⁴ SMH 13 March 1883, p. 9.

⁷⁵ *The Bulletin* 10 March 1883, p. 2.

⁷⁶ DTS 7 March 1883, p. 2.

⁷⁷ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 16.

dissolving the existing branch of the Land League and establishing a branch of the Irish National League. Mahon proposed the vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by Redmond. In moving the motion, Mahon praised Dalton for his "noble and patriotic example" in coming forward "instead of being afraid to face the remarks of an insolent section of the press".⁷⁸ However, Dalton would pay a price for his courage.

Two days later John Burns MLA, speaking in the adjournment debate in parliament, drew attention to the fact that Dalton had presented to Redmond an address "in which the rule of the British Government was spoken of as a foreign one, and the language in which was by no means that of a loyal citizen". This was a reference to the inclusion in the welcome address of the expression "a foreign senate" to refer to the Westminster parliament. Burns asked whether the Colonial Secretary intended to communicate with Dalton about the matter, arguing that if Dalton held the opinions expressed in the address he should be called upon to resign as a magistrate. The Colonial Secretary Alexander Stuart, who was also the Premier, replied that he had written to Dalton to ascertain whether the newspaper account of the address was correct.⁷⁹

In April Dalton would be dismissed from office following a government inquiry into the affair, along with two other Orange magistrates Michael Casey and Patrick Burke whose names were also appended to the address. It was an action which the British government later endorsed. When the Minister for the Colonies reported to the House of Commons the government's agreement with the dismissals, TM Healy the Irish Party member for Monaghan protested and called for an inquiry into the number of convicts serving in the New South Wales parliament. In turn Healy's remarks attracted criticism in the Victorian parliament and in the press.⁸⁰

The night after the Orange meeting Redmond lectured at Dubbo and on Friday 9 March at Bathurst.⁸¹ In the latter case, the lecture took place in the Guild Hall after the School of Arts management committee had refused to make their hall available. The meeting was chaired by John Meagher, also a local magistrate. When one of the speakers, JH Roughan, suggested that the real hope of Ireland was separation from England, Redmond interjected, "No, no". Later, when responding to the vote of thanks, Redmond rebuked Roughan for his remarks, questioning his right to stand on a platform of the Irish National League and advocate principles which the League did not hold. That weekend Redmond travelled from Orange to Forbes, where he gave a lecture on Tuesday 13 March. On the previous evening, Orange once more heard talk of the Irish National League when a group of citizens opposed to the Redmond mission held a meeting in the School of Arts.⁸²

After Redmond's Forbes meeting, he returned to Orange stopping at Cudal on the night of Wednesday 14 March, where he was presented with an address. He responded by

⁷⁸ FJS 10 March 1883, p. 16; 17 March 1883, p. 19. The FJS report on Redmond's arrival in Orange on the Sydney train was taken from *The Western Advocate*. However, on the same page is a report from the FJ's Bathurst correspondent stating that on Saturday evening Redmond had arrived in Bathurst and that he had stayed at St Stanislaus College before proceeding to Orange on the Monday evening.

⁷⁹ SMH 9 March 1883, p. 4. Letter 15 March 1883 James Dalton to Hugh Mahon (Mahon Papers NLA MS 937/282).

⁸⁰ SMH 18 April 1883, p. 5; 11 May 1883, p.3; 8 August 1883, p. 7; FJS 21 April 1883, p. 13; 12 May 1883, p. 13; *The Argus* 8 August 1883, p. 7; 9 August 1883, p.4.

⁸¹ FJS 17 March 1883, pp. 10, 17-18.

⁸² PS 24 March 1883, pp. 8-10.

speaking on the present situation in Ireland. The next morning he completed the journey, calling at Duntryleague before taking the train to Sydney.⁸³

Sydney: 15 March to 20 March

Redmond had returned to Sydney to take part in the city's St Patrick's Day celebrations. He would attend two major events. The first was a demonstration in the afternoon at Sir Joseph's Banks Park, Botany held under the auspices of the Irish National League.⁸⁴ Attracting a crowd in excess of 3000, the gathering, according to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, "was remarkably orderly, and there was an almost total absence of rowdiness and intoxication". *The Freeman's Journal* described it as "the largest and most orderly and most thoroughly national gathering ever held in the city of Sydney [with] the exception perhaps of the O'Connell Centenary celebration" in 1875. *The Sydney Mail* took exception to the political flavour of the event:

It is somewhat of a "new departure" to devote a day consecrated by immemorial custom to manly sport and innocent wassail, in which strangers could heartily join, to the glorification of three political collectors from the old world, and to subordinate everything festive to the exigencies of another Land League tax.

However, the participants did not seem to mind. During the day William Redmond and Hugh Mahon enrolled about 1500 new members of the Irish National League. William Redmond was very impressed with the occasion. Four years later he wrote, "I never passed a happier St Patrick's Day than that, and till the day of my death I shall never forget the patriotism, the kindness, and the true generosity of the Irish people of Sydney".⁸⁵

Following a program of sports and "a grand concert of national music" Redmond addressed the gathering. In his speech he characterised the riotous meeting at the Protestant Hall as the meeting of an intolerant sect who had brought into Australia "all their Old World seeds of bitterness and hatred", a criticism that Redmond's opponents had frequently flung at him. William then addressed the gathering, following which the chairman JG O'Connor introduced Thomas McInerney, who read an address on behalf of the Irish workingmen of Sydney and presented Redmond with a gold watch. This was followed by a further presentation in which O'Connor presented medals to the Redmonds, JW Walshe and Hugh Mahon "for their services in connection with the National movement". The medals were of fine gold having on one side a wreath of shamrocks with a colonial cornstalk in the centre and on the other the engraved words, "St Patrick's Day – from the sympathisers of the Irish cause in New South Wales". Each of the recipients responded to the presentation. In expressing his thanks, Mahon referred to the battle between Redmond and the press, saying that Redmond had not moderated his tone as claimed by some sections of the press, but rather it was the newspaper editors who had been forced to be more reasonable and temperate. In reality there had been a bit of both. During his tour of rural New South Wales Redmond had toned down the anti-British rhetoric that had characterised his Adelaide speech, preferring instead a positive message that sang the praises of home rule and of improved tenants' rights.

⁸³ FJS 17 March 1883, p. 10; 24 March 1883, p. 9; 14 April 1883, p. 19. Like their Orange counterparts, Redmond's opponents in Forbes organised a counter-meeting, which *The Bulletin* claimed was a failure (*The Bulletin* 5 May 1883, p. 11).

⁸⁴ FJS 24 March 1883, pp. 16-18; SMH 19 March 1883, p. 5; *The Express* 24 March 1883, p. 3; *The Sydney Mail* 24 March 1883, p. 542.

⁸⁵ *The Express* 16 March 1887, p. 25.

That evening Redmond was guest of honour at the annual St Patrick's Day banquet, Sydney's premier event celebrating the saint's day.⁸⁶ The banquet was held at Nithsdale, a dancing academy in Liverpool Street, rather than at the Sydney Town Hall, the scene of the 1882 dinner, or at the usual venue before that, the Masonic Hall. Nevertheless, the presence among the 150 diners of numerous members of parliament, including such worthies as Sir John Robertson and Sir Patrick Jennings, indicated that Redmond's counter-attack against the hostile Sydney press was having an effect, with many of the city's leading citizens daring to be seen in his presence. Not all, however; a fact noticed by one speaker Dr Goode, who observed, "Large and influential ... as this gathering is, it would have been larger had not some craven spirits, from selfish and cowardly motives, kept aloof". A notable absence was William Bede Dalley. Of Irish parents, Dalley usually took the chair on such occasions, but he made no secret of his opposition to the Redmond mission. It was also significant that no senior clergy were present, though many priests were in attendance.

Traditionally, the St Patrick's Day banquet had been the occasion for Sydney's well-healed Irish to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown and the Empire. The 1883 banquet was no exception. As usual the toasts and speeches contained unctuous expressions of loyalty. Nevertheless, the event proved controversial, but not in the manner *The Echo* had earlier that day predicted: "to set Ireland against Ireland, to marshal Ireland against Britain, and to divide Ireland from Australia".⁸⁷ Instead, Redmond's speech was positively irenic. He avoided express criticism of England and the press. He also kept well away from the Phoenix Park murders except to record once more his abhorrence of the crime and to accuse the perpetrators of having set back Ireland's cause. As it turned out, the evening's controversy arose from a local source, the Minister for Public Works Henry Copeland. Somewhat affected by alcohol, Copeland disgraced himself by making an incoherent speech which was frequently interrupted by cries from the audience of "Sit down" and "Time". A few days later Copeland, a Yorkshireman but a prominent supporter of the Irish cause, would resign from the ministry in the wake of the adverse criticism in the newspapers and in parliament of his conduct at the dinner.⁸⁸ *The Bulletin* bucked the trend accusing the *Herald*, of "studied malice" in seizing upon Copeland's "incoherence under interruption" to punish him for his presence at the St Patrick's Day banquet.⁸⁹

Queensland: 20 March to 21 April

The next phase of the Redmond mission took the Irish envoys to Queensland. On Tuesday 20 March John Redmond and JW Walshe left Sydney for Brisbane on the *Derwent* while William and Hugh Mahon remained behind in Sydney. That night they attended a dinner at Smith's Hotel, Botany in honour of Daniel O'Leary, an Irish-American athlete who was visiting Australia to take part in a six-day long-distance walking race against the Australian champion William Edwards for what was billed as the world championship of pedestrianism and a prize of £400.⁹⁰ Mahon and William

⁸⁶ FJS 24 March 1883, pp. 18-20; SMH 19 March 1883, p. 5; *The Express* 24 March 1883, p. 3; *The Sydney Mail* 24 March 1883, pp. 542-543

⁸⁷ *The Echo* 17 March 1883, p. 1.

⁸⁸ SMH 26 April 1883, p. 4.

⁸⁹ *The Bulletin* 24 March 1883, p. 2. So too *The Express* 31 March 1883, p. 5.

⁹⁰ FJS 24 March 1883, pp. 9, 15; SMH 1 March 1883, p. 8; 5 March 1883, p. 2; 19 March 1883, p.8. Edwards won, covering 373 miles to O'Leary's 350 miles.

Redmond would sail to Brisbane on the *Governor Blackall* on the Saturday, arriving on Easter Monday night 26 March.⁹¹

According to *The Express* Redmond's reception in Brisbane was much friendlier than in Sydney.⁹² However, the lack of suitable meeting venues would continue to dog him and would characterise much of his northern tour. Having arrived on Thursday 22 March he was given a reception the next morning at Lennon's Hotel where an address was presented by Dr Kevin Izod O'Doherty MLC, the veteran Young Irishman who had been exiled to Van Dieman's Land in 1848 and who had settled in Queensland.⁹³ On Easter Monday a crowd estimated at 2000 attended a picnic at Goodna, 20 kilometres south-west of Brisbane. Again O'Doherty presided. After Redmond spoke the meeting resolved to form a branch of the Irish National League in Brisbane.⁹⁴ On the following Thursday, 29 March, Redmond gave a lecture on the Irish National League at St James's School in Brisbane at which William Redmond was also present. The chairman JM Macrossan MLA said the venue was less than ideal, but that they had been unable to obtain a suitable public hall in the city.⁹⁵

Although *The Brisbane Courier* made clear its opposition to Irish home rule and its belief that the Land League was responsible for much of the unrest in Ireland, it nevertheless spoke in generally favourable terms of Redmond himself and set out its arguments on the issues rationally and in a tone of moderation, distinguishing itself on both counts from much of the Sydney and Melbourne press. For instance, it approved of the Queensland government's decision to grant Redmond as a member of the Imperial Parliament a free pass on the railways and deplored the NSW government's refusal to do the same.⁹⁶ Ironically it was Henry Copeland, the Redmond supporter who had disgraced himself at the St Patrick's Day banquet, who was the minister responsible for the NSW railways when the pass was refused. However, it seems that he personally approved the granting of the pass but that the Commissioner for Railways cancelled it. The Cabinet then supported the Commissioner's decision on the ground that Redmond was on a money-making lecture tour.⁹⁷ During his abortive speech at the banquet Copeland had tried to explain this to the diners, but had made a hash of it.

On the substantive issue of Irish home rule, the *Brisbane Courier* responded to Redmond's argument that Ireland wanted no more in the way of self-government than what the Australian colonies enjoyed by pointing out that the Australian colonies were too distant from Great Britain to be governed by its legislature and executive:

Ireland, on the other hand, is an integral part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It is not a mere dependency, and it cannot be one while the British Empire exists. It is no more constitutional, then, to agitate for Home Rule for Ireland than it is to agitate for republican institutions in England. Both may be advocated with impunity, but without a revolution neither can possibly be

⁹¹ FJS 31 March 1883, p. 9; BC 27 March 1883, p. 4.

⁹² *The Express* 31 March 1883, p. 5.

⁹³ BC 24 March 1883, p. 5; *The Queenslander* 31 March 1883, pp. 507-508; FJS 31 March 1883, p. 9.

⁹⁴ BC 27 March 1883, p. 5; *The Queenslander* 7 April 1883, pp. 547-548; FJS 31 March 1883, p. 9; 7 April 1883, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁵ BC 30 March 1883, p. 5; *The Queenslander* 31 March 1883, p. 508; FJS 31 March 1883, p. 9; 7 April 1883, p. 19.

⁹⁶ BC 28 March 1883, p. 5.

⁹⁷ PS 3 March 1883, p. 1. The BC regarded the NSW government's justification for cancelling the pass as "a contemptible reason for the discourtesy" (BC 28 March 1883, p. 4).

realised. ... [I]t is preposterous to suppose that any Englishman loyal to his country can sanction the disintegration involved in national Home Rule for Ireland.⁹⁸

The *Courier's* editorial went on to give some examples of how a separate Irish parliament would not be in England's interest: it would likely impose prohibitive duties on English manufactures; it would organise a Volunteer corps and a militia in addition to a small standing army in the form of military police; and, even if the home rule legislation placed restrictions on such moves, an Irish parliament would ultimately find a pretext to sever the connection and proclaim Ireland a separate nation.

Despite the rational way in which the *Courier* put its argument, in contrast to the near hysteria of many of the southern dailies, its reasoning revealed that it shared with them an Anglo-centric perspective of the Irish question viewing it through the lens of English self-interest. What might be in the interest of the Irish people was not part of the question's consideration for its argument contained an implicit assumption, which, paraphrasing an aphorism that would later gain currency in America, might be expressed as "what's good for England is good for Ireland".⁹⁹

To cover as many towns and suburbs as possible in the time available, the brothers split up. On Friday 30 March John Redmond and Hugh Mahon left Brisbane by the *Keilawarra* bound for Maryborough while William and JW Walshe remained in Brisbane, where they attended a meeting on Monday 2 April at St James's school to give effect to the resolution forming the Brisbane branch of the Irish National League. They would also speak at St Patrick's Hall, Ipswich on Thursday 5 April before leaving the next day for Toowoomba, Dalby and Warwick. At Warwick they held a meeting on 8 April at St Mary's school for the purpose of establishing a branch of the Irish National League in the town. They also made the necessary arrangements for John Redmond's visit to the town the following week.¹⁰⁰ Thereafter, they continued to journey south stopping at towns that the senior Redmond would visit in the following weeks in order to pave his way.

At Maryborough John Redmond and Hugh Mahon were met by a group of about 50 of the Irishmen of the town and conveyed to the Melbourne Hotel, where an address was presented. Redmond's first major engagement in the district was at the nearby town of Gympie, where he arrived by special train on Sunday 1 April. Gympie claimed the honour of being the first town in Australia to have established a branch of the Land League. Redmond was met at the railway station and escorted to St Patrick's school by a procession of about 3000 persons led by a band. There he was presented with an address before speaking to the crowd from a veranda. His next event in Gympie was a lecture on the Monday night at the Varieties Theatre. The next day, before departing for Maryborough, Redmond was presented with an address from the ladies of Gympie accompanied by specimens of gold for Redmond, Parnell and Davitt.¹⁰¹

The reception at Maryborough was not as warm as Gympie, at least in the opinion of *The Brisbane Courier's* local correspondent. He wrote that Redmond had been refused use of

⁹⁸ BC 28 March 1883, p. 4. See also BC 2 April 1883, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Another Brisbane newspaper *The Queenslander* adopted a similar approach. See, for example, see its issue of 31 March 1883, p. 498.

¹⁰⁰ BC 30 March 1883, p. 4; 31 March 1883, p. 1; 3 April 1883, p. 4; 7 April 1883, p. 5; *Warwick Argus* 14 April 1883, p. 2; *Warwick Examiner and Times* 11 April 1883, p. 2; FJS 14 April 1883, p. 18; FJS 28 April 1883, p. 18-19.

¹⁰¹ BC 2 April 1883, p. 5; 4 April 1883, p. 5; 10 April 1883, p. 3; FJS 7 April 1883, p. 19; 14 April 1883, p. 18; *The Express* 14 April 1883, p. 3. On Gympie and the Land League see Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*, Harper, London, 1904, p. 383.

all four of the spacious public buildings in the town, including the town hall, a decision which the correspondent claimed was popular in the town.¹⁰² Hugh Mahon wrote to the *Courier* refuting the report and advising that following representations to the mayor by a deputation of citizens, the town council had reversed its decision and unanimously resolved to make the town hall available. Mahon added that Redmond had lectured there on Wednesday 4 April to an audience of 700 people with Alderman Annear presiding.¹⁰³ In fact, Annear and another councillor, Alderman Booker, had been in Brisbane attending Redmond's lectures when the Maryborough council's original decision had been taken. On their return they had arranged for the council to meet and rescind the resolution.¹⁰⁴

At this point Mahon separated from Redmond taking the *Keilawarra* from Maryborough to Brisbane and then the *Katoomba* to Sydney, where he arrived on Monday 9 April.¹⁰⁵ Following his return to Sydney Mahon attended to Irish National League affairs, including chairing meetings of the Executive Committee.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, on Thursday 5 April, Redmond took the steamer *Moreton* to Rockhampton, where he arrived the next morning and was taken to the Queen's Hotel. In the evening he was presented with an address at the Hibernian Hall and then on the night of Monday 9 April gave a lecture in the same hall.¹⁰⁷ The next day he left by the *Derwent* for Brisbane.¹⁰⁸

In Brisbane Redmond's main address was at the Theatre Royal on Friday 13 April attended by about 1000 people and chaired once again by Dr O'Doherty.¹⁰⁹ In the lecture entitled "Self-government", Redmond explained what he meant by home rule for Ireland. Quoting Isaac Butt's formulation of a federal system, Redmond said that what was sought was decentralisation not separation where the internal affairs of Ireland would be regulated by a parliament consisting of the Queen, Lords and Commons of Ireland. All imperial affairs and all that relates to the colonies, foreign states and the common interest of the empire shall continue to be regulated by the Imperial Parliament. In commenting on the lecture *The Brisbane Courier* commended Redmond for his plain-speaking, but claimed it was the press which had pressured him into giving an exposition and defence of what he meant by home rule. Nevertheless, the *Courier* was unmoved by Redmond's argument and reiterated its opposition to home rule, once again advancing an Anglo-centric rationale.¹¹⁰

Redmond was quick to hit back. On Monday 16 April he travelled to Toowoomba. When replying to an address of welcome he accused that portion of the press which attacked him of being "the mouthpiece of an intolerant faction in this country - a faction which

¹⁰² BC 5 April 1883, p. 3.

¹⁰³ BC 6 April 1883, p. 5. The BC's correspondent in reporting the meeting put the attendance at 500 (BC 10 April 1883, p. 3). Later, Annear had to defend himself from criticism for having agreed to chair the meeting (BC 18 April 1883, p. 5)

¹⁰⁴ FJS 14 April 1883, p. 17. The FJS's report was most probably written by Mahon.

¹⁰⁵ BC 6 April 1883, p. 4; 9 April 1883, p. 4; 10 April 1883, p. 4; *Australian Town and Country Journal* (ATC) 14 April 1883, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ FJS 12 May 1883, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ BC 6 April 1883, p. 5; 7 April 1883, p. 5; 10 April 1883, p. 5; *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton) 7 April 1883, p. 2; 10 April 1883, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁸ BC 11 April 1883, p. 5. The availability of suitable venues continued to dog Redmond. The Ipswich council was evenly divided over whether to allow him to use the School of Arts. The mayor used his casting vote to approve the application (BC 12 April 1883, p. 4).

¹⁰⁹ BC 14 April 1883, p. 5; FJS 28 April 1883, p. 18.

¹¹⁰ BC 16 April 1883, p. 4.

was about 100 years behind their brethren at home in intelligence and information".¹¹¹ In the evening Redmond addressed a meeting in the Assembly Rooms. The next day he travelled to Warwick, where he was met at the station and taken to St Mary's school where he was presented with an address. That night he gave a lecture at a meeting of about 1000 persons at the school. The following day he was guest of honour at a concert given by the children of St Mary's school. On Friday 20 April he left Warwick for Stanthorpe, where he spoke at St James school before leaving the next morning for Tenterfield in New South Wales.¹¹²

The Brisbane Courier summed up its opinion of Redmond's tour of Queensland in the following terms:

He has been attentively listened to by large audiences both in Brisbane and in the provincial towns; but the daily telegrams from England informing us of dynamite outrages and of the alleged complicity of the Land League in earlier disorders and crimes have greatly militated against his success, though there are many who are prepared to stand by him and the National League. His really clever oratory again has largely assisted in gaining for him that fair hearing which we regard as the right of all.¹¹³

Northern New South Wales: 21 April to 6 May

While John Redmond had been in Queensland, William and JW Walshe had returned overland to New South Wales reaching Tenterfield on Friday 13 April.¹¹⁴ They attended meetings at Bolivia Hill on Saturday 14 April and at Emmaville on Monday 16 April and then at Armidale on Saturday 21 April before eventually arriving back in Sydney on Wednesday 25 April.¹¹⁵

John Redmond reached Tenterfield on Saturday 21 April. He had been driven there from Stanthorpe in Queensland by Rev. M Keenan. Just outside of Tenterfield they were met and escorted into town by a cavalcade of horsemen and buggies comprising some 200 persons with many more cheering along the way.¹¹⁶ The next day he gave a lecture in the grounds of the Catholic church as he had been refused use of the Exhibition Hall and the School of Arts. In his address Redmond attacked Sir Henry Parkes, in whose electorate Tenterfield lay. The attack was prompted by Parkes's attempt on 17 April to have the Legislative Assembly adopt a "loyal and dutiful address to Her Majesty the Queen" to assure her "that the mass of the people of this colony have no sympathy with and strongly disapprove of the disloyal agitations which have been set on foot in our midst by strangers" (ie. the Redmond brothers). The premier Alexander Stuart had disparaged the move arguing that to suggest that the Redmonds could undermine the colonists' loyalty was absurd. The House resolved 48 to 25 that the address should not be brought before it.¹¹⁷ In his speech, Redmond called Parkes a "political charlatan" and accused him of making false allegations against him and the Land League.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ BC 17 April 1883, p. 5.

¹¹² BC 18 April 1883, p. 5; 19 April 1883, p. 5; 21 April 1883, p. 5; 23 April 1883, p. 5; *Warwick Argus* 21 April 1883, pp. 2-3; *Warwick Examiner and Times* 18 April 1883, p. 2; FJS 5 May 1883, p. 18..

¹¹³ BC 24 April 1883, p. 1S.

¹¹⁴ BC 16 April 1883, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ FJS 28 April 1883, pp. 15, 16.

¹¹⁶ FJS 5 May 1883, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ SMH 18 April 1883, pp. 5-6; PS 21 April 1883, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁸ BC 19 April 1883, p. 5; FJS 28 April 1883, p. 16, 17-18.

On Monday 23 April Redmond continued his journey south through the northern tablelands, speaking at Bolivia Hill and Emmaville. At the latter he addressed a meeting attended by about 400 persons. He was driven from Bolivia Hill to Emmaville and on to Inverell by Mr Flannery, whose "team of splendid greys, decked with green ribbons, was loudly cheered as it passed along". At Inverell Redmond gave a lecture on Wednesday 25 April in the Masonic Hall.¹¹⁹

On Thursday 26 April Redmond addressed a large meeting in the public hall at Tingha, where according to a correspondent to the *Australian Town and Country Journal* the proceedings were disrupted by an explosion of Chinese crackers, gunpowder and cayenne pepper.¹²⁰ The next day he left for Glen Innes, where he spoke in the music hall on Saturday 28 April.¹²¹ According to *The Freeman's Journal*, Redmond had not intended to speak at Glen Innes and only decided to do so when he read in the local paper *The Examiner* an article that was unfavourable to him.¹²² On Monday 30 April Redmond gave a lecture at Armidale, where, having failed to secure a public hall, he delivered his address in Alderman Trim's produce store to a crowd of about 350.¹²³

On Tuesday 1 May Redmond travelled by train from Armidale to Tamworth, where that evening he gave a lecture at the Guild Hall. The local Oddfellows' Hall had been refused to him and a local magistrate presided in the absence of the mayor who had refused to attend. Nevertheless, many of the most influential residents of the town including the Presbyterian minister were on the platform.¹²⁴ The next day Redmond left Tamworth and travelled to Maitland where he gave a lecture in St John's schoolroom, West Maitland on Thursday 3 May.¹²⁵

On Friday 4 May Redmond travelled by train to Newcastle and was taken to the Great Northern Hotel, where he was presented with an address and he gave a short speech. On Saturday 5 May he gave a lecture on the Irish National League at St Mary's school attended by about 250 persons. Although the local bishop, Dr James Murray, was not present a letter from him was read in which he expressed full sympathy with Redmond and his cause. A donation of £20 was included with the letter.¹²⁶

Sydney: 6 May to 16 May

On returning to Sydney following his gruelling tour of Queensland and northern NSW Redmond had only a short break before he was back on the platform. On Thursday 10 May both Redmonds appeared at St Patrick's Hall in the city at a function to raise money for the Mercy Convent. There the brothers demonstrated their versatility when William gave a lecture on "The Poetry of Ireland" followed by John with a recitation of Longfellow's "Legend of the Monk Felix". William also demonstrated his tenacity, for just a few days before he had undergone surgery following a severe attack of illness.¹²⁷ William's ill-health had caused him to miss a meeting at Prospect to which he and Hugh Mahon had been invited. The meeting was initially scheduled for Thursday 3 May but postponed to 6 May. However, even then William was unable to attend and Mahon gave

¹¹⁹ FJS 28 April 1883, p. 15, 18; *The Maitland Mercury* 28 April 1883, p. 5.

¹²⁰ ATC 26 May 1883, p. 40.

¹²¹ BC 28 April 1883, p. 5; FJS 5 May 1883, p. 16.

¹²² FJS 5 May 1883, p. 18.

¹²³ BC 30 April 1883, p. 5; FJS 5 May 1883, p. 16..

¹²⁴ FJS 5 May 1883, p. 16; BC 24 April 1883, p. 5.

¹²⁵ *The Maitland Mercury* 5 May 1883, p. 6; FJS 12 May 1883, pp. 19-20.

¹²⁶ SMH 5 May 1883, p. 12; 7 May 1883, p. 6; FJS 12 May 1883, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁷ FJS 19 May 1883, pp. 18-19.

the lecture. The meeting attracted an audience of about 500 persons including members of the Executive Committee.¹²⁸

At the meeting Mahon spoke on the objects of the Irish National League. No doubt he gave his audience an account of the history of its predecessor, the Land League, a subject about which he would at that time have been well versed as he was about to publish *The Land League: A Narrative of Four Years of Irish Agitation*, a 74-page book providing a brief account of the recent struggle in Ireland. In the words of the preface, his aim was: "To set that struggle fairly before Australians – who have lately listened to so much vilification and falsehood concerning it". Mahon wrote the book at the suggestion of John Redmond who contributed an introduction in which he wrote, "The great enemy of the Irish cause is ignorance. It confronts us at home and abroad".¹²⁹ The book proved popular and by June 1883 it was in its fifth edition.¹³⁰

The purpose of the Redmond mission was not only to inform the Australian people but also to raise money for the League. This was achieved mostly by charging an admission fee to hear the Redmond brothers' speak and by collecting donations. However, other fund-raising methods were also employed. On 12 and 14 May an international handball competition was staged in Sydney under the patronage of the Redmonds with the proceeds going to the League. The brothers were in the audience for a number of matches, and when the competition ended John Redmond presented gold medals to the winners.¹³¹

On Saturday 12 May John Redmond gave a lecture at the Opera House on the corner of King and York Streets on "Self-government Historically Considered". JG O'Connor was in the chair and on the platform were three MPs (Thomas Dalton, WT Coonan and TC O'Mara) with three others in the audience (D O'Connor, John McElhone and John McLoughlin). In his speech Redmond described home rule in terms that he had used in his Theatre Royal speech in Brisbane on 13 April. He also said:

We who propose this scheme consider that it is undesirable that two countries so closely connected geographically and socially, and having so many commercial and international ties, should be wholly separated, or that any dismemberment of the Empire, which Ireland has had her share in building up should take place. But we are just as strongly of opinion that it is equally undesirable that one country should control the domestic affairs of another, whose wants and aspirations it confessedly does not understand, whose various needs it admittedly has not time to attend to, and whose national life such a system of government tends to destroy.¹³²

On Monday 14 May Redmond attended a meeting at Parramatta, but owing to a severe cold he did not address the audience at length, leaving most of the talking to William.¹³³ This was the Redmonds' last major engagement in Sydney ahead of their tour of southern New South Wales and Victoria.

¹²⁸ FJS 28 April 1883, p. 16; 12 May 1883, p. 9.

¹²⁹ Hugh Mahon, *The Land League: A Narrative of Four Years of Irish Agitation*, JG O'Connor, Sydney, 1883.

¹³⁰ FJS 16 June 1883, p. 17.

¹³¹ SMH 11 May 1883, p. 2; 16 May 1883, p. 8.

¹³² *The Express* 19 May 1883, p. 6; FJS 19 May 1883, p. 17-18; SMH 14 May 1883, p. 7.

¹³³ SMH 15 May 1883, p. 8.

Southern New South Wales: 16 May to 29 May

On Wednesday 16 May John Redmond began his journey overland through southern New South Wales to Melbourne. He was farewelled by a party of men and women at Redfern station including William Redmond and Hugh Mahon. Neither accompanied Redmond on the train. Mahon stayed in Sydney, where on Thursday 17 May he chaired a meeting of the Irish National League. The meeting passed a resolution condemning the dismissal of the Orange magistrates.¹³⁴ He would later travel south and join up with John Redmond at Temora.¹³⁵ William would leave Sydney on Friday 18 May for Orange, where on the following Monday he would give a lecture at the convent school on "The Cause and Results of the Land League" attended by two of the dismissed magistrates, Casey and Burke, who moved and seconded the vote of thanks.¹³⁶ Meanwhile, JW Walshe travelled to Melbourne, where he worked with the Australian Central Committee on preparing for John Redmond's visit to Victoria, including a program of 41 lectures.¹³⁷

Redmond made a number of stops on his journey to Melbourne, the first being at Goulburn on Wednesday 16 May where he was met at the station and taken to Mandelson's Hotel in Bishop Lanigan's carriage. A crowd of supporters followed him from the station and when he came out onto the hotel's balcony he was greeted by a cheering assembly of about 100 people. An address of welcome was read. That evening Redmond lectured to an audience of about 800 in a marquee at the back of the Salutation Hotel. The organisers had decided to use a marquee after the committee of the Goulburn Horticultural and Agricultural Society resolved to refuse their request for Redmond to use the society's pavilion and grounds and the Mechanics Institute had refused use of their hall. The makeshift marquee turned out to be more than adequate. It was constructed of sheeted bark and a canvas roof over a dry bark tan floor. It was lighted by two or three large branch chandeliers and a number of forms were provided for those wishing to be seated. Bishop Lanigan was not present at the meeting but a letter written by him was read welcoming Redmond to Goulburn and commending him for his work for Ireland. It contained a donation of £10.¹³⁸

The next evening Redmond was entertained by the students of St Patrick's College, Goulburn who performed songs, recitations and a scene from an Irish play. The *Freeman's Journal's* report states that "the proceedings were brought to a close by the National Anthem (God save Ireland) to honour which the audience rose". In response Redmond recited Thomas Davis's "Scene from the South".¹³⁹

The next morning, Friday 18 May, Redmond travelled by train to Burrowa, where he was accompanied into town by a large cavalcade of horsemen and vehicles. An address was presented to him at his hotel and that evening he lectured to an audience of about 250 persons at the Catholic school. At the end of the evening he was presented with "a magnificent gold Celtic cross" as a memento of his visit.¹⁴⁰ While at Burrowa Redmond

¹³⁴ FJS 19 May 1883, p. 16.

¹³⁵ FJS 2 June 1883, p. 18.

¹³⁶ FJS 19 May 1883, p. 16; 26 May 1883, p. 9.

¹³⁷ FJS 2 June 1883, p. 19.

¹³⁸ FJS 5 May 1883, p. 16; 12 May 1883, p. 9; 19 May 1883, p. 16; 26 May 1883, p. 9, 18. In the light of the difficulty in providing a venue for Redmond the Catholics of Goulburn decided to build their own hall (FJS 23 June 1883, p. 9).

¹³⁹ FJS 26 May 1883, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ FJS 26 May 1883, p. 9; 2 June 1883, p. 19. The cross bore the inscription, "To JE Redmond, Esq., MP. From the people of Burrowa. May 18, 1883".

wrote to Mahon telling him that in Goulburn he heard that Bishop Lanigan intended in a month or so to start a newspaper and that the bishop intended asking Mahon to undertake it. He added, "You will probably hear about it very shortly. I hope it may suit you and I think from what I heard you ought to think twice before refusing the offer".¹⁴¹

On Sunday 20 May Redmond arrived at Young and the next evening delivered a lecture on the aims and objects of the Irish National League to an audience of about 300 persons at St Mary's school. The following day he arrived at Murrumburrah and that evening delivered a lecture in the Assembly Hall to an audience of about 250 persons. On Wednesday 23 May Redmond travelled to Cootamundra where he gave a lecture that evening in the Albion Assembly Hall.¹⁴²

On Thursday 24 May Redmond, who had now been joined by Mahon, arrived in Temora in "a buggy and pair" provided free of charge by Cobb and Co. and were escorted into town by over 100 persons on horseback and in vehicles. Redmond was presented with an address at the Gaiety Theatre, where that evening he lectured to a large audience. At the meeting Mahon seconded the motion dissolving the Land League and establishing a branch of the Irish National League. In his speech he spoke of his imprisonment but said that conditions in Ireland were now worse. He concluded by asking what right Englishmen could claim to make laws for Ireland.¹⁴³ The next day Redmond and Mahon were driven to Clear Hills to catch the train. The two-hour journey was marked by a severe storm of wind and rain. *The Freeman's Journal* correspondent (most probably Mahon) wrote that the driver "brought the Irish delegate as safely through that storm as Mr Redmond's own pluck and determination had brought him through the howling hurricane, the abusive whirlwind conjured up by the bigots of Australia". Redmond remained at Clear Hills on Friday 25 May night and early the next day travelled on to Wagga Wagga, where he delivered a lecture at St Michael's school on the Irish National League. The next morning, after attending mass at the convent and paying a visit to the sisters, Redmond took the mail train to Albury. On Monday 28 May he gave a lecture there in the local Catholic school as the Mechanics' Institute and the Exchange Theatre had been refused to him.¹⁴⁴

The continuing problem of access to suitable venues meant that increasingly Redmond had to use Catholic schools and church buildings and grounds which created another problem. *The Protestant Standard*, which had enthusiastically applauded those communities which had refused to permit Redmond to use their public halls for his lectures, accused Redmond of sectarianism as evidenced by the fact that his lectures "have been given for the most part in places under the control of the Church of Rome, in its church yards and schools, or in barns and sheds belonging to well known Papal Celts".¹⁴⁵ But there were many who sympathised with Redmond over the issue of access to public halls. On Monday 13 August the Sydney School of Arts Debating Club conducted a debate over two nights on the question "That the attempts to prevent the delivery of lectures by Mr JE Redmond upon the Irish Land League were arbitrary and tyrannical, and an infringement of the liberties of the people". The attendance was over 1100

¹⁴¹ Mahon Papers, NLA MS 937/288.

¹⁴² FJS 26 May 1883, p. 9; 2 June 1883, p. 9; 2 June 1883, p. 19.

¹⁴³ FJS 26 May 1883, p. 9; 2 June 1883, pp. 18-19; ATC 2 June 1883, p. 9. ATC gives the date as Friday 25 May.

¹⁴⁴ FJS 2 June 1883, p. 9; 9 June 1883, p. 18; SMH 12 May 1883, p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ PS 12 May 1883, p. 3.

persons and the question was ultimately carried by a large majority of the members and visitors present.¹⁴⁶

Melbourne: 29 May to 31 July

Having completed his tour of southern New South Wales, Redmond left Wodonga on Tuesday 29 May by the mail train bound for Melbourne. Mahon, however, did not accompany him but returned to Sydney.¹⁴⁷ That night Redmond was met at Spencer Street Station by members of the Australian Central Committee, including JW Walshe, and driven to St Patrick's Hall, Bourke Street, West Melbourne, where he was presented with an address.¹⁴⁸ The next day Redmond and Walshe attended a special meeting of the St Ignatius branch of the Hibernian Society in the Guild Hall, Richmond.¹⁴⁹

Redmond was given a few days to prepare for his first major public engagement in Melbourne, which was scheduled for the following Tuesday night 5 June at St Patrick's Hall. It would be the first of three major lectures he would give on the Irish National League in the city. The first two lectures would cover the aims and objects of the League and he would use the third to respond to accusations made against him.

But before Redmond had even spoken publicly in the southern city, *The Argus* in its edition of 1 June fired a shot across Redmond's bow in response to an appeal he had made "that he should not be condemned unheard and by prejudice". In its leader, covering a full column and a quarter, the editor rejected Redmond's appeal, justifying his newspaper's approach by describing the Land League as a body against which the English government had been forced to wage a determined struggle. "The civil war was scarcely veiled", the paper claimed, arguing that because the Land League had been banned its successor "is an unlawful and criminal association". No matter that the English government had seen fit not to ban the Irish National League and no matter that, much to the regret of agrarian wing of the League, the constitution of the National League subordinated agrarian agitation in favour of constitutional reform. *The Argus* claimed, in addition, that the League had taken money from "the murder preaching New York [Irish] press", quoting from what it said was an article in *The Irish World* and repeating the well-worn allegation that the League had provided financial support to assassins. No matter that Hugh Mahon in his recently published book on the Land League had effectively nailed that canard.¹⁵⁰ In the opinion of *The Argus*, Victorians who donated money to the League could not complain if their fellow colonists regarded them as "men who, after warning, succour the Queen's enemies".¹⁵¹

Redmond responded by a letter which *The Argus* published the next day. In it he drew attention to the distinction between the new and old leagues and to the fact that the old league had not been dependent on American money and that *The Irish World*, which the editorial had quoted, was as hostile to the Irish National League as *The Argus*.¹⁵² Undeterred, the editor devoted another column and a half to refuting Redmond's quarter-column letter, pointing out that in his Adelaide speech Redmond himself had

¹⁴⁶ FJS 18 August 1883, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷ FJS 2 June 1883, p. 9; 9 June 1883, p. 18. The latter report was probably written by Mahon. It is dated Albury 2 June 1883, suggesting that Mahon remained in Albury for a few days after Redmond left.

¹⁴⁸ *The Advocate* (Melbourne) 2 June 1883, p. 16; FJS 2 June 1883, p. 9; *The Argus* 30 May 1883, p. 6; SMH 30 May 1883, p. 7.

¹⁴⁹ *The Advocate* 2 June 1883, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Mahon, *Land League*, ch 8.

¹⁵¹ *The Argus* 1 June 1883, p. 4.

¹⁵² *The Argus* 2 June 1883, p. 7.

said that the new league's "leaders and principles were the same as those of the former league".¹⁵³

The Argus had made it clear from the outset that, as far as it and any right-thinking loyal citizen was concerned, Redmond was not going to get a fair hearing in Victoria. Rather than being apologetic about such an illiberal attitude, *The Argus* made a virtue of it: "Thus it is necessary to make a choice. We cannot serve God and Baal".¹⁵⁴ As with its northern counterparts, *The Argus* justified its opposition to home rule on the basis of the interests of Britain: "[T]he British Parliament does not see its way to run any risk with regard to Ireland, for that country has a peculiar geographical, historical, and commercial connexion with the sister isle. ... There can be no doubt that Ireland would have to be reconquered".¹⁵⁵

It was in this context that on Tuesday 5 June Redmond delivered the first of the trilogy of lectures at a meeting attended by about 900 persons who packed St Patrick's Hall. The meeting was chaired by Francis Longmore, one of the signatories of the Grattan Address who had lost his seat at the recent parliamentary elections. Also on the platform was William Redmond, JW Walshe and HB Higgins. Many of Melbourne's leading Irishmen were absent and in his speech William Redmond referred to "cowardly Irishmen who hadn't the common manliness to stand by their side and adhere to the principles which they professed to hold".¹⁵⁶

John Redmond's next engagement was the following day at Sts Peter and Paul's school, Emerald Hill, where the audience numbered about 400. In his speech he accused "the public journals" of a conspiracy to suppress his address of the previous night by giving "a bald, disjointed, unintelligible, and stupid summary".¹⁵⁷ *The Argus* hit back in a column-plus editorial describing Redmond's comments as impudent and making the reasonable point that "the task and mission of the Press is not to serve Mr Redmond nor his league, but the public ... and if the public is satisfied with our selection of news, what right can two strangers in the land have to interfere".¹⁵⁸ Ironically, despite the stand taken in its original editorial, *The Argus* was obviously hearing what Redmond was saying and was engaging in debate with him devoting many column inches to the task. If the adage is right that any publicity is good publicity, Redmond was in front.

On Thursday 7 June the second lecture of the trilogy took place at St Patrick's Hall to a much reduced audience of about 200 persons. There was some controversy when Frank Gavan Duffy, son of Charles Gavan Duffy, objected to William Redmond's reference on Tuesday night to "cowardly Irishmen". Duffy said that in the light of Redmond's own sacrifices for the cause he might "think little of the sacrifices colonial Irishmen had made, but he little knows what colonial Irishmen sacrifice in following their consciences in that matter".¹⁵⁹ Duffy had a point. The dismissed Orange magistrates were proof of what could happen to those who overtly supported the Redmonds. Another example is the Belfast-born Protestant HB Higgins, who because of his support of them was

¹⁵³ *The Argus* 2 June 1883, p. 8.

¹⁵⁴ *The Argus* 1 June 1883, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *The Argus* 6 June 1883, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ *The Advocate* 9 June 1883, pp. 7-10, 12; FJS 9 June 1883, p. 9; *The Argus* 6 June 1883, p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ *The Advocate* 9 June 1883, p. 15; 16 June 1883, p. 8; *The Argus* 7 June 1883, p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ *The Argus* 8 June 1883, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ *The Advocate* 16 June 1883, pp. 5-8; FJS 23 June 1883, p. 18; *The Argus* 8 June 1883, p. 6; SMH 8 June 1883, p. 6.

blackballed when he applied for membership of the Melbourne Club.¹⁶⁰ But it was not only the fear of reprisals that would have dissuaded others from supporting the cause. Many would have been understandingly put off by the prejudicial reports emanating from Dublin during the Phoenix Park murder trials.

While the better-off colonial Irish might have been reluctant to attend Redmond's meetings, the enthusiasm of the remainder assured large audiences. On Friday 8 June about 600 persons attended at St Ignatius school, Richmond to hear the Redmond brothers. John provided some detail on the National League's program addressing such questions as local self-government, the franchise and native industries, while both brothers continued their attack on the Melbourne press, as did the chairman Joseph Winter.¹⁶¹ On Saturday evening 9 June the Redmond brothers attended at St Michael's school, Hotham (now North Melbourne) where several hundred persons attended. The mayor Thomas Fogarty, president of the Irish National League in Victoria, was in the chair. John Redmond spoke briefly on the colonial press comparing it unfavourably to the English press. He said that he could go into any town in England or Scotland and obtain the use of the town hall. He then apologised that because of illness he would not give a lecture but that his brother would. William then gave a lecture on the history of the Land League.¹⁶²

Buoyed by the strength of local support for the Redmond mission the Victorian Central Branch of the Irish National League resolved on Saturday 9 June to convene a conference of delegates from all branches of the League in Australia prior to Redmond's departure. Redmond had foreshadowed such a conference in Adelaide in February. A circular letter of invitation signed by Redmond was distributed throughout the colonies.¹⁶³ But it was not only in inner-city Melbourne that the Redmonds enjoyed the support of the Victorian Irish. On Monday 11 June over 600 persons attended St Mary's school, Geelong to hear John Redmond speak on the origins of the Land League,¹⁶⁴ while on Tuesday 12 June about 200 people attended a meeting at St Mary's school, Sunbury to hear a lecture by William Redmond, who was standing in for his brother who was ill.¹⁶⁵

However, by the next day John Redmond had recovered well enough to deliver the third lecture of his St Patrick's Hall trilogy to an audience of about 1000.¹⁶⁶ That morning *The Argus* had published an editorial in which it criticised priests who lent support to Redmond by making their schools and halls available to him and by appearing on his platform, citing in support of its criticism what it said was a recent rescript against the Land League issued by Pope Leo XIII to the Irish bishops.¹⁶⁷ In his lecture Redmond

¹⁶⁰ John Rickard, *HB Higgins: The Rebel as Judge*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984, p.p. 64-65. The ostracism did not do Higgins' career much harm, nor did it diminish his support of Irish nationalism. When William Redmond returned to Melbourne in 1905 it was Higgins who moved the vote of welcome at the United Irish League picnic in his honour (*The Argus* 31 January 1905, p. 9).

¹⁶¹ *The Advocate* 16 June 1883, p. 8; *The Argus* 9 June 1883, p. 12.

¹⁶² *The Advocate* 16 June 1883, pp. 8-9; FJS 16 June 1883, p. 9; *The Argus* 11 June 1883, pp. 5, 7.

¹⁶³ *The Advocate* 16 June 1883, p. 15; FJS 23 June 1883, p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ *The Advocate* 16 June 1883, p. 9; FJS 16 June 1883, p. 9; *The Argus* 12 June 1883, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ *The Argus* 13 June 1883, p. 9.

¹⁶⁶ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, pp. 5-7; FJS 30 June 1883, pp. 17-18; *The Argus* 14 June 1883, p. 5, 6.

¹⁶⁷ *The Argus* 13 June 1883, pp. 4-5. *The Advocate* published a translation of the pope's letter appearing in *The Argus*, commenting that, if it were accurate, "It in no way abridges the political rights of bishops, priests, or laity. It recommends moderation, and nothing more" (*The Advocate* 23 June 1883, pp. 9-10, 12). The following week it published a translation of the letter appearing in *The Freeman's Journal* (Dublin) of 17 May 1883, as well as commentary from various Irish and English sources, pointing out that it was dated 1 August 1882 and that there had been more recent papal pronouncements on the subject. It set out

referred to the article, noting ironically that *The Argus* had discovered for the first time that the Pope was infallible. Redmond quoted from the pope's letter a passage in which the pope had said "while it is lawful and just for those suffering oppression to seek their rights by lawful means, it is not allowable to make use of the assistance which crime affords". He then added his own denunciation of resort to violence, saying that he "would make any sacrifice for Ireland, but he would rather see her always remain in her present unhappy condition than do any wrong to assist the cause which he advocated".¹⁶⁸

Having completed his program in Melbourne, Redmond began a tour of rural Victoria. On Thursday 14 June he travelled to Echuca where he was met at the station by an enthusiastic crowd and escorted to the Palace Hotel, a procession of supporters following in his wake. There he addressed the assembly from the hotel balcony. That night he gave a lecture at the Temperance Hall.¹⁶⁹ The next day he spoke at Rochester to an audience of about 200 persons at Spencer's granary.¹⁷⁰ On Saturday 16 June he travelled by train to Sandhurst (now called Bendigo) where he was met at the railway station by a reception committee and about 200 persons. He was driven to the Shamrock Hotel, where he was presented with an address and he made a speech.¹⁷¹

In Sandhurst John was joined by William, who was hoping soon to commence his own parliamentary career following the announcement that Timothy Healy intended to stand in the Monaghan by-election to be held on 30 June 1883, thereby creating a vacancy in the seat of Wexford Borough. In pursuit of his ambition, William had the support of the Australian Irish. On 16 June a cable was sent on behalf of the Irish National League in Australia to Parnell stating that the Irishmen of Australia were anxious that William Redmond should be nominated for the vacant parliamentary seat and promising that that all expenses would be paid by them. Shortly thereafter a cable message was received from London advising that William Redmond had been nominated for the seat by the Irish Party and that the government had decided not to prosecute him on his return to Ireland. Redmond's opponent in the by-election would be the O'Connor Don, who was backed by the Liberals and the Conservatives. The election was held on 17 July and Redmond won by 307 to 126, a majority of 181 votes. The Australian Irish claimed credit for his election.¹⁷²

The Argus, however, reported that the election was accompanied by "the most disgraceful exhibition of rioting and intimidation that has occurred at an election for some time past". It claimed that many of the O'Connor Don's supporters were prevented from voting by the conduct of Redmond supporters and that the proceedings ended in a desperate riot in which the mob assailed the police with stones and was only dispersed at the point of the bayonet. *The Advocate* was quick to point out that *The Argus* "was at it again". It observed that there were only 479 enrolled voters in Wexford, of whom 433 had voted, so that if even if the remaining 46 had voted for the O'Connor Don he would

a lengthy argument against the interpretation of the papal rescripts appearing in the Anglo-Australian press (*The Advocate* 30 June 1882, pp. 7-9, 12, 15).

¹⁶⁸ *The Advocate* 28 July 1883, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶⁹ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, p. 8; *The Argus* 15 June 1883, p. 3.

¹⁷⁰ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, p. 8; *The Argus* 16 June 1883, p. 7; *The Bendigo Advertiser* (BA) 16 June 1883, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, p. 8; *The Argus* 18 June 1883, p. 5; BA 18 June 1883, p. 2.

¹⁷² FJS 23 June 1883, p. 9; 30 June 1883, p. 16; 21 July 1883, p. 13; 28 July 1883, p. 19; 22 September 1883, p.8; *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, p. 11; 21 July 1883, pp. 8, 11, 12; 28 July 1883, p. 12

still have been well beaten. It further noted that the London correspondent of *The Sydney Morning Herald* had reported that some supporters of O'Conor Don had indeed abstained from voting, but they did so because of remarks made by their candidate during the campaign, not because of the disturbance, which had in fact taken place after the declaration of the poll.¹⁷³

In the meantime, the Redmond brothers' tour of rural Victoria rolled on. On Monday 18 June John Redmond gave a lecture on home rule at St Killian's Hall, Bendigo to an audience of almost 700 persons, while the next day William spoke on the Irish land question at the same hall to an audience of between 800 and 900 persons.¹⁷⁴ On Thursday 21 June the Redmond brothers attended a ceremony for the reception of two novices into the Sisters of Mercy and William gave a speech. Later that day John returned to Melbourne while William travelled to East Charlton, Donald and Gooroc near St Arnaud where he gave lectures before himself returning to Melbourne.¹⁷⁵

So popular were the brothers in rural Victoria that the Central Branch was inundated with invitations for them to visit and speak at communities throughout the colony. At a meeting of the Central Branch on Tuesday 19 June Walshe explained that Redmond had to return to the United Kingdom in October and had yet to visit New Zealand, so there was simply not enough time for them to satisfy the demand.¹⁷⁶

Despite the Redmonds' popularity, the availability of venues continued to be controversial. At Horsham a petition was circulated disapproving of the committee's action in granting the use of the Mechanics Institute's hall and calling upon the members of the committee who voted in favour of the resolution to resign. On Monday 26 June fifty subscribers to the institute attended a meeting to protest the action of the committee.¹⁷⁷ At Donald, where the Mechanics Institute hall was made available for William Redmond's meeting on Saturday 23 June, the committee of the institute unanimously passed a resolution disowning any connection with the meeting and stating that the hall had been let by the proprietor of the building which the committee only rented.¹⁷⁸ In Ballarat attempts to deny the Redmond brothers a venue for their lecture at St Alipius school on 6 July took a new turn. The secretary of the Central Health Board instructed the local board to give notice that as admission was to be charged the provisions of the legislation pertaining to premises licensed for entertainment applied. It was noted that the building in question did not contain the required means of ingress and egress.¹⁷⁹

At the end of June the determination of loyal citizens to deny Redmond access to a suitable venue in Melbourne descended into farce. By chance, Charles Hamilton Bromby, an English-born son of the former Anglican Bishop of Tasmania and a former Attorney General of that colony, was at the same time also giving a series of lectures on Ireland, entitled "The English in Ireland". A convert to Catholicism, Bromby was using the lectures to raise money for the construction of the Catholic cathedral in Hobart. In his

¹⁷³ *The Argus* 19 July 1883, pp. 6, 7; *The Advocate* 21 July 1883, pp. 11; 28 July 1883, p. 12; SMH 19 July 1883, p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, pp. 8-9; BA 19 June 1883, p. 3; 20 June 1883, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ *The Advocate* 30 June 1883, p. 10; 7 July 1883, p. 10; *The Argus* 23 June 1883, p. 7; BA 22 June 1883, p. 2; 23 June 1883, p. 2

¹⁷⁶ *The Advocate* 23 June 1883, pp. 9, 12, 14.

¹⁷⁷ *The Argus* 21 June 1883, p. 10; 26 June 1883, p. 9.

¹⁷⁸ *The Argus* 22 June 1883, p. 3; *The Advocate* 7 July 1883, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ *The Argus* 23 June 1883, p. 7.

lectures Bromby concentrated on what he regarded as the evil deeds of the English in their occupation of Ireland, arguing that, if the English would not leave, the Irish had a perfect right to turn them out by force.

Perhaps relying on Bromby's pedigree, *The Argus* had initially commended his lecture series. But the newspaper's tune quickly changed following the lecture he delivered at Hotham on 16 June when, in its reporter's opinion, Bromby "gave utterance to disloyal and semi-seditious remarks".¹⁸⁰ On Wednesday 20 June *The Argus* devoted a full column of its leader to denouncing Bromby, whom it described as "even more objectionable" than the Redmond brothers.¹⁸¹ For his next lecture Bromby had hired the Melbourne Town Hall. Alerted by the postponed perceptiveness of *The Argus*, a deputation, led by the colony's chief Irish baiter the Hon James Patterson MLA, called on Melbourne's mayor James Dodgshun and a number of councillors on Saturday 23 June and requested the council to cancel the booking. Declaring his abject loyalty to the Queen, the mayor assented to the deputation's request and informed Father Beechinor, who had booked the Town Hall on Bromby's behalf that it was no longer available. He gave two reasons: firstly, it was reported and believed that the Redmond brothers were expected to be present, an allegation that both Father Beechinor and John Redmond denied in letters to *The Argus*; and, secondly, that Bromby had expressed himself in language offensive and objectionable to loyal citizens, a charge that Beechinor rejected.¹⁸²

In the result, Bromby, like the Redmond brothers, found it necessary to resort to St Patrick's Hall. *The Argus* defended the council's breach of contract by arguing, "Mr CH Bromby has succeeded in arousing ill-feeling, and it is better to run a little legal risk than incur the more real danger of a disturbance inside the civic walls". It then turned its guns on Father Beechinor accusing him of duplicity in not disclosing the content of Bromby's lecture and then widened its attack to encompass the whole Catholic clergy because of the support many priests had been giving the Redmond mission: "Instead of doing good, the priesthood has either been passive or has worked for evil. ... The action of the priesthood ... stands self-condemned, for it alienates sympathy all round".¹⁸³ In other words, in the interests of avoiding arousing ill-feeling in the colony, "Croppie lie down". Once more the Anglo-centric perspective is evident. Mention of English wrongs in Ireland, even if accepted fact, was to be forbidden in the interests of avoiding ill-feeling between the races, but exposure of the crimes and vices of the Irish in Ireland and Australia, whether based in proven fact or not, was to be encouraged as being in the public interest.

The Bendigo Advertiser adopted a middle position on the controversy by arguing that Bromby had been far more provocative than the Redmond brothers: "the Redmond speeches in Sandhurst were as harmless fireworks compared with Mr Bromby's explosion". It suggested that the Redmonds' connection with the suspected Land League "has prevented large numbers of people from judging them in a dispassionate and unprejudiced spirit. ... They do not talk treason but labor under the suspicion of meaning treason".¹⁸⁴ The battle of the public halls spread to the political arena becoming

¹⁸⁰ *The Argus* 18 June 1883, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ *The Argus* 20 June 1883, p. 4.

¹⁸² *The Argus* 25 June 1883, p. 3. See also *The Advocate* 30 June 1883, pp. 6-7, 12.

¹⁸³ *The Argus* 26 June 1883, p. 5. *The Argus* 2 July 1883, p. 10 reported that Bromby was a convert to Catholicism and that his lecture at St Patrick's Hall was "of the same inflammatory character".

¹⁸⁴ BA 21 June 1883, p. 2.

an issue in the municipal elections, particularly in the municipalities of Fitzroy and Hotham, where councillors who had supported the Redmond brothers were defeated.¹⁸⁵

After a few days in Melbourne, John Redmond resumed his tour of rural Victoria. On Tuesday evening 26 June he addressed a public meeting of about 300 people at the Mechanics Institute, Kyneton. The next day he travelled in the company of James Dalton of Orange to Daylesford, where they were met out of town by about 40 residents of the town mostly on horseback and escorted into town. As they passed a sports oval, where a game of football was being played, the players and several of the spectators came out of the grounds and hooted at the procession as it passed. The Irishmen did not retaliate. On arrival at the Albert Hall Redmond was presented with an address and that night he delivered a lecture in the hall. On Friday 29 June Redmond spoke at Allandale in the local hall to an audience of about 300, while his brother and JW Walshe spoke at Horsham. On Monday 2 July John Redmond spoke at Dunnstown in the Catholic school,¹⁸⁶ while the next day William gave a lecture on the Irish poets at St Ignatius Catholic Church, Richmond.¹⁸⁷ On Wednesday 4 July John Redmond travelled from Ballarat to Gordon where that evening he gave a lecture in the Mechanics' Institute to an audience of between 250 and 300. The next night he gave a lecture at Ballarat East in St Alipius' school where 1200 persons were present. Redmond had there been denied the use of the Alfred Hall after a petition with more than 500 names had been presented to the mayor praying that the hall should not be let to him.¹⁸⁸

In early July it looked as if Redmond would leave Australia in September in order to visit New Zealand on his way home. He told *The Freeman's Journal* that William and JW Walshe would visit some towns while he would visit others in order to attend as many meetings as possible.¹⁸⁹ On Friday 6 July William spoke at Shepparton. *The Argus* reported that "some disturbances were caused outside by a mob, but with the exception of a window being broken no damage was done".¹⁹⁰ The gruelling schedule of talks was taking its toll on William and he became indisposed for a few days, so that on Saturday 7 July he remained in Shepparton while JW Walshe attended the meeting at Tatura in the Mechanics' Institute. On Tuesday 10 July William was back in action, and with Walshe spoke at Nagambie at the Catholic school.¹⁹¹

Meanwhile, John Redmond spent a week in the Western District of Victoria, giving lectures at Colac on Monday 9 July, at Camperdown on Tuesday 10 July, at Garvoc on Wednesday 11 July and at Warrnambool on Thursday 12 July, where, according to *The Advocate* he received "the most enthusiastic receptions he has received since he came to Australia". Driven from Garvoc to Warrnambool he was met at Allansford Junction by several hundred persons and a procession formed in his honour. It was a mile in length comprising 500 people. After a reception where several illuminated addresses were

¹⁸⁵ *The Argus* 24 July 1883, p. 8; 26 July 1883, p. 9; 9 August 1883, p. 5; 10 August 1883, pp. 3, 5. As if the battle of the public halls was not enough, on 15 June William Redmond suffered the indignity of being the victim of a thief who stole his great coat and meerschaum pipe from the Union Club Hotel. The thief was arrested and when brought before the court on this and another offence, Redmond indicated he did wish to press the charge. Nevertheless, the magistrate sentenced the man to two months imprisonment (*The Argus* 9 July 1883, p. 7; 19 July 1883, p. 8).

¹⁸⁶ *The Advocate* 30 June 1883, p. 10; 7 July 1883, pp. 9-10 14 July 1883, pp. 8-9; BA 28 June 1883, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ FJS 7 July 1883, p. 15.

¹⁸⁸ *The Advocate* 14 July 1883, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸⁹ FJS 7 July 1883, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ *The Argus* 9 July 1883, p. 7; *The Advocate* 14 July 1883, p. 8.

¹⁹¹ *The Advocate* 7 July 1883, p. 10; 14 July 1883, p. 8.

presented, Redmond, who wore an orange and green rosette, gave a lecture that evening at St Joseph's school to an audience of 700 people. During the lecture William Redmond, accompanied by Joseph Winter, arrived from Melbourne and received a most enthusiastic reception. The next day, Friday 13 July, the Redmond brothers with Winter and Dalton travelled in procession to Koroit. Along the route the Koroit and Crossley bands played during intervals. That evening there was a ball at which the Redmond brothers spoke.¹⁹²

John Redmond's plan to return to the United Kingdom in October was shelved, giving him more time in Australia. Accordingly, on Tuesday 17 July 1883 the Central Branch resolved that the date of the convention be put back to 7 November 1883. The next day John Redmond spoke at Sale in the St Mary's Catholic school, the Victoria Hall and the Mechanics' Institute having been denied to him.¹⁹³ On Friday 20 July he spoke at the Christian Brothers' school, Ballarat West, while William Redmond spoke at North Fitzroy.¹⁹⁴ On Monday 23 July John Redmond addressed a crowded meeting in the market buildings at Kilmore, the local halls there also being denied to him. According to *The Argus*, the press was excluded from the meeting and the editor of the *Kilmore Advertiser* ordered out after he refused to undertake to give a full report of the proceedings. However, James Dalton sent a telegram to *The Advocate* advising that the report was false and that the press were present and had reported the meeting.¹⁹⁵

The two brothers continued to address as many meetings as they could. John Redmond spoke at Seymour on Tuesday 24 July, in a marquee at Benalla on 25 July, in St George's Hall at Beechworth on 27 July 1883, at Burrumine on 29 July and at Wangaratta on 30 July.¹⁹⁶ William Redmond spoke at St Killian's Hall, Sandhurst on Monday 23 July and in the Royal Hall at Inglewood on 25 July.¹⁹⁷ He returned to Melbourne where he attended a meeting of the Central Branch at St Patrick's Hall on 31 July and then spoke at St Joseph's church, Collingwood on 1 August.¹⁹⁸

This stage of the Victorian tour was complete. On Tuesday 31 July John Redmond set out from Benalla, passing through Albury on his way to Sydney, while JW Walshe sailed to Tasmania on the *Flinders* to prepare for the visit of William Redmond, who followed on the *Mangana* on Friday 3 August.¹⁹⁹ But just as they were preparing to go their separate ways the spectre of the Phoenix Park murders once more appeared.

At the end of July news had reached the colony that the steamer *Pathan* sailing from London to Australia was carrying members of the Invincibles who had turned informants and that the British government intended to settle them in Melbourne. This news caused general outrage in the Australian colonies with the result that the pro- and anti-Redmond forces in Australia lined up on the same side against the Imperial government. At first the Irish authorities denied the story but the colonial governments, convinced it was true, took steps to quarantine their citizens from what *The Advocate* called "criminal contamination". *The Advocate's* nemesis James Patterson MLA was

¹⁹² *The Advocate* 21 July 1883, p. 8; FJS 28 July 1883, p. 19.

¹⁹³ *The Advocate* 7 July 1883, p. 10; 28 July 1883, p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ *The Advocate* 21 July 1883, p. 11; 28 July 1883, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹⁵ *The Argus* 24 July 1883, p. 8; *The Advocate* 28 July 1883, p. 8; 4 August 1883, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶ *The Advocate* 28 July 1883, p. 8; 4 August 1883, p. 8; 11 August 1883, p.8; *The Northeastern Ensign* (Benalla) 27 July 1883, p. 2.

¹⁹⁷ *The Advocate* 28 July 1883, pp. 17-18.

¹⁹⁸ *The Advocate* 4 August 1883, pp. 7, 8-9; *The Argus* 2 August 1883, p. 7.

¹⁹⁹ SMH 1 August 1883, p. 8; *The Advocate* 4 August 1883, p. 16; *The Argus* 4 August 1883, p. 8.

equally opposed to the informants landing in Melbourne, but he was less strident in his language, referring to them as “undesirable visitors”. When the *Pathan* arrived at Adelaide on 1 August detectives boarded the ship and searched for the informants. At first it was thought there were between six and ten of them on board but it turned out that there were only three: Joe Smith, Michael Kavanagh and Joseph Hanlon, each travelling under a false name. The police carefully vetted disembarking passengers to ensure they did not slip through. The ship then sailed on to Melbourne, where the Victorian government took similar precautions. The passengers were carefully scrutinised and eventually three men were taken aside and told they could not land. After strenuous denials each in turn eventually owned up. With the informants still on board, the ship then sailed on to Sydney. But before the *Pathan* moored in Sydney Harbour the British government resolved not to land them in Australia and they were transferred to a naval vessel and eventually returned home. At its meeting on 2 August the Central Branch of the Irish National League passed a resolution expressing its gratitude to the Victorian premier James Service for preventing the informants from landing.²⁰⁰

Tasmania: 3 August to 13 August (William Redmond)

William spent ten days in Tasmania, giving a lecture on Monday 6 August at the Oddfellows' Hall, Launceston, at which Walshe also spoke, and on Thursday 9 August at the Tasmanian Hall, Hobart before returning to Melbourne on the *Flinders* on Monday 13 August. In Melbourne on Thursday 16 August he gave a farewell lecture in St Patrick's Hall on his personal recollections of Forster's Coercion Act.²⁰¹

Sydney: 1 August to 1 October

In the meantime, John Redmond had arrived back in Sydney by train on Wednesday 1 August.²⁰² The previous night the chairman of the Sydney branch of the Land League had announced that in the morning Redmond would be arriving in the city on his way to New Zealand.²⁰³ However, although he arrived in Sydney as expected, Redmond delayed his departure to New Zealand for reasons that *The Freeman's Journal* explained in its issue of 18 August: “It is not business in the strict sense of the term that has delayed Mr Redmond, but something more in the way of romance, for it is no secret that the honourable gentleman is to be married very shortly to Miss Dalton, a near relative of Mr Thomas Dalton MLA of North Shore. The interesting ceremony, we believe, will take place about the 4th of September”. It added that Redmond looked all the better for his couple of weeks rest in Sydney.²⁰⁴ The bride to be was Johanna Dalton the half-sister of the Dalton brothers, James and Thomas, the colonies richest and most successful Irish businessmen.

In the same issue *The Freeman's Journal* announced that a new newspaper was to be launched in Goulburn to be called *The Southern Free Press* and that its editor would be

²⁰⁰ *The Advocate* 4 August 1883, pp. 15, 16; 11 August 1883, p. 8; FJS 11 August 1883, pp. 8-9; *The Argus* 2 August 1883, p. 4; 3 August 1883, p. 4; 4 August 1883, p. 8-9, 12. *The Argus*, anxious not to offend the Imperial government, was uncertain as to what was the proper course, asking, “whether, in obstructing [the informants'] landing by force, we are aiding the British Ministry or abetting Mr Parnell”.

²⁰¹ *The Advocate* 11 August 1883, p. 8; 18 August 1883, pp. 11, 18; 25 August 1883, pp. 8-9; *The Argus* 14 August 1883, p. 4; 17 August 1883, p. 3.

²⁰² FJS 4 August 1883, p. 16.

²⁰³ *The Advocate* 11 August 1883, p. 8, citing FJS of 4 August 1883.

²⁰⁴ FJS 18 August 1883, p. 16.

Hugh Mahon. This announcement marked the end of Mahon's involvement with the Redmond mission as evidenced by the omission of Mahon's name from the Irish National League's regular advertisement in *The Freeman's Journal*. Also, Mahon's duties in launching the new paper in Goulburn would prevent him from attending the wedding.²⁰⁵

In the lead-up to the wedding, the Redmonds' Sydney program was much less onerous than they had been used to. William gave a lecture on "Personal Recollections of Forster's Coercion Act" at St Bridget's Hall, Kent Street North on Wednesday 29 August, repeating it at Darlinghurst the following Wednesday. On Saturday 1 September the Redmond brothers were entertained at a picnic at Pearl Bay.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, they still had to respond to press reports which they regarded as inaccurate, such as the cable news of 15 August claiming they had forwarded a report to Dublin stating that Archbishops Vaughan of Sydney and Goold of Melbourne were hostile to their mission while the Bishops of Maitland and Goulburn were favourable to it.²⁰⁷ However, on Tuesday 4 September business was put aside and John Redmond and Johanna Dalton were married at St Mary's Church, North Sydney. That afternoon, after a reception at Thomas Dalton's nearby residence "Wheatleigh", the newly-weds left for Moss Vale and then travelled to Melbourne, returning to Sydney on board the *Clyde* which left Melbourne on 18 September.²⁰⁸

It seems that the marriage had not pleased everyone in Redmond's inner circle, including Thomas Curran, proprietor of Pfhalert's Hotel, where the Redmonds had been staying. Just after the wedding Francis Freehill wrote to Hugh Mahon telling him that on the day before the wedding Curran, who had not been invited, gave vent to his feelings in the hearing of William, who had then protested. According to Freehill, who was not present, Curran called the Redmonds "a pack of scrubbers" and rushed at William, knocking him against the banisters, nearly injuring JG O'Connor in the process. The Redmonds and others in their group then cleared out.²⁰⁹ Another friend of Mahon, Nora Shanahan, gave a similar second-hand report of the fracas, which claimed that William intervened after he overheard Curran and O'Connor discussing John Redmond in uncomplimentary terms, saying that he was only an adventurer who came to look for a wife and fortune. Despite concerns that the row would become public knowledge, the story was not reported in the press.²¹⁰

New Zealand: 5 October to 26 October²¹¹

While John Redmond was on his honeymoon, William Redmond and JW Walshe left Sydney on the *SS Zealandia* for Auckland on Thursday 6 September, arriving on Tuesday 11 September.²¹² John joined them in early October having left Sydney for Auckland on

²⁰⁵ FJS 18 August 1883, p. 9, 11.

²⁰⁶ FJS 25 August 1883, p. 9; 8 September 1883, p. 16, 18-19; 15 September 1883, p. 10.

²⁰⁷ *The Argus* 16 August 1883, p. 7; 17 August 1883, p. 3; FJS 18 August 1883, p. 16; *The Advocate* 18 August 1883, p. 11.

²⁰⁸ FJS 8 September 1883, pp. 15-16; *The Advocate* 8 September 1883, p. 15; *The Argus* 19 September 1883, p. 6.

²⁰⁹ Letter (undated) FB Freehill to Hugh Mahon (Mahon Papers NLA MS937/274).

²¹⁰ Letter 5 September 1883 Nora Shanahan to Hugh Mahon (Mahon Papers NLA MS937/289).

²¹¹ For a fuller account of the New Zealand leg of the tour see Campbell, "John Redmond and the Irish National League", pp. 357-359.

²¹² FJS 8 September 1883, p. 16; 29 September 1883, p. 18.

Monday 1 October on board the *Manapouri* arriving on Friday 5 October.²¹³ During the few weeks available the brothers toured NZ giving talks in various towns and cities before returning to Australia on the *Ringarooma*, which left Dunedin on the afternoon of Thursday 25 October. John Redmond had earlier that morning travelled to Invercargill where he lectured that night joining the ship at the Bluff. On Wednesday 31 October the three of them disembarked in Melbourne.²¹⁴ The next day John took the express train to Sydney, where he collected his wife and returned to Melbourne by the RMS *Thames* arriving on Sunday 4 November.²¹⁵

Melbourne 31 October to 11 November

The main event in Melbourne was the Irish Australian National Convention which opened in St Patrick's Hall on Wednesday 7 November with Dr Kevin O'Doherty of Brisbane presiding. About 200 delegates from the Australian colonies (except Western Australia) and New Zealand were present, more than half from Victoria. The Redmond brothers and JW Walshe as well as delegates from Victoria, NSW, Queensland and Tasmania addressed the convention and a cable message received from Parnell was read out. Resolutions were passed defining the constitution of the federal council, which was appointed with executive powers and Dr O'Doherty was elected president. Resolutions were also passed concerning the situation in Ireland. It was resolved to hold the next convention in Sydney in 1884.²¹⁶

The Argus expressed its disapproval of the convention even before the proceedings began. On Monday 5 November its leader urged its fellow Irish citizens "to refrain from encouraging the Redmond convention". It admonished the Redmond brothers that the British citizens of the colony "keenly feel that they are insulted when their mother country is held up to infamy as some bloody and barbarous power". How the Irish citizens of the colony might feel when their mother country was held up to infamy as some bloody and crime-ridden land was left unstated. Describing Australia as "a haven for all who desire to escape from the old world and its troubles", the editor continued, "No man ... has a right to come to these shores, and to settle amongst us, to take up our land, and enjoy the benefit of our laws, unless he means to leave behind him animosities which could plunge Australia into strife". Many would agree, but when uttered by *The Argus* such laudable sentiments were but cant; fine words which the paper never chose to publish on occasions such as the 12th of July.²¹⁷

The Advertiser considered the convention a failure, claiming that it had failed to attract any of the leading Irishmen of the colonies. In response, Pierce Healy accused *The Advertiser* of falsely and offensively stigmatising the delegates as "nobodies", saying "all the delegates were representative men, whose characters were unimpeachable, and many of them were possessed of superior culture and intelligence".²¹⁸

²¹³ FJS 20 October 1883, p. 16; *New Zealand Herald* 5 October 1883, p. 4.

²¹⁴ *The Advocate* 17 November 1883, p. 10; *New Zealand Tablet* 26 October 1883, p. 16; *The Argus* 1 November 1883, p. 6.

²¹⁵ *The Argus* 1 November 1883, p. 6; 2 November 1883, p. 8; 3 November 1883, p. 10; 5 November 1883, p. 8; FJS 3 November 1883, p. 16; 10 November 1883, p. 9; *The Advocate* 3 November 1883, p. 15.

²¹⁶ FJS 10 November 1883, pp. 15-16; 10 November 1883, pp. 16-18; *The Argus* 8 November 1883, p. 5; *The Advocate* 3 November 1883, p. 14; 10 November 1883, pp. 5-10, 14; 17 November 1883, pp. 5-9, 14-15; 24 November 1883, p. 12; 9 February 1884, p. 10; 23 February 1884, p. 8.

²¹⁷ *The Argus* 5 November 1883, p. 8

²¹⁸ SAA 17 November 1883, p. 4; *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 24 November 1883, p. 12.

On Friday 9 November at St Patrick's Hall Redmond gave his final lecture in Melbourne on "Wexford in '98".²¹⁹ And on Wednesday 21 November *The Argus* delivered its final condemnatory leader on the Redmond mission.²²⁰

Adelaide 16 to 22 November

Instead of returning to Sydney as proposed, Redmond and his wife on Sunday 11 November took the *South Australian* to Adelaide. Due to heavy gales off the south coast of the continent on Wednesday 14 November the captain decided to seek shelter at Portland. As a result, the ship was delayed and they did not arrive in Adelaide until Friday 16 November.²²¹ That night Redmond lectured in St Francis Xavier's Hall on home rule. Dr John Gunson presided and Bishop Reynolds was on the platform.²²² On Monday 19 November Redmond lectured on "Wexford in 1798" in St Xavier's Hall, having been refused use of the Adelaide Town Hall. Pierce Healy launched a strong attack on the press coverage of the Redmond mission with particular reference to the Adelaide press.²²³

Redmond then made a short tour of rural South Australia north of Adelaide. On Tuesday 20 November he travelled by train to Gawler where he spoke at the Catholic school, having been refused permission to speak at the Gawler Institute.²²⁴ The next day he gave a lecture in Crase's Assembly Rooms at Kapunda before what *The Advertiser* called "a very meagre attendance" of about 50 persons. The *Register* estimated the audience to be 70 persons. In his lecture Redmond once again attacked the press and the Adelaide press in particular.²²⁵ On Thursday 22 November he was back in Adelaide, where the Redmonds boarded the *Victorian* which arrived in Melbourne on Saturday 24 November.²²⁶

As with Redmond's Melbourne tour a few months before, the Redmond mission to South Australia had an impact on Adelaide's municipal elections. But this time the effect may have been in the opposite direction. At the elections on Saturday 1 December Alderman HR Fuller, who was the mayor of Adelaide when the council refused permission for Redmond to use the town hall, was defeated. The *Register* suggested that one of the causes of his defeat was the fact that the Catholic vote went against him because of the council's refusal to let the town hall to Redmond. At the declaration of the polls on Monday 3 December Fuller rejected the *Register's* claim, saying that he had had nothing to do with refusing the town hall to Redmond and that at the time it was let to someone else. JR Broderick, one of the organisers of the Redmond mission in Adelaide, wrote to the *Register* contesting Fuller's statement. He said that the City Treasurer had informed him that the hall was available on one of the days and the application would be considered by the town hall committee, but the next morning it was announced in the

²¹⁹ *The Argus* 10 November 1883, p. 13; 17 November 1883, p. 9; *The Advocate* 8 December 1883, pp. 7-9.

²²⁰ *The Argus* 21 November 1883, pp. 6-7.

²²¹ SAR 15 November 1883, p. 6; 15 November 1883, p. 5.

²²² SAR 17 November 1883, p. 6; SAA 17 November 1883, p. 6.

²²³ SAA 20 November 1883 p. 6; SAR 20 November 1883 p. 6; FJS 3 November 1883, p. 16; 24 November 1883, p. 16.

²²⁴ SAR 19 November 1883 p. 4; 21 November 1883 p. 5; SAA 21 November 1883 p. 6; *The Bunyip* (Gawler) 23 November 1883, pp. 3, 4.

²²⁵ SAR 20 November 1883, p. 2; 22 November 1883, p. 5; SAA 22 November 1883, p. 14.

²²⁶ SAA 23 November 1883, p. 4; SAR 23 November 1883, p. 4; *The Argus* 26 November 1883, p. 4.

papers that the hall had been refused. Broderick claimed that the Irish ratepayers were determined to oust Fuller because of his lack of the spirit of fair play.²²⁷

Melbourne 24 to 27 November

On Monday 26 November John Redmond delivered a final lecture in Victoria at the Oddfellows' Hall, Kilmore, being a repeat of his lecture of 9 November at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne.²²⁸ The next day the Redmonds took the express train to Sydney.²²⁹

Sydney 28 November to 6 December

Redmond's farewell lecture in Sydney was at the Gaiety Theatre, Sydney on Friday 30 November, when he spoke on "A Chapter of Irish History".²³⁰ On the following Thursday, 6 December, John, William and Johanna Redmond left Sydney on board the *Zealandia* bound for America. Travelling with them was Johanna's half-brother James Dalton. The travellers were farewelled by a number of prominent members of the Irish community. As the *Zealandia* sailed up the harbour, the farewell party continued on board another steamer the *Lecevet* which sailed alongside the *Zealandia* until it reached the heads at which time the Messrs Redmond and James Dalton were taken on board the *Zealandia*, an operation which, according to *The Advocate*, "was attended with much difficulty".²³¹

Summary

Thus ended an exhausting ten-month's visit to the Antipodes during which the Redmond brothers covered thousands of miles, addressed more than 200 meetings attended by thousands of people in scores of towns and cities in all the Australian colonies, except Western Australia, and New Zealand.

The tour occurred at a most inauspicious time with the sensational evidence of James Carey casting a pall of suspicion over the Irish National League and the Redmonds themselves. As a result, many prominent Irishmen and many senior clergy distanced themselves from the tour. But not all. James Dalton was a notable exception, as were Bishop Christopher Reynolds of Adelaide, Bishop William Lanigan of Goulburn and Bishop James Murray of Maitland. Nevertheless, the bishops of the three largest sees in Australia, Archbishop Roger Vaughan of Sydney, Archbishop James Goold of Melbourne and Bishop Robert Dunne of Brisbane, had been conspicuously absent. But their reticence was not necessarily a product of the unfortunate timing of the visit nor was it necessarily meant as a snub to Redmond. Each was already firmly opposed to his people's involvement in the politics of the old world lest they jeopardise their chance for social integration in the new.²³²

The metropolitan dailies, however, were not as concerned for the welfare of the Australian Irish as their bishops, though when it suited them they would readily admonish them to disregard the troubles of their native land, while at the same time expending countless column inches drawing attention to those troubles, but from an

²²⁷ SAR 3 December 1883, p. 5; 4 December 1883, p. 6; 6 December 1883, p. 7.

²²⁸ *The Advocate* 1 December 1883, p. 9; 8 December 1883, pp. 7-9.

²²⁹ *The Advocate* 1 December 1883, p. 9; SMH 29 November 1883, p. 10.

²³⁰ SMH 1 December 1883, p. 15; FJS 8 December 1883, pp. 17-20; *The Advocate* 8 December 1883, p. 9 (naming title as "Wexford in '98").

²³¹ FJS 8 December 1883, p. 16; *The Advocate* 8 December 1883, p. 11.

²³² Tobin, "Sea-Divided Gael", pp. 104-105 in relation to Vaughan; O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, p. 228 in relation to Goold; Neil J Byrne, *Robert Dunne 1830-1917: Archbishop of Brisbane*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1991, p. 201 in relation to Dunne.

English perspective only. The vehemence, rancour and partisanship of their reporting during the tour clearly affected Redmond who continued to comment on it long after he left the country.²³³

Nevertheless, despite the reluctance of the Australian Irish gentry, the hostility of the metropolitan press and the difficulties in securing suitable venues, one may reasonably conclude that, measured in terms of the numbers who heard the message and the amount of more than £15 000 raised, the tour was an undoubted success. But it was successful in another way, too. In the introduction to Mahon's book on the Land League Redmond wrote:

There seems to be a tacit agreement amongst the leading organs of these Colonies to present only one side of the Irish question to their readers. Everything, culled no matter from whence, which seems likely to prejudice the public mind against Ireland, is given with prominence; but the Irish side of the question is studiously suppressed.²³⁴

By the end of the Redmond mission the Australian public was much better informed on the Irish question than before, having heard the Irish side from Irishmen rather than through the filter of the English cable news services. In that respect, therefore, it might also be said that for ten months in 1883 the Australian press, through its widespread coverage of the tour and in spite of itself, did more to promote the cause of Irish home rule in Australia than Redmond could ever have hoped to do on his own.

²³³ See, for example, *The Advocate* 19 April 1884, p. 9; 7 June 1884, p. 16.

²³⁴ Mahon, *Land League*, p. viii.

Appendix: The Redmond Brothers' Australian Tour 1883: Chronology

(JER=John Redmond; WR=William Redmond; JWW=John W Walshe; HM=Hugh Mahon; INL= Irish National League)

Adelaide 5 to 13 February

05/02	JER and WR arrived at Glenelg on the RMS <i>Siam</i>
09/02	JER and WR spoke at the Adelaide Town Hall
12/02	JER and WR attended meeting to establish local branch of INL
13/02	JER, WR and JWW departed Adelaide on <i>South Australian</i> for Melbourne
13/02	Edward Riley gave anti-Redmond lecture at Adelaide Town Hall

Sydney 19 February to 5 March

15/02	JER, WR and JWW landed in Melbourne
18/02	JER, WR and JWW passed through Albury by train
19/02	JER, WR and JWW arrived in Sydney by train
19/02	Newspapers carried reports of testimony of James Carey
19/02	JER and WR attended cricket Test match at SCG
22/02	JER and WR spoke at Academy of Music
26/02	JER, JWW and HM attended meeting to establish local branch of INL
06/03	Anti-Redmond meeting held at Protestant Hall

Central West of NSW 5 to 15 March

05/03	JER and HM arrived in Orange
06/03	JER spoke at auction room in Orange
07/03	JER spoke at Dubbo
09/03	JER spoke in the Guild Hall at Bathurst
12/03	Anti-Redmond meeting held at Orange
13/03	JER spoke at Forbes
14/03	JER spoke at Cudal
15/03	JER returned to Sydney

Sydney 15 to 20 March

17/03	JER and WR spoke at St Patrick's Day celebrations at Botany
17/03	JER and WR spoke at St Patrick's Day banquet at Nithsdale in city

Queensland Chronology 20 March to 21 April

20/03	JER and JWW left Sydney for Brisbane on the <i>Derwent</i>
20/03	WR and HM attended dinner for Daniel O'Leary, Irish pedestrian racer
22/03	JER and JWW arrived Brisbane on the <i>Derwent</i>
23/03	JER spoke at Lennon's Hotel, Brisbane
24/03	WR and HM left Sydney for Brisbane on the <i>Governor Blackall</i>
26/03	WR and HM arrived Brisbane on the <i>Governor Blackall</i>
26/03	JER spoke at Goodna, 20km south-west of Brisbane
29/03	JER and WR spoke at St James's school, Brisbane
30/03	JER and HM left Brisbane for Maryborough on the <i>Keilawarra</i>
01/04	JER and HM arrived in Gympie
02/04	JER spoke at the Varieties Theatre, Gympie
02/04	WR and JWW spoke at St James's school, Brisbane
04/04	JER spoke at the town hall at Maryborough

05/04	HM arrived in Brisbane from Maryborough on the <i>Keilawarra</i>
05/04	WR and JWW spoke at St Patrick's Hall, Ipswich
05/04	JER left for Rockhampton on the <i>Moreton</i>
06/04	JER arrived at Rockhampton on the <i>Moreton</i>
06/04	WR and JWW left Brisbane for Toowoomba, Dalby and Warwick
07/04	HM left Brisbane for Sydney on the <i>Katoomba</i>
08/04	WR and JWW held meeting at Warwick to establish branch of INL
09/04	HM arrived in Sydney from Brisbane on the <i>Katoomba</i>
09/04	JER gave a lecture at the Hibernian Hall, Rockhampton
10/04	JER left Rockhampton for Brisbane on the <i>Derwent</i>
13/04	JER spoke at the Theatre Royal, Brisbane
16/04	JER left Brisbane for Toowoomba and spoke in the Assembly Rooms.
17/04	JER travelled overland to Warwick and spoke at a meeting
18/04	JER was guest of honour at St Mary's school, Warwick
20/04	JER left Warwick for Stanthorpe where he spoke at St James's school
21/04	JER left Stanthorpe for Tenterfield

Northern NSW 21 April to 6 May

13/04	WR and JWW arrived in Tenterfield
14/04	WR and JWW spoke at Bolivia Hill
16/04	WR and JWW spoke at Emmaville
21/04	WR and JWW spoke at Armidale
21/04	JER arrived at Tenterfield
22/04	JER spoke at the Catholic church, Tenterfield
23/4	JER spoke at Bolivia Hill and Emmaville
25/04	WR and JWW arrive in Sydney
25/04	JER spoke at Inverell
26/04	JER spoke at Tingha
27/04	JER arrived at Glen Innes
28/04	JER spoke at Glen Innes music hall
30/04	JER spoke at Armidale in Alderman Trim's produce store
01/05	JER spoke at the Guild Hall, Tamworth
02/05	JER travelled to Maitland
03/05	JER spoke at St John's school, West Maitland
04/05	JER travelled to Newcastle
05/05	JER spoke at St Mary's school, Newcastle

Sydney 6 to 16 May

06/05	HM spoke at Prospect in the absence of WR who was ill
10/05	HM chaired meeting of local INL at 30 Royal Arcade
10/05	WR spoke on Irish poets at St Patrick's Hall and JER recited
12/05	JER spoke at the Opera House, Sydney
14/05	JER and WR presented prizes at international handball competition
14/05	JER and WR spoke at Parramatta. JER had a cold. WR talked most.
16/05	JER left Sydney en route to Melbourne

Southern NSW 16 to 28 May

16/05	JER spoke at Gouburn in a marquee erected at Salutation Hotel
17/05	JER was entertained by students of St Patrick's college, Goulburn

17/05	HM chaired meeting of local INL at 30 Royal Arcade
18/05	WR left Sydney for Orange
18/05	JER spoke at Burrowa
20/05	JER travelled to Young
21/05	JER spoke at St Mary's Catholic school, Young
21/05	WR spoke at the convent school, Orange
22/05	JER spoke at Assembly Hall, Murrumburrah
23/05	JER spoke at Albion Assembly Hall, Cootamundra
24/05	JER and HM travelled to Temora where JER spoke at Gaiety Theatre
25/05	JER and HM travelled to Clear Hills
26/05	JER spoke at St Michael's school, Wagga Wagga
27/05	JER travelled to Albury
28/05	JER spoke at Catholic school, Albury
29/05	JER travelled from Wodonga to Melbourne

Melbourne 29 May to 31 July (WR to 3 August)

29/05	JER arrived at Melbourne and was presented with an address at St Patrick's Hall
30/05	JER and JWW attended a special meeting of the St Ignatius branch of the Hibernian Society in the Guild Hall, Richmond
05/06	JER and WR spoke at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
06/06	JER spoke at Sts Peter and Paul's school, Emerald Hill
07/06	JER and WR spoke at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
09/06	JER and WR spoke at St Michael's school, Hotham. JER ill. WR spoke
09/06	Central Branch of INL resolved to hold a convention
11/06	JER spoke at St Mary's school, Geelong
12/06	WR spoke at St Mary's school, Sunbury. JER ill.
13/06	JER and WR spoke at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
14/06	JER travelled to Echuca by train and spoke at Temperance Hall
15/06	JER spoke at Spencer's granary, Rochester
16/06	JER travelled by train from Rochester to Sandhurst where he was presented with an address and he spoke
16/06	Central Branch requested Parnell to nominate WR for Wexford
18/06	JER spoke at St Killian's Hall, Bendigo
19/06	WR spoke at St Killian's Hall, Bendigo
21/06	JER and WR attended reception at Mercy Convent
21/06	WR travelled to East Charlton where he spoke
21/06	JER travelled to Melbourne
23/06	WR and JW to speak at Donald
24/06	WR and JW to speak at Gooroc near St Arnaud
26/06	JER spoke at the Mechanics Institute, Kyneton
27/06	JER spoke in Albert Hall, Daylesford
28/06	WR and JW to speak at Stawell
29/06	JER spoke at Allandale
29/06	WR and JW spoke at Horsham
02/07	JER spoke at the Catholic school, Dunnstown
03/07	WR gave a lecture on the Irish poets at St Ignatius church, Richmond
03/07	HM attended meeting in Sydney of local INL

04/07	JER spoke at Mechanics' Institute, Gordon
05/07	JER spoke at St Alipius' School, Ballarat East
06/07	WR and JW spoke at Shepparton
07/07	JW spoke at Tatura. WR was ill.
09/07	JER spoke at Colac
10/07	WR and JW spoke at Nagambie
10/07	JER spoke at Camperdown
10/07	Sydney INL thanked HM for his book
11/07	JER spoke at Garvoc
12/07	JER and WR spoke at St Joseph's school, Warrnambool
13/07	JER and WR spoke at a ball at Koroit
17/07	WR won the Wexford by-election
17/07	Central Branch sets 7 November as date for INL Convention
17/07	HM attended meeting in Sydney of local INL
18/07	JER spoke at St Mary's Catholic school, Sale
20/07	JER spoke at Christian Brothers' School, Ballarat West
20/07	WR spoke at North Fitzroy
23/07	JER spoke at the market buildings, Kilmore
23/07	WR spoke at St Killian's Hall, Sandhurst
25/07	JER spoke at Benalla
25/07	WR spoke at Royal Hall, Inglewood
27/07	JER spoke at Beechworth
29/07	JER spoke at Burramine
30/07	JER spoke at Wangaratta
31/07	JER left Benalla for Sydney by train
31/07	JWW sailed from Melbourne to Tasmania on <i>Flinders</i>
31/07	WR attended a meeting of the Central Branch at St Patrick's Hall
01/08	WR spoke at St Joseph's church, Collingwood

Tasmania WR 3 to 13 August

03/08	WR sailed to Tasmania on the <i>Mangana</i>
06/08	WR and JWW spoke at Oddfellows' Hall, Launceston
09/08	WR spoke at the Tasmanian Hall, Hobart
13/08	WR returned to Melbourne on the <i>Flinders</i>

Melbourne WR 13 to 16 August

16/08	WR gave a lecture at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
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Sydney 1 August to 4 September

01/08	JER arrived in Sydney by train
18/08	FJS announced <i>Southern Free Press</i> to be established with HM as editor
29/08	WR spoke at St Bridget's Hall, Kent Street North
01/09	JER and WR were entertained at Pearl Bay
04/09	JER married Johanna Dalton at St Mary's church, North Sydney
05/09	WR spoke at Darlinghurst

Melbourne 5 to 18 September

04/09	Mr and Mrs JER travelled to Moss Vale en route to Melbourne for honeymoon
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18/09	Mr and Mrs JER departed Melbourne for Sydney on the <i>Clyde</i>
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New Zealand 4 to 26 October (WR 11 September to 26 October)

06/09	WR and JWW left Sydney for Auckland on <i>Zealandia</i>
11/09	WR and JWW arrived in Auckland on <i>Zealandia</i>
01/10	JER left Sydney for Auckland on <i>Manapouri</i>
04/10	JER arrived in Auckland on <i>Manapouri</i>
26/10	JER, WR and JWW left New Zealand on <i>Ringarooma</i>

Melbourne 31 October to 11 November

31/10	JER, WR and JWW arrived in Melbourne on <i>Ringarooma</i>
01/11	JER travelled to Sydney by train
02/11	Mr and Mrs JER left Sydney for Melbourne on the <i>Thames</i>
04/11	Mr and Mrs JER arrived in Melbourne on the <i>Thames</i>
07/11	Irish Australian National Convention at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
08/11	Irish Australian National Convention at St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne
09/11	JER gave his final lecture in Melbourne at St Patrick's Hall

Adelaide 11 to 22 November

11/11	Mr and Mrs JER left Melbourne for Adelaide on the <i>South Australian</i>
16/11	Mr and Mrs JER arrived in Adelaide on the <i>South Australian</i>
16/11	JER spoke at St Francis Xavier's Hall, Adelaide
19/11	JER spoke at St Francis Xavier's Hall, Adelaide having been refused the Town Hall
20/11	JER arrived by train at Gawler and spoke at the Catholic school
21/11	JER spoke at Crase's Assembly Rooms, Kapunda
22/11	Mr and Mrs JER sailed from Adelaide to Melbourne on the <i>Victorian</i>

Melbourne 25 to 28 November

25/11	Mr and Mrs JER arrived in Melbourne on the <i>Victorian</i>
26/11	JER spoke at the Oddfellows' Hall Kilmore
27/11	Mr and Mrs JER took the express train to Sydney

Sydney 28 November to 6 December

30/11	JER gave his farewell lecture in Sydney at the Gaiety Theatre
06/12	Mr and Mrs JER, WR and James Dalton left Sydney for San Francisco on the <i>Zealandia</i>