

1916 AND ALL THAT:

The Irish struggle for independence and Australian nationalism

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Introduction

You have all, no doubt, heard the story of the motorist, lost while travelling in the backblocks of Ireland, who asks a farmer standing on the side of the road how he might get to Tipperary, or wherever it was he was going, and the farmer replies, "Well, if I were you I wouldn't start from here." In the spirit of that story I thought I would start my Talk, on the relationship between the Irish struggle for independence and Australian nationalism, somewhere other than at the beginning.

In fact I will start toward the end—January 1922, which you will recall was just a few weeks after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in London in the early hours of 6 December 1921, after Lloyd George had issued his chilling ultimatum threatening "an immediate and terrible war". On 7 January the Dáil voted in favour of the Treaty, and three days later de Valera and the anti-Treaty group walked out of the Dáil. Heady days indeed, one might say. Yet, at the same time as these monumental events were unfolding in London and Dublin, delegates from all over the world were making their way to Paris for the Irish Race Convention, an international gathering of the Irish diaspora, called by the Dáil six months before, when the Irish at home and abroad appeared united and single-minded in their support of Ireland's struggle for self-determination.

The leader of the Australian delegation was Father Maurice O'Reilly, widely regarded in Australia, particularly by the Orange Order, with whom he frequently engaged in fiery debate, as one of the more radical Irishmen – Sydney's answer to Archbishop Daniel Mannix. As an indication of O'Reilly's Irish credentials, let me quote from a statement he made in 1911 at the Catholic Education Conference: "It was true that their children were not Irish—they were Australians—but everything that was best and noble in Australia was Irish."¹

The convention quickly became a "hot-bed of intrigue", as members of the Irish delegation, comprising representatives of both sides in the Treaty debate, tried to enlist the support of the overseas delegates for their side of the argument. Although the overseas delegations maintained official neutrality, most tended toward the pro-Treaty side. All but one of the Australian delegates were of that mind, including the redoubtable Father Maurice O'Reilly, who during the convention had a run-in with the anti-Treaty Irish delegate, Mary MacSwiney, the sister of Terence MacSwiney, the late lord mayor of Cork who died on hunger strike in 1920 at Brixton prison. Dr Herbert Moran, an Australian delegate, in his memoirs published in 1939, described Mary MacSwiney thus:

During all that week I never saw Miss MacSwiney smile. She was the incarnation of a people's hatred for the oppressor. The memory of all the massacres and famines blazed perpetually in her eyes. Her speech was a scalding infusion from all the bitter herbs that ever grew in the crevices of suffering and misfortune.²

Moran gives this account of her clash with O'Reilly:

Quite early in the proceedings our Father O'Reilly found conflict, and in a very characteristic way. He rose to a point of order. We could not agree, said he firmly, to the terms of a certain motion then under discussion because it conflicted with the loyalty we Australians owed and felt as British citizens. Here was the "rebel" of many a Sydney meeting, one whom highly-placed citizens in the Commonwealth would have liked to deport, zealously defending his British citizenship! Mary MacSwiney rent him asunder with her disdain. In acid terms, pointing her finger scornfully at him, she declared to the world that Doctor O'Reilly could never understand the Irish question "because he viewed it solely from the standpoint of a British Imperialist."³

But Father O'Reilly had good cause for not understanding the Irish Question, for as Seller and Yeatman observed in their satirical history of England, which inspired the title of this paper, William

Gladstone had "spent his declining years trying to guess the answer to the Irish Question; unfortunately, whenever he was getting warm, the Irish secretly changed the Question".⁴ And that was certainly true in 1922, but more on that later.

Moran was a medical doctor and, like many so-called "leading Catholics" in the legal and medical professions, he despised the radicalism of Irish Catholic demagogues such as O'Reilly and Mannix. He therefore delighted in O'Reilly's discomfort at the hands of Miss MacSwiney. But he too drew her wrath, during a debate on the establishment of an Irish Olympic Games, when he emphasised the value of team sports, especially cricket. In his words, she "scornfully stigmatised [the game] as a subtle means for the anglicisation of Ireland."⁵ I wonder what she would say today when we Australians seem to have turned cricket into a none-too-subtle means for the humiliation of England.

I started near the end, rather than at the beginning, in order to demonstrate the main thesis of my Talk, which is that despite the fact that during the early years of the twentieth century Irish-Australians considered themselves to be victims of British Protestant persecution and identified with Ireland and its struggle, in truth there was a world of difference between what the Irish in Ireland and the Irish in Australia were fighting for, and it was only when the Irish in Ireland won their struggle for independence and proceeded to argue among themselves as to what it truly meant, that this difference became apparent.

In advancing this thesis in the time available I will necessarily speak in generalities, so I would like to record a few caveats. In the first quarter of the twentieth century the Irish in Australia were mostly Catholics, and Australian Catholics were mostly Irish by birth or descent, but this was not universally so. There were Australian Irish who were reformed Protestants, especially those from Ulster, or who were Anglicans, especially those from Anglo-Irish families. However, in my Talk I will concentrate on the contribution of Irish Catholic Australians to the development of a distinctly Australian identity. In doing so I will use terms such as *Irish Catholic* to describe this minority section of the Australian community and *British Protestant* to describe the majority section. Useful though these generalisations may be, nevertheless they conceal the spectrum of opinions that existed within each section. I will also speak of *sectarianism*, which in the Australian context is a word pregnant with meaning that dictionary definitions fail to capture, as it connotes the deep-seated social division in Australian

society, dating back almost to the arrival of the First Fleet, that was the product of complex ethnic rivalries, particularly between Irish Catholics, on the one hand, and English Anglicans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians on the other.⁶

The Irish in Australia

Now much has been written on the pattern of Irish settlement in Australia.⁷ Although there were clearly identifiable geographical concentrations, particularly within the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and in some rural areas, Irish ghettos did not develop in Australia in the way that characterised Hibernian settlement in the United States.⁸ Australians of Irish birth or descent did, however, maintain an interest in Ireland, often through Catholic newspapers that regularly reported Irish affairs in great detail. Nevertheless, Louise Mazzaroli in her study of the Irish in New South Wales from 1884 to 1914 concluded that feelings and enthusiasm for Irish culture and identity were acted out by only a small minority of the Australian Irish and that, even amongst this minority, participation in Irish cultural activities and organisations was not for Irish but for Australian reasons.⁹ In particular, she maintains that working class Irish preserved their Irish identity as a defence mechanism against a society in which they were not fully accepted because of their class, religion and race.¹⁰

Looked at from the other side, it is also true that an Irish stereotype had existed in Australia since the early years of the colony. Greg Tobin in his study of the Irish Home Rule movement in Victoria and NSW wrote that the “image of the Irishman as the permanent radical is one of the most pervasive in the Australian calendar”.¹¹ The arrival of transported Irish rebels from 1791 onwards and their repeated attempts at escape and insurrection in the colony, most notably the Vinegar Hill uprising of 1804, firmly established this stereotype in the minds of British colonists for years to come.¹² Tobin also acknowledges that other less flattering images buttress the central thesis of the Irish radical: “the Irishman as the professional Anglophobe, the Irishman as publican or drunkard, the Irishman as chronically belligerent, and finally, the Irishman as the poorly educated proletariat, permanently condemned to the lowest rungs of society.”¹³ Let me quote an example of this stereotyping from the *Australian Christian World*, a Protestant weekly, which in 1914 published a letter from a correspondent who had just returned from Ireland:

... all through Orange Ulster, except in Catholic Donegal, you will find a peaceful, contented, loyal people, well-cultivated farms and nice farm houses. In the south and west you will find a dirty, lazy, priest-ridden people, a pig in one corner of the house and a bed in the other.

The feature that distinguished the majority of Irish Australians from their neighbours was their adherence to the Catholic religion. In Australia, and especially in country areas, there was a close association between priest, usually Irish born, and people.¹⁴ Another characteristic of Irish Catholicism as practised in Australia was its insistence on the maintenance of religious exclusiveness. While being encouraged to make their way in the world and to achieve social advancement, it was, nevertheless, "part of Irish religion to separate out Australian Catholics from their fellow Australians: they were not to join the same Benefit societies, they were not to 'marry out', they were to get their schooling only with Catholics."¹⁵

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church regarded the wave of liberal reforms sweeping Europe as the inevitable consequence of Protestantism, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and a direct attack on the spiritual and temporal authority of the Church.¹⁶ Pope Pius IX in the *Syllabus of Errors* condemned education systems that were controlled exclusively by the civil authority and whose sole or primary purpose was to teach secular subjects. In 1869 the Provincial Council of the Australian Catholic bishops issued a decree incorporating Pius's propositions concerning education.¹⁷ Thus, the education debate in Australia extended beyond questions concerning the efficient allocation of resources; it was, in truth, an aspect of a fundamental confrontation then taking place throughout the western world.

It is in this context that the state aid debate needs to be understood, and in particular the decision of the hierarchies in each of the States to withdraw Catholics from the state education systems that were introduced during the 1870s and 1880s. It was not to preserve their Irishness but their Catholicism, but because of the close identification of the two it became the issue that chronically and most clearly distinguished the two communities and infected political debate in this country for the next eighty years.

On the one hand, Catholic opinion leaders argued that the provision of government assistance exclusively to state-run schools imposed an unjust burden on Catholic parents who in good conscience could not send their children to state schools. Protestants and secularists, on the other hand, regarded Catholic insistence on conducting their own schools with suspicion and hostility. The editor of the *Methodist* in 1911 claimed that the Catholic Church “seeks to segregate its young people, and to bring them up under influences which imbue their minds with the narrowest and most bigoted notions, separating them in the most sacred relations of life from the rest of the citizenship of the State.”¹⁸ The polarisation of attitudes on this issue resulted in the state Education Acts being seen, on the one hand, as a sign of the inferior status accorded Irish Catholics in Australia and, on the other, a symbol of the triumph of British liberal secularism over ignorance and superstition.

The two currents, self-identification and stereotyping, to which I have referred were mutually reinforcing, so that despite the absence in Australia of a physical ghetto, there was ample opportunity for Irish Catholics to be, and to be seen to be, separate from the mainstream of the Australian community. Generally, however, immigrants from Ireland chose to conform and to be accepted by the wider community, and in the wide new land of Australia, remote from the troubles of the old world, that was eminently achievable. However, feelings of hostility towards the Irish and a refusal to accept them with their distinctive national origin and their different religion led the Irish to demand, in Patrick O’Farrell’s words, “a definition of Australia and of being Australian which was broad and flexible enough to include them as they were”.¹⁹

The Australian Question: Australia or the Empire?

The colonies of Australasia had begun as outposts of empire and, whilessoever they remained separate and unviable as independent nation states, the idea of their being primarily constituents of a wider political entity, the British Empire, was compelling. With federation, however, the Australian Question was starkly exposed: was the Commonwealth of Australia just a bigger outpost of empire, a province of Greater Britain, or was it a nation unto itself? Whether or not the question loomed large in the minds of ordinary Australians in 1901 is debatable, but certainly from 1916 it assumed an importance which arises once or twice in a generation. Just as Aboriginal reconciliation pre-occupies us now, and the Vietnam War pre-occupied us thirty or so years ago, so too did this

Australian Question pre-occupy our forebears in the period under review.

Irish Catholics demonstrated their attitude to the issue when they decided in 1911 that on 24 May each year they would celebrate Australia Day rather than Empire Day. It just so happened that that was the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, patron saint of Australia. Each year as British Protestants demonstrated their loyalty to the Empire, Irish Catholics would celebrate their Australianness, often driving Empire loyalists into a frenzy. For example, in 1913 calls were made for charges to be brought against Father Maurice O'Reilly, then President of St Stanislaus College, Bathurst, for not parading the College's cadet corps at the Bathurst Empire Day celebrations.²⁰

The Easter Rising

In 1914 the outbreak of war brought a truce in the sectarian conflict. Like many of their cousins in Ireland, who answered the call to arms issued by John Redmond at Woodenbridge, Irish Catholics in Australia rallied to the defence of the Empire and enlisted in proportion to their numbers in the population. But the truce lasted only twenty months, when it was shattered by events in Ireland on Easter Monday 1916. After that, all changed, changed utterly.

When news of the Easter rising first reached Australia, it was greeted with angry disbelief by both sides of the religious divide. For years Australian Irish Catholics had followed the slow and tortuous path toward Home Rule with intense interest. In 1914 it appeared that the struggle which had been so patiently waged by John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party was all but won. Home Rule was on the statute book, awaiting only the end of the war for its implementation. The events of Easter Monday, it was widely feared, would destroy all that had been achieved.

The immediate reaction of most Catholic leaders in Australia was to condemn the uprising as misguided and without popular support. Even Archbishop Mannix criticised the rebellion, describing the leaders of the movement as misguided.²¹ However, Catholic condemnation was often tempered by moderate criticism of England's uneven treatment of Unionists and Nationalists, and a call for restraint on the part of the British authorities in dealing with the leaders of the uprising. But once the executions commenced, Irish Catholic criticism of British policy intensified. The *Catholic Press* began to draw parallels between the behaviour of the English in Ireland and the Germans in Belgium. Its articles

on the aftermath of the uprising included emotive sub-headings such as “Smashing the Brains out of Women and Children”, “Talk of Prussian Militarism”, “How Priests were Shot in Dublin”.²²

Conscription

The Protestant response to Catholic criticisms was swift and bitter, exposing the fragility of the interdenominational comity manifested in the early years of the war. These tensions were to increase later in the year following the defeat of the first conscription referendum, when Prime Minister Hughes and his stunned supporters turned on the Irish Catholic community, making them scapegoats for the referendum’s loss. The perceived role of the Irish Catholic vote in the humiliation which Empire loyalists suffered in the referendum was to become the occasion of some of the most vitriolic attacks ever made on Australian Catholics. But the reality was that in 1916 Catholic voters were divided in their opinions and did not vote en bloc, while the Catholic hierarchy, most of whom personally supported conscription, publicly adopted a neutral stance. But it was precisely this lack of enthusiasm and neutrality that so outraged many Protestants who considered “the war had religious significance, that it was a moral crusade from which no citizen might excuse himself.”²³ In those terms, the Catholic Church’s official silence was a clear breach of its moral and patriotic duty. And, to many Protestants, the fact that some Catholic clergy and some Catholic newspapers had made anti-conscription statements proved that the Catholic Church was not only derelict in its duty, it was positively disloyal.

Events in Australia in the months following the referendum would remind Catholics of their alienation and exclusion. In New South Wales it began with claims that there was an association between the Catholic Church and the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW), which was a revolutionary working class movement. An early example of the “Reds under the beds” smear. The Anglican Bishop-elect of Armidale accused the Catholic body of being “drawn together into an evil partnership with the IWW”, an accusation which brought a fiery response from Father Maurice O’Reilly, who rejected the allegation of an “evil partnership” and attributed the upsurge in IWW activity to Anglicanism’s identification with the rich and powerful in the community. He described the Church of England as “the church of wealth, of caste, and of class”, “thoroughly out of touch with the people and thoroughly un-Australian”.²⁴ These opening shots, in what turned out to be a new

round of sectarianism, portended that it would be a deep and bitter round indeed. Archbishop Mannix stirred up more anti-Catholic animus when in January 1917 he described the war as "an ordinary trade war".²⁵

A poignant illustration of the bitter feeling at the time concerns the death of Les Darcy. Darcy, a Catholic of Irish descent, had captured the imagination of the Australian sporting public with his brief but spectacular rise to the highest levels of the boxing world. However, as a result of the heightened emotions of the times, he was transformed from a sporting hero into a symbol of the divisiveness tearing at the social fabric of the country. Darcy's clandestine departure from Australia on the eve of the 1916 referendum to fight for the world title in America, when men of military age were not permitted to leave the country without the Government's consent, attracted much publicity and criticism. At the instigation of Australian boxing entrepreneurs, he was banned from fighting wherever he went in America, and after six months without a bout, he became seriously ill and died. To Irish Catholics he was a victim of the machinations of bigots, politicians and businessmen, while to British Protestants he was a coward and a shirker, typical of his race and creed. In an act of solidarity and defiance, members of the Irish Catholic community rallied in order to show their detractors how strongly they rejected these slanders. More than 100,000 people visited the funeral parlour in George Street, Sydney to view his body, and tens of thousands lined the streets as the funeral cortege travelled from St Joseph's, Edgecliff to Central Station from where it proceeded to his home town of Maitland where 40,000 turned out for his burial.²⁶

It must also be remembered that from 1917 there was severe industrial turmoil in Australia as workers, disillusioned with the failure of Labor governments to deliver the "workers' paradise", turned to industrial action to preserve their pay and conditions, which were being eroded by war-time austerity. Labour unrest increased in intensity following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and with the bitter internal struggle for control of the labour movement. At this time most Irish Catholics were working class and, although only a minority in the movement, they were often blamed for the industrial troubles.

Both sides of the religious divide became organised. The Catholic Federation had been established before the war, largely to advocate the state aid issue. In 1917 a Protestant Federation was formed. Its purpose was to "conserve and preserve the rights and liberties

possessed by us under the British flag",²⁷ and its principal objective was "To maintain loyalty to the Throne, the unity of the Empire, and to promote the national development of Australia." The platform of the Protestant Federation exemplified the association of Protestantism, Empire loyalty and anti-Catholicism to which a large section of the Protestant community then subscribed.

Increasingly the rhetoric in the conflict evoked the struggle in Ireland. Some Catholic leaders began to exhort Australian Catholics to adopt "the Sinn Féin spirit". At one level it could be said that this meant no more than "self-reliance" expressed at the ballot box, however, to many Australians, particularly those already fearful of Roman domination, an evocation of "the Sinn Féin spirit" was a call to violence and revolution, a call to emulate those who were opposed to Britain and the Empire. At a rally in support of Irish independence held at Richmond racecourse on 6 November 1917, attended by over 100,000 people, Archbishop Mannix said:

You in Australia are Sinn Féiners, and more luck to you. To you Australia is first and the Empire second. There are a great many people who will tell you that that is sedition, who will tell you that I am disloyal. I am very glad indeed that my type of loyalty is different from theirs. I am very glad that if I am loyal to the Empire, my loyalty, such as it is, does not prevent me from being loyal to Australia, my adopted country, and Ireland, the land of my birth. And you Australians, being Sinn Féiners yourselves in the sense that I have explained, can sympathise with those in Ireland who are determined to wrest from English hands the government of their own country, and set up in Ireland people who will govern Ireland with Irish ideals and with Irish interests.²⁸

With the seemingly never-ending supply of occasions for inter-denominational conflict in Australia during 1917 in the context of the war, the conscription debates, the Irish independence struggle and labour unrest, it is quite apparent that the religious issue in the Australia of 1917 was no mere theological dispute. It was not so much a contest for the souls of individuals, but for the soul of the nation. Yet, as bad as the conflict then was, it was going to get worse.

The sectarianism which had become an integral part of the 1917 conscription campaign received a further impetus when it became known that Pope Benedict XV had issued a note calling on the belligerents to discuss peace. Critics of the Pope's peace initiative alleged that the note had been instigated by Germany and Austria, and that the Catholic Church was not in favour of seeing Austria

defeated as it was the “last hope for the restoration of the Pope’s temporal power.”²⁹ The news of the peace initiative confirmed the long-held conviction of those who wanted to believe it that Catholics were disloyal and working against the Empire. *The Methodist* was quite explicit:

Romanism at heart is disloyal and desires the downfall and dismemberment of the Empire as a great Protestant power. ... [T]he attitude of Romanists, as a whole, and of the great majority of their priests and bishops, is conclusive as to the utterly disloyal spirit of that communion.³⁰

In December 1917 the Australian people once again rejected conscription. And once again Hughes and anti-Catholic bigots blamed the “disloyal” Irish Catholics for their own failure to persuade a majority of their compatriots to vote in favour of conscription. BA Santamaria in his biography of Mannix makes a strong case that Prime Minister Hughes deliberately set out to play the Irish card, and to make the 1917 campaign a Hughes-Mannix contest, in order to unite Protestants behind the pro-conscription cause.³¹ Historical research has clearly shown that the idea of a monolithic Irish Catholic community led by Archbishop Mannix being the cause of the defeat of conscription is untrue. But the myth gained currency because it suited both sides. It enabled Catholic activists, including the Catholic Federation, who were anxious to unify Catholic support behind efforts to advance Catholic interests, to be able to proclaim that there was solidarity among Catholics.

Arrest of the Sinn Féiners

Protestant claims of Irish Catholic disloyalty received a boost when on 17 June 1918 police in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane arrested seven Irish Australian supporters of Sinn Féin who were suspected of conspiring with Irish revolutionaries in America to assist the German war effort. Their arrests prompted an initial outcry from Irish Catholics around the country. A prisoners’ relief committee, under the chairmanship of Father Maurice O’Reilly, was established. But, rather than put the men on trial, the Government appointed Justice John Harvey of the New South Wales Supreme Court to inquire into the affair. To Catholics the arrests proved once again that Hughes was persecuting them. Not for a moment did they believe that the allegations might be true.

In fact, the authorities did have reason to be concerned as to the activities of some of the internees. In 1916 the Counter Espionage Bureau had been alerted to pro-Irish activities in Australia by a

letter, intercepted by British intelligence, which referred to events and people here. Thereafter, the Bureau undertook surveillance of the Irish National Association and some of its members, intercepting mail and, in March 1918, raiding homes in Sydney and Melbourne. Armed with documentary evidence collected in this way, the heads of the intelligence services reported to the Government that Irish activists were assisting Germany in the war in order to achieve Irish independence.³² Further raids were ordered in May, leading to the arrest of the seven men in June. Although a number of priests had also been under surveillance, no action was taken against them because of a directive issued by Commonwealth authorities.³³ Father Patrick Tuomey later wrote to his sister, "Needless to say, if they were game, I would have gone too, as I was the chief offender."³⁴

The evidence presented to the inquiry disclosed the existence within the Irish National Association of an organised group which had been in contact with members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and which had been sending money to America to be forwarded to Germany to purchase arms for the Irish independence movement. It is not surprising, then, that there were no follow up protest meetings. Irish Catholic opinion leaders were prepared to criticise Britain's mishandling of Ireland, but they were not prepared to condone collaboration with Germany.

Justice Harvey conducted the inquiry with proper regard to legal formality, thereby avoiding the prospect that it would become a witch-hunt against the Irish Catholic community. In limiting the inquiry to the evidence before him and in making clear his belief that the actions of the men were not supported by the wider Irish Catholic community, the judge no doubt did the country a service at a very difficult time, but, according to Patrick O'Farrell, he was not informed of some of the activities in which the men were engaged, including operating a training camp in the Blue Mountains.³⁵ Nevertheless, the judge found that there was sufficient evidence before him to justify the continued detention of the men.³⁶ When they were released after the war, they were enthusiastically welcomed at a meeting of the Irish National Association at St Patrick's in the city.³⁷

At about this time, Father Patrick Tuomey was charged with contravening the *War Precaution Regulations* by encouraging disloyalty to the British Empire in a lecture which he had given at the Paddington Town Hall in September 1918. During the lecture he had been critical of England's treatment of Ireland. Although

the speech was no more than a recitation of the usual indictments against England's governance of Ireland, a subject on which Tuomey had spoken publicly many times before, the magistrate convicted the priest and fined him £30. In an article headed "The RC Menace", *The Methodist*, after referring to the prosecution of Father Tuomey, commented, "That the influence of the church makes for disloyalty and trouble is no longer open for question."³⁸

A Veritable Hurricane of Sectarianism

The end of the war of the nations in November 1918 did not see the end of the sectarian war in Australia. In fact it worsened. Some of the most notorious incidents in the whole history of sectarianism in this country occurred in 1920, the same year that saw the escalation of the War of Independence with the introduction of the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries. Let me give you a few examples.

Father Charles Jerger was born in Germany in 1869. When he was six, he emigrated with his family to England, and from there to Australia where he joined the Passionist order. He came under official notice in 1916 when he was reported to the police by a parishioner for making disloyal remarks calculated to discourage enlistment. In 1918 he was interned, and despite protest meetings, court cases and official inquiries, he remained in detention until 1920 when the government proposed to deport him. In May 1920 PS Cleary, President of the Catholic Federation, addressed a packed protest meeting in Sydney. Cleary linked Father Jerger's case with the troubles in Ireland, by charging that the same tactics practised on Father Jerger were being practised in Ireland. The epithet "Brit-Hun" was frequently used during the evening. Once again, the situation in Ireland was dictating the nature of the response of Irish-Australian Catholics to a purely local affair.³⁹

This meeting was a precursor of many protest meetings in Sydney and Melbourne and around Australia. But the biggest protest meeting by far was held at Moore Park in Sydney on Sunday, 30 May 1920. A crowd estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000 attended the demonstration.⁴⁰ This monster meeting, which was organised by the Catholic Federation, almost turned into a riot when a rival group, flying the Union Jack, took over one of the speaking platforms, forcing the speakers off it. The interlopers, who were beaten back by the crowd before the police intervened to restore order, were ex-servicemen who had been holding their own pro-deportation meeting in another part of the park. Despite the protests, Father Jerger was deported.

The counter-meeting had been organised by Major Jack Scott, with the backing of Major General Charles Rosenthal. Scott and Rosenthal have been identified with the characters Jack Callcott and Ben Cooley, the leaders of the Diggers movement in DH Lawrence's *Kangaroo*, and in real life were instrumental in the establishment of the King and Empire Alliance, an anti-Catholic organisation with paramilitary links.⁴¹ Others also had the idea of using the Diggers to defend Australia from Irish and Roman disloyalty. In May 1921 Captain Wilson MLA is reported to have said that "as the Diggers made our outside enemies helpless, so it was their duty to make helpless the enemies inside. They must be prepared to come out and do their duty in a critical hour in the Empire's history."⁴² Catholic returned servicemen, scandalised by the anti-Catholicism creeping into the returned servicemen's movement, broke away and formed their own association.⁴³

In July 1920, Sister Liguori walked out of the Mount Erin convent in Wagga Wagga, fearful she was about to be murdered by her Mother Superior (schools haven't changed, have they?), and put herself under the protection of the Grandmaster of the Orange Lodge. This incident ratcheted up sectarian hysteria to an extent not seen in Australia since the Coningham affair twenty years before, when Cardinal Moran's secretary, Mgr O'Haran, was named as co-respondent in a divorce case. There were reports of Catholics and Protestants confronting each other with guns in Wagga Wagga, ex-servicemen threatening to storm the Mount Erin convent, Sister Liguori's brother, who arrived from Hong Kong, being smuggled into Australia in a clandestine operation of which John Le Carré would have been proud, calls by the Opposition for a royal commission into the convent system, Catholic and Protestant members of parliament threatening each other in the chamber, Sister Liguori being kidnapped off the streets of Kogarah by her brother and a band of Catholic men, and litigation in the Supreme Court in which she unsuccessfully sued her bishop for wrongful arrest.

But that's not all. In August, Irish Catholics learned that Archbishop Mannix, who was on his way to Rome via America, had been arrested by the British Navy off the coast of Ireland and prevented from landing there for fear he might incite rebellion. The news provoked protest meetings in England, America and Australia. In Sydney, 50,000 attended a rally in the Domain, where Father Maurice O'Reilly managed to link the incident not only with anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment, but also with a plot by Hughes and "the reptile press" to oppress the workers.⁴⁴ Despite the

protests, the ban on Mannix's visiting Ireland was maintained. In the meantime, while in England, he administered the last rites to Terence MacSwiney as he lay dying in the final stages of his hunger strike. The Federal Government came under strong pressure from Protestant and loyalist groups in Australia to prevent Mannix's return to Australia unless he agreed to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown. Fortunately for the Government it was able to avoid a showdown with both Catholics and Protestants over the issue by the declaration of the Anglo-Irish truce on 11 July 1921. The Government announced that it would not administer the oath to Mannix because of the truce in Ireland which it did not wish to upset.⁴⁵

And there's more. On 11 November, a date that resonates throughout Australian history, Prime Minister Hughes moved in the House of Representatives a motion that Hugh Mahon, the Member for Kalgoorlie, be expelled from the House. Mahon, a prominent Catholic, had been born in Ireland and had impeccable credentials as an Irish patriot, having served two months in Dublin's Kilmainham Gaol in 1881 with Charles Stewart Parnell. The following year he emigrated to Australia where he worked as a journalist before being elected in 1901 to the first Federal Parliament. Mahon served in the ministry under Prime Ministers Chris Watson and Andrew Fisher.

On 7 November 1920 Mahon addressed a meeting of the Irish Ireland League in Melbourne, called to protest the death of Terence MacSwiney. Mahon denounced British rule in Ireland as "this bloody and accursed despotism". When Mahon's speech was reported there was an outcry in the press. Mahon refused to defend himself against Hughes's charges of disloyalty and sedition, and was not present in Parliament when the House voted 34 to 17 to expel him. Mahon's expulsion provoked protests from the Catholic community. Hughes's biographer claimed that Hughes acted to conciliate the right-wing and ultra-Protestant sections of the public.⁴⁶ The King and Empire Alliance passed a resolution expressing its warm approval of Hughes's action.⁴⁷

The events of 1920 prompted the NSW Attorney General, EA McTiernan, to describe the fierce campaign of vilification and innuendo to which the Catholic Church was subjected as a "veritable hurricane of sectarianism".⁴⁸ That hurricane produced or confirmed in the minds of many Catholics a sense of their being a persecuted minority. At the same time, this remarkable year left many Protestants feeling more than a little insecure. Although Catholics were less than 25% of the population of New South Wales,

they constituted almost 60% of the Labor Caucus and held almost 40% of the Cabinet positions in the State government. To many Protestants, this was a potentially menacing situation. In the past, Protestant spokesman who raised the spectre of "Rome rule" in Australia could be dismissed as alarmist or irrational—after all, Catholics were a minority. The year 1920 demonstrated the dangers of such complacency.

To these troubled Protestants, militant Catholicism was on the march. Catholics had their hands on the levers of power in the State, posing a real threat to Protestants. In April 1921 *The Australian Christian World* declared "The capture of the Labor Party by the Irish Romanist element is more or less an accomplished fact".⁴⁹ When Labor was last in government, Protestants controlled the party and were able to keep the Catholic militants in check. Now that Labor was back in government, with Catholics in control, Protestants feared that it would only be a matter of time before the party and the Government would dance to the tune called by Archbishop Kelly and the Catholic Federation.⁵⁰

The Irish War of Independence

All the while, the deteriorating situation in Ireland fanned the sectarian flames in Australia. News of atrocities committed by the Black and Tans, or by the Irish Republican Army, were seized upon by one side or the other as confirmation of the evil inherent in British Protestantism or Irish Catholicism, as the case may be, thereby rendering their counterparts in Australia unfit to be trusted with the institutions of government in this country.

By the end of 1920 organised Catholicism and organised Protestantism were lining up for a showdown, with some Protestants predicting a violent conflict. A correspondent to the *Australian Christian World* wrote "Australia will be embroiled in a war such as that now being waged in Russia; in other words Australia will have a bloody time with Bolshevism and Sinn Féinism arrayed on one side and constitutionalism and Protestantism on the other."⁵¹ On the same page there is an account of an organised plot by Roman Catholics to take over Australia by having priests form federations in the parishes so as to train Catholics and to infiltrate trade unions and the ALP. It was alleged that twenty priests had been sent out from Ireland for this purpose. This warning was reinforced by W Copeland Trimble, a prominent newspaper owner of Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, and a member of the Ulster Unionist Council, who told a Protestant Federation luncheon that the Irish rebels were

being financed by Bolshevik and German money and that large numbers of priests were coming to Australia to organise the disintegration of the Empire.⁵² At a Protestant Federation rally at Bondi on 9 November 1921 Rev. James Green warned, "There is a determined effort afoot to establish a Romish Government in Australia. Those behind the movement are establishing themselves in strategic positions with much skill and forethought. Every hill in and around Sydney is in their hands. They are all within easy signaling distance of each other. Every country town and railway station between Sydney and Melbourne and Brisbane had the surrounding hill dominated by the Roman Catholic Church."⁵³

As the war in Ireland intensified, so too did interest in Australia. In 1921 branches of the Self-Determination for Ireland League, an international movement, were formed in this country. In June the league held an overflow meeting at the Sydney Town Hall, which was decorated with the Irish tricolour and the Australian flag. After numerous speeches and the singing of the *Soldier's Song* and *Advance Australia Fair*, the meeting passed a resolution calling for "the immediate withdrawal of the British army of occupation of Ireland, and the cessation by the British Government of the campaign of terrorism, murder and outrage waged on the Irish people".⁵⁴ The ALP at its annual conference passed a similar resolution, as did the Catholic Federation, causing the *Daily Telegraph* to complain that the Catholic Church was being seen as a branch of Sinn Féin, a political and racial organisation using its influence over its adherents for anti-British purposes.⁵⁵

The celebration of St Patrick's Day in Melbourne in the early 1920s provides another illustration of this volatile mix of Irish and Australian affairs. The 1920 St Patrick's Day parade became a source of scandal to Protestant loyalists, when the Union Jack was not carried at its head. In the following year, the Melbourne City

Council, which was determined not to allow the humiliation to be repeated, imposed a condition that the Union Jack was to head the 1921 parade. With Archbishop Mannix still overseas, it was expected that the organisers would cancel the march instead of complying with the condition. However, the humiliation of 1920 was magnified in 1921, when the St Patrick's Day committee paid an English-born derelict 15 shillings to carry the flag. The unfortunate man had to be given an escort to ensure that neither he nor his flag came to harm, as threats of violence and hoots of derision marked his progress along the route. Bishop Patrick Phelan later remarked:

The Union Jack is all right in its place, but we are living under the Australian flag, and the Australian flag should have been carried in front of the procession. For Irish and Irish-Australian people the Union Jack has a meaning that it has for no other people. The Union Jack stood for unparalleled crimes in Ireland—crimes that would put to shame even the brutal Turkish atrocities in Armenia. It was flying over hired assassins in Ireland today.⁵⁶

In an article on the Australian flag as an ambiguous symbol of nationality, Elizabeth Kwan has written:

The St Patrick's Day procession had made the Australian flag a symbol of disloyalty. When promoted by the Catholic community for an Irish cause, the Australian flag, unaccompanied by the Union Jack, became a source for suspicion for other Australians. ... To be Australian without also being British was disloyal.⁵⁷

The End of the Irish Affair

One wonders, if the Irish War of Independence had dragged on much longer, whether Australians would have descended into their own violent confrontation. Fortunately, we will never know.

With the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, events in Ireland soon ceased to resonate in Australia. Partly this was because the Irish in Ireland broke the hearts of many Australian Irish when they started to kill each other. But this was not the major reason. Although the Australian Irish were prepared to sing the *Soldier's Song*, with cheering, rousing chorus, they were not prepared to 'pledge their lives to Ireland'. Not that Australians did not care about their cousins. They did, and numerous charities sent funds to Ireland for the relief of distress, but from 1916 the Australian Irish were interested in the independence struggle less for its own sake than as a surrogate for their own conflict. They did not make substantial financial contributions to the war effort. They did not raise an Australian brigade. They did not strike a blow at England along the

lines of the Fenian attacks in Canada in the 1860s, or the bombing campaign in England in 1885 by the American Clan na Gael. In fact, in 1916 Irish Australian members of the AIF on leave in Dublin were among the Crown forces that put down the Easter rising. Despite the claims of their detractors, the Australian Irish were loyal subjects of the Crown. The clandestine activities of members of the INA uncovered by the Harvey Inquiry were the exception that proved the rule. Not since the Vinegar Hill rebellion of 1804 did the Irish in Australia contemplate rebellion. They had too much at stake in this country.

No, the Australian Irish lost interest in Irish affairs in 1922 because it no longer served its purpose. Between 1916 and 1922 the Catholic minority saw, reflected in the Irish cause, their own struggle to define for themselves their place within the Australian nation. Superficially there were many similarities: the principal participants were the same – British Protestants and Irish Catholics; the rhetoric was the same – the Empire versus the Nation, Australia First and Ireland First, and of course the recurrent cry of No Popery; the stereotypes were the same – the English Ascendancy oppressing the superstitious priest-ridden Irish. In both countries there was a desire for self-determination and resistance to assimilation, but there is a world of difference between jockeying for a better place at the top table and fighting to be admitted to the banquet at all. Unlike their cousins in Ireland, the Australian Irish did not seek a separate nation for themselves so much as to be members of a nation that would accept them for who they were. But in politics, symbolism has a potency that prevails, and the heroic and tragic struggle in Ireland was promiscuous with symbolism. The Australian Irish did not so much champion the cause of Ireland as appropriate it to their own struggle.

But after 6 December 1921 it was different. Miss MacSwiney was right: Australians like Father Maurice O'Reilly did not understand the Irish Question because once again the Irish had secretly changed it. The question was no longer whether the Irish should have self-determination, but whether Ireland should be a self-governing dominion under the Crown like Australia or Canada or whether it should be a member of an association of nations with the British king at its head. Put in those terms, Irish Australians like O'Reilly, who had lived in peace and prosperity under the Crown, wondered at the sense of the question at all. Unlike Miss MacSwiney, there was no memory of the massacres and famines that blazed perpetually in her eyes.

When the Dáil voted to support the Treaty and later adopted the constitution of the Irish Free State, Irish Catholics in Australia no longer had cause to condemn from afar the sins of perfidious Albion. But nor could British Protestants in Australia condemn the disloyalty of the Irish, for the Free State Government demonstrated its loyalty in the most explicit way by declaring war on those of its citizens who refused to swear allegiance to the Crown.

Envoys of the Irish republican movement visited Australia in 1923. But they received a frosty reception from the Catholic Church. Even Mannix, who at first welcomed them with open arms, turned against them when they publicly criticised the Vatican and the Australian and Irish hierarchies. They attracted reasonable crowds but often it was the Communist Party rather than the Irish Catholic community that provided them with their venues and their audience. Eventually they were arrested and deported because they had advocated the overthrow by force or violence of the established government of a sister dominion.

When in 1925 the Fuller Nationalist Government in NSW attempted to regulate the marriage laws of the Catholic Church, enshrined in the Vatican decree *Ne Temere*, Catholic and Protestant members of the Legislative Council joined forces to emasculate the bill. Deprived of fuel by the settlement in Ireland, the bushfire of inter-denominational sectarianism that had burned ferociously for almost ten years at long last subsided in exhaustion. Its embers glowed for a time and occasionally flared, but thankfully they have now been extinguished for good.

Ireland and Australia continued to work at answering their respective questions. After five years in the political wilderness, de Valera devised a formula that enabled him to enter the Free State parliament, and five years later he became prime minister, whereupon he set about demolishing the constitution of 1922. For five more years he whittled away the terms of the Treaty until “[l]ike Alice’s Cheshire cat, the Treaty faded away, leaving only a taunting smile”.⁵⁸ In 1949 Ireland formally became a republic, though for some, while ever one of Ireland’s four green fields remains in strangers’ hands, the republic of Tone, of Davitt and of Pearse will not have been achieved.

Meanwhile, relieved of the burden of the ancient feud, and without the sectarian rancour that characterised those troubled times, young Australia after 1922 continued her slow evolution to independent nationhood, which now includes not only Irish Catholics but also the multiplicity of other races and creeds that have come to

these shores. One day, she too, like Ireland, will become a republic, but until that day, Irish Australians will, as they did in 1901 and 1916 and 1922, continue to swear allegiance to the Crown, unconstrained by an old tradition of nationhood received from the dead generations.

Endnotes

- 1 *Freeman's Journal*, 19 January 1911, page 17.
- 2 Herbert M Moran, *Viewless Winds: Being the Recollections and Digressions of an Australian Surgeon*, Peter Davies, London, 1939, page 191.
- 3 Moran, *Viewless Winds*, pages 190-191.
- 4 WC Sellar and RJ Yeatman, *1066 and All That: A Memorable History of England*, Penguin Books, Ringwood (Vic.), 1960, page 116.
- 5 Moran, *Viewless Winds*, pages 193.
- 6 For a discussion of the meaning of "sectarianism" in the Australian context see Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, 1987, pages 4-8; Mark Lyons, *Aspects of Sectarianism in New South Wales circa 1865 to 1880*, Australian National University, PhD, 1972, pages viii-xxi.
- 7 See, for example, GM Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael: A Study of the Irish Home Rule Movement in Victoria and New South Wales, 1880-1916*, Australian National University, M.A., 1969, pages 22-32; N Coughlan, "The Coming of the Irish to Victoria", *Historical Studies*, Volume 12 No. 46, 1965, pages 68-86; David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Immigrants in Australia: Patterns of Settlement and Paths of Mobility", *Australia 1888*, Bulletin No. 2, 1979, pages 48-54; Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish in Victoria, 1851-1891: A Demographic Essay", *A.N.U. Historical Journal*, Volumes 10 - 11, 1973-1974, pages 26-39; Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish in Australia: A General View", in Oliver MacDonagh and WF Mandle, *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History*, Croom Helm, London, 1986, pages 155-174; Chris McConville, "Catholics and Mobility in Melbourne and Sydney, 1861-1891", *Australia 1888*, Bulletin No. 2, 1979, pages 55-65; Chris McConville, "The Victorian Irish: Emigrants and Families, 1851-1891", *Australia 1888*, Bulletin No. 10, 1982, pages 68-75.
- 8 Tobin has written that in Australia "economic and geographic dispersal tended to work against the erection of physical ghettos of the New York variety, and the Irish were as a result propelled into colonial society more forcefully than had been the case in the United States." (Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael*, page 12). For a fairly detailed

- analysis of the differences between the Irish diaspora in Australia and elsewhere see MacDonagh, "The Irish in Australia: A General View".
- 9 Mazzaroli, Louise Anne, *The Irish in New South Wales, 1884 to 1914: Some Aspects of the Irish Sub-Culture*, University of New South Wales, PhD, 1980, page viii. Tobin comes to a similar conclusion (Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael*, pages 48-52). He states that "there is hardly a sign that any element of folk culture survived the shock of a new world" (page 49) and "in the main the Celts simply merged into the patterns of the society around them, and when there was some occasion which demanded a parading of national identity—as on St Patrick's day, or at an annual school concert,—they turned to the sentimental balladry of the period or to the vaguely nationalist songs which were appearing as an offshoot of the recent revival of Ireland's political fortunes." (page 50). See also Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1993, pages 177-184. On the celebration of St Patrick's Day see Patrick O'Farrell, "St Patrick's Day in Australia", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Volume 81, 1994, pages 1-16.
 - 10 Mazzaroli, *The Irish in NSW*, page vii.
 - 11 Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael*, page i.
 - 12 Keith Amos, *The Fenians in Australia 1865-1880*, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1988, pages 1-20; Lynette Ramsay Silver, *The Battle of Vinegar Hill: Australia's Irish Rebellion, 1804*, Doubleday, Sydney, 1989.
 - 13 Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael*, pages i-ii.
 - 14 Campion, Edmund, "Irish Religion in Australia", *Australasian Catholic Record*, Volume 55, 1978, pages 4-16, pages 4 and 7; Tobin, *The Sea-Divided Gael*, page 53.
 - 15 Campion, "Irish Religion in Australia", page 15.
 - 16 V Moran, "Liberalism and the Church", *Twentieth Century*, Volume 20, 1965, pages 5-14; Bruce Duncan, *The Church's Social Teaching: from Rerum novarum to 1931*, Collins Dove, North Blackburn, 1991, pages 1-19.
 - 17 John N Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*, Melbourne University, Carlton, 1969, page 110 sets out the text of the propositions in the *Syllabus of Errors* which were inserted into the Provincial Council's decree.
 - 18 *Methodist*, 21 January 1911, page 1.
 - 19 O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, page 9.
 - 20 *Freeman's Journal*, 24 July 1913, page 17; 31 July 1913, page 20.

- 21 Colm Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland*, Alella Books, Morwell, 1984, page 95. The immediate reactions of a number of Australian bishops were published in *Freeman's Journal*, 4 May 1916, page 25.
- 22 *Catholic Press*, 13 July 1916, page 17.
- 23 McKernan, Michael, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Nelson, Sydney, 1984, page 37.
- 24 *Catholic Press*, 23 November 1916, page 19.
- 25 A report in an early edition of the *Argus*, corrected in later editions, claimed that he had said "a sordid trade war". Reports of Mannix's speech appearing the next day in the *Age*, and during the week in the *Advocate* and the *Tribune* used the word "ordinary". However, in an early edition of the *Argus* the expression "a sordid trade war" appeared. In later editions, however, the word "sordid" is illegible as if the printing plate has been mutilated. In the 3 February 1917 edition of the *Australasian*, a weekly newspaper published by the *Argus*, the word "sordid" has been omitted altogether (Cyril Bryan, *Archbishop Mannix: Champion of Democracy*, The Advocate Press, Melbourne, 1918, pages 72; photographic copies of the articles are reproduced at pages 232-235).
- 26 *Catholic Press*, 5 July 1917, pages 20-21; *Freeman's Journal*, 5 July 1917, page 20.
- 27 The Protestant Federation of Victoria was formed at a series of meetings in Ballarat on 22 and 23 July (*Australian Christian World*, 10 August 1917, page 10; *Catholic Press*, 30 August 1917, page 13). A copy of its platform, setting out its purpose and objectives, is reproduced in *Freeman's Journal*, 18 October 1917, page 27.
- 28 *Freeman's Journal*, 8 November 1917, page 27.
- 29 Arnold D Hunt and Robert P Thomas, "Catholics and Conscriptioin", in Arnold D Hunt and Robert P Thomas (eds), *For God, King and Country: A Study of the Attitudes of the Methodist and Catholic Press in South Australia to the Great War 1914-1918*, Salisbury College of Advanced Education, Salisbury, 1979, pages 14-25, page 20. *The Methodist* claimed that the real author of the peace note was the German emissary and leader of the Catholic Centre Party, Mathias Erzberger (*Methodist*, 1 December 1917, page 7).
- 30 *Methodist*, 8 December 1917, page 7.
- 31 Santamaria, BA, *Daniel Mannix: The Quality of Leadership*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1984, pages 88-90.
- 32 See, for instance, the "Report on the Activities of Sinn Féin and Seditious Irish Societies in the Commonwealth" in NAA: A5522/1, M770.

- 33 Report dated 2 April 1918 by Captain WS Hinton of the Intelligence Section of 2 Military District in NAA: A8911/1, 217.
- 34 Letter dated 28 October 1918 from Father Tuomey to Bridget Tuomey (Chicago) in NAA: A8911/1, 234.
- 35 O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, page 274.
- 36 Report of Justice Harvey 11 September 1918 in NAA: MP367/1, 512/1/907.
- 37 *Freeman's Journal*, 13 March 1919, page 22.
- 38 *Methodist*, 7 December 1918, page 7.
- 39 *Freeman's Journal*, 27 May 1920, page 17; *Catholic Press*, 27 May 1920, page 20.
- 40 Reports of the meeting are in *Catholic Press*, 3 June 1920, pages 20-21; *Freeman's Journal*, 3 June 1920, page 19; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1920; *Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1920, page 4. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that "there were probably over 50,000 in different parts of the ground at one time", of which 10,000 were attending an ex-servicemen's meeting in support of the deportation of Father Jerger. The *Daily Telegraph* estimated that there were 150,000 in Moore Park but claimed that many were there because "it was a delightful afternoon to be out of doors, and there was a prospect of lively proceedings to spice the pleasantness of the invigorating sun."
- 41 The identification of characters in Lawrence's novel with the leaders of the right wing ex-servicemen's movement is discussed in Andrew Moore, *The Secret Army and the Premier: Conservative Paramilitary Organisations in New South Wales 1930-32*, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1989, pages 41-50 and Michael Cathcart, *Defending the National Tuckshop: Australia's Secret Army Intrigue of 1931*, McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, Fitzroy, 1988, pages 82-85.
- 42 *Australian Christian World*, 20 May 1921, page 12.
- 43 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1920, page 14.
- 44 *Freeman's Journal*, 19 August 1920, page 21.
- 45 *Australian Christian World*, 5 August 1921, page 9.
- 46 Fitzhardinge, LF, *The Little Digger 1914-1952*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1979, page 456.
- 47 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 December 1920, page 12.
- 48 *Australian Christian World*, 4 February 1921, page 11.
- 49 *Australian Christian World*, 29 April 1921, page 9.
- 50 *Australian Christian World*, 2 July 1920, page 12; 29 April 1921, page 9.
- 51 *Australian Christian World*, 12 November 1920, page 10.
- 52 *Australian Christian World*, 24 June 1921, page 11.

- 53 *Australian Christian World*, 18 November 1921, page 16.
- 54 *Catholic Press*, 9 June 1921, page 18.
- 55 *Freeman's Journal*, 7 April 1921, page 20; *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April 1921, page 10.
- 56 *Catholic Press*, 24 March 1921, page 13.
- 57 Elizabeth Kwan, "The Australian Flag: Ambiguous Symbol of Nationality in Melbourne and Sydney, 1920-21", *Historical Studies*, Volume 26, 1994, pages 280-303, page 294.
- 58 Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: Politics and War*, Blackwell Publishers, 1999, page 296.