

RESEARCH NOTE

IRELAND WILL BE FREE: 'FANNING THE FLAMES OF SECTARIANISM' IN AUSTRALIA, 1920–21

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The film *Ireland will be Free* is a multi-part, feature-length film produced in 1920 under the auspices of the Catholic archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, to showcase the St Patrick's Day parade held that year and to promote the cause of Irish self-determination. For fifteen months it was screened in numbers of places in Australia, attracting substantial audiences but, at the same time, drawing scathing criticism from detractors who claimed it was divisive Sinn Féin propaganda. After the film's original exhibition, it was largely forgotten. However, in 2016 it was revived to mark the centenary of the Easter Rising, receiving a number of public screenings in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. Some of the publicity accompanying those screenings contained inaccurate information concerning the film and its provenance. The information presented in this paper was gathered during the preparation of a paper that I gave at King's College, London, on 12 April 2017 as part of the Menzies Centre's seminar series called 'Screening Australia'. With the centenary of the events depicted in the film approaching, it is timely to make this research available to those who might wish to use the film as a resource to illuminate that period in the history of Ireland and Australia.

Ireland will be Free was originally exhibited publicly at a time when sectarian tensions in Australia were at their height. Sectarianism between Catholics, mostly of Irish descent, and Protestants, mostly of British descent, had been endemic in Australia from the beginnings of colonisation in 1788. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Irish made up about one-quarter of the immigrants to Australia, while the

British made up three-quarters, and often the prejudices and divisiveness of the Old World accompanied them. Nevertheless, for the most part, Catholics and Protestants co-existed peacefully. But occasionally there would be a flare-up, sometimes around 12 July, as in Melbourne in 1846 when shots were fired, or on St Patrick's Day, as in Sydney in 1878 when rioting broke out. And, all the while, charismatic protagonists of both stripes, from pulpits and in the religious press, loudly and frequently warned their co-religionists of the evils inherent in Catholicism or Protestantism, as the case might be.¹

As a result of the ethno-religious divide in Australia, events in Ireland during the nineteenth century, such as the rise of Fenianism or the push for home rule, often impacted local politics. In the early twentieth century, these divisions widened following the Dublin Rising of 1916. With the Irish War of Independence at its height following the British government's deployment of the Black-and-Tans in March 1920, ethno-religious conflict in Australia reached a peak. In addition, memories of the First World War were fresh, with many Catholics still resentful of accusations that they had been shirkers and disloyal.

It was against this background that *Ireland will be Free* was made. Even before the film's first public showing, calls were made for it to be banned. On 6 May 1920, Edwin Kerby, the Nationalist Party member for Ballarat in Victoria, raised the matter in federal parliament, asking Prime Minister W.M. Hughes if his attention had been drawn to an advertisement for the film and whether he would 'take such steps as will prevent any section of the community from stirring up sectional strife, and bringing to Australia the social unrest prevalent elsewhere'. Sir Joseph Cook, on behalf of the absent prime minister, replied that he would look into the matter. But the Commonwealth authorities took no action against the film.²

The Film's Production

Provenance

When originally screened in May 1920, *Ireland will be Free* was in two parts. The first part covered Melbourne's St Patrick's Day parade held on Saturday, 20 March. It featured moving images of the parade, including of Archbishop Mannix being escorted by fourteen Victoria Cross (VC) recipients mounted on grey horses. In addition, it showed associated events before and after the parade, such as the welcome to the VCs on their arrival in Melbourne, a sports carnival at the Exhibition Building grounds following the march and a reception for the VCs two days later at the archbishop's residence, 'Raheen'. The second part comprised a so-called 'Study in Irish History', with inter-title descriptions and still images of scenes in Dublin during the 1916 Rising, the 'martyrs of Easter week' and a pantheon of Irish heroes who had devoted their lives to the struggle for Irish self-government from the 1790s onwards.³ Interestingly, the pantheon did not include Daniel O'Connell, 'the Liberator', who was generally revered

in Australia. But, by 1920 Irish nationalists, particularly in Mannix's Melbourne, had been radicalised by recent events in Ireland, so that constitutionalists such as O'Connell tended to be out of favour.

The Australian segment of *Ireland will be Free* was filmed by Bert Cross, a rising star in Australian cinema. He is best known for his cinematography in *For the Term of his Natural Life* (1927) and *Ghosts of Port Arthur* (1932), as well as for being a co-inventor with Arthur Smith of the Cinesound technique of putting sound on film. In 1932, he filmed the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, including footage of Captain Francis de Groot on horseback cutting the ribbon with his sword and thereby upstaging the premier of New South Wales (NSW), Jack Lang.⁴

The provenance of the Irish history section is less certain. In an article published in October 1994, historian Elizabeth Kwan described it as 'the overseas-made segment' without identifying where, when and by whom it was made.⁵ The segment as originally shown comprised still images and inter-titles, which required no overseas content apart from the images themselves, which had already been published in Australia and would have been readily available to a local editor.⁶ Rachel Naughton, archivist of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission (MDHC), which manages the archives of the Catholic archdiocese of Melbourne, cites anecdotal evidence that some of the pictures used may have been brought from Ireland by an Australian soldier returning from the war.⁷

In the fifteen months from 10 May 1920 to 20 August 1921, during which the film was exhibited in eastern Australia, further scenes and inter-titles depicting current events were added from time to time.⁸ These included Archbishop Mannix's departure for overseas on a trip that would keep him away from Melbourne for more than a year and embroil him in much controversy.⁹ Also, some scenes appearing in *Ireland will be Free* as screened during 1920–21 are missing from the versions currently available.¹⁰ After its final theatre showing in August 1921, the film was largely forgotten.¹¹ However, a copy was retained by Mannix and passed on to his successors, until 1978 when Archbishop Frank Little transferred it to the MDHC. In 1994, with the nitrate-based film approaching its inevitable demise, the MDHC deposited it with the National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA) for preservation.¹² The NFSA's catalogue lists the parts as follows: '11801: Martyrs of Easter Week, 1920 [sic]; and 11803: St Patrick's Day Celebrations, Melbourne March 17 [sic], 1920 (Alternative title: 'Ireland will be Free')'. In her 1994 article, Elizabeth Kwan wrote:

This forgotten silent film has survived, at least in part, and is now held by the National Film and Sound Archive in Canberra under two titles, the Australian-made *Ireland Will Be Free*, and part of the overseas-made segment, *Martyrs of the Easter Weekend 1916* ... Both black and white silent films were given to the Archive by the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission: Ireland is 1,150 feet in length, Martyrs, 300 feet (16 mm). The 16 mm version is slightly different in content from the 35mm one.¹³

In 1998, the NFSA released on VCR a version of the 'St Patrick's Day Celebrations' as part of a film anthology entitled *The Shamrock in the Bush: The Irish in Australian Film, 1906–1935*. Almost twenty years later, the centenary of the 1916 Rising prompted renewed interest in the film. In 2016, the NFSA produced a digitally remastered version of the 'St Patrick's Day Celebrations', while the MDHC released a DVD incorporating both the 'St Patrick's Day Celebrations' and the 'Martyrs of Easter Week'. During that year, Irish-Australian community groups held film screenings to mark the centenary. In Sydney, at the State Library of NSW, the Aisling Society screened a version of the 'Martyrs of Easter Week', which it had obtained from the NFSA. In Melbourne and Canberra, there were screenings of the remastered version of the 'St Patrick's Day Celebrations' and the 'Martyrs of Easter Week'. While the 2016 MDHC version is the most complete one currently available, it does not include all the footage from the film screened in 1920–21, as indicated in Appendices 1 to 3.

Genesis

The idea for the film, and the triumphalist staging of the 1920 St Patrick's Day parade, has been attributed to John Wren, a keen supporter of Archbishop Mannix and of self-determination for the Irish people. Wren, whom the tabloids today would euphemistically describe as 'a colourful racing identity', was in 1920 a 49-year-old wealthy businessman, the son of Catholic Irish immigrant parents. According to journalist Hugh Buggy, it was Wren who 'conceived the idea of mobilising from all parts of Australia a group of Victoria Cross winners to head the march, mounted and in uniform, to act as a guard of honour to the archbishop'.¹⁴ But that was not enough. Wren also recruited thousands of ex-servicemen, mostly Catholics, to march in uniform behind the archbishop. The purpose was to turn the St Patrick's Day parade into a political statement: a graphic rebuttal of persistent allegations that Australian Catholics of Irish descent had been shirkers during the war and were disloyal.

On the Sunday before the parade, Archbishop Mannix told a gathering of members of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society:

These Australian soldiers on St. Patrick's Day will ... tell their detractors ... that they are as loyal as any other section of the community [B]y their presence in our procession, they will proclaim to all whom it may concern that they have not forgotten that they were asked to fight for the little nations, and that their sympathy still remains for the one little nation that is yet trampled in the dust and tortured beyond endurance by an alien oppressor.¹⁵

In 1927 Wren told Buggy:

I showed them whether Irish Australians were disloyal or not. Anyway, those who made the charge had an infernal cheek after 70,000 Australian

Catholics, the greater proportion of them Irish Australians, had done their bit in the war.¹⁶

It would be the film's role to proclaim that message and to spread it far and wide. But the film also augmented the message with a piece of theatre filmed at 'Raheen', the archbishop's residence in Melbourne, on the Monday following the parade.¹⁷ There the VCs were shown being presented individually to Mannix and then holding a meeting to pass a motion urging that self-determination be granted to Ireland.

Curiously, the motion referred to fourteen 'Victoria Cross Winners', yet in the movie only twelve are seen at 'Raheen'. However, the film's footage of the parade indicates fourteen grey horses around Mannix's car.¹⁸ A souvenir photographic montage of the event also shows portraits of fourteen VCs, as well as Mannix and the ubiquitous John Wren. The two VCs not present at 'Raheen'—Lieutenant John Hamilton and Private William Currey—were seen earlier in the film among the VCs from NSW being welcomed at Melbourne's Spencer Street Station by Wren. Of the fourteen VCs, eight identified as Catholics in their attestation forms on enlistment in the Australian Imperial Force.¹⁹

As observed by Niall Brennan in his biography of John Wren, it is not known how many Victoria Cross recipients Wren approached, how many were available and how many declined his all-expenses-paid offer to participate.²⁰ A notable absentee was Captain Albert Jacka VC, winner of the £500 prize that John Wren had offered for the first Australian VC of the war.²¹ We do know, however, that the fourteen who participated represented 30 per cent of the forty-six VCs potentially available.²² In the week before the parade the *Advocate*, a Catholic newspaper owned by the archdiocese of Melbourne, reported that sixteen VCs were expected to attend.²³ Elizabeth Kwan noted in her 1994 article that 'Frank McNamara, a Catholic from Victoria who had been volunteered by his brother without his permission, announced his withdrawal' two days before the parade.²⁴ Tens of thousands of Melburnians turned out to witness the parade, while the number who marched was estimated at between 20,000 and 30,000, with 70,000 counted as passing through the turnstiles into the Exhibition Building grounds where the sports carnival featuring 4,000 school children was held.²⁵

The Film's Exhibition

The film premiered at Melbourne's Princess Theatre on Monday, 10 May 1920. According to the *Advocate*: 'Nearly the whole of the accommodation had been booked, and thousands were unable to gain admission to the theatre.' Being a silent film, there was musical accompaniment, including the singing of 'Nearer, My God to Thee' by Valerie Walsh during the screening of the photographs of the 'martyrs' of Easter week. The audience cheered when pictures of Éamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith, leaders of the Sinn Féin movement in Ireland, were shown, and applause broke out when the text

of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic was displayed. The programme included Irish songs performed by Ambrose McMahon, Valerie Walsh, Pat Ryan and the choir of the Christian Brothers' school at Abbotsford. On both the first and final nights of the film's screening, Archbishop Mannix addressed the audience, praising the film and exhorting the audience to support Ireland.²⁶ The extravaganza was directed by Joseph Sheedy, a talented events planner, who, the year before, had organised the Australasian Irish Race Convention at the Melbourne Exhibition Building, attended by thousands of delegates from around Australia and New Zealand.²⁷

Ireland will be Free screened in Melbourne for five nights and then went on the road.²⁸ As in Melbourne, the programme included live musical entertainment, with Ambrose McMahon performing wherever the film was screened. Often Sheedy travelled with the film, sometimes accompanied by Wren, while Valerie Walsh and Pat Ryan or local singers would contribute to the musical entertainment, so that each performance usually lasted for three hours.

The Australian tour began at Ballarat in June, where the turn-out over three nights was reported to have been disappointing.²⁹ The next stop was Sydney in July, where the film was scheduled to be shown twice-daily for ten days at the 4,000-seat Hippodrome Theatre (now the Capitol Theatre). There it attracted huge audiences, estimated by the *Catholic Press* at 'not less than 3,000 at each performance', often with the 'House Full' notice posted well before start time. The original season was extended by two days and nights. A return season in Melbourne planned for August had to be postponed to December after the Melbourne City Council, at short notice, cancelled the film's booking of the town hall. In September the film was shown over three days in both Geelong and Launceston and in October for three days in Hobart, where the two Tasmanian VCs who had participated in the parade, Lieutenant John Dwyer and Sergeant John Whittle, made an appearance on opening night. Next it was Adelaide's turn, where the film was screened for a fortnight during October and November 1920.

After the film's two-week re-run in Melbourne in December, it was shown at five towns in the western district of Victoria during late January and early February 1921. In May, it had a return season in Sydney, where each night was dedicated to one of the 'Easter Week Martyrs'. In addition to the usual musical entertainment, a short address was delivered by a prominent speaker. Furthermore, John Wren donated £15 in prize money for essays written by Catholic school children on the educational value of the pictures. After the initial week's performance, three extra days were scheduled the following week.³⁰ Later in the month, the film opened in Brisbane for a week-plus season, followed in June by screenings in Toowoomba, Warwick and Ipswich. Sydney had a further one-night screening on 12 July, at which the winners of the essay competition were announced.

The film's final public screenings were in Melbourne over four nights in August 1921, coinciding with Archbishop Mannix's return from overseas. By then a truce was in place in Ireland that would eventually lead to a negotiated settlement. Thousands packed into the West Melbourne Stadium (now Festival Hall) to welcome home their

archbishop, who told them: 'I have not brought back a message that Ireland is free, but Ireland will be free, and that, I hope, before long.'³¹

The Film's Reception and Alleged Censorship

Apart from Major Edwin Kerby's failed attempt to have the prime minister ban the film, its initial screening in Melbourne in May 1920 was unremarkable, with Melbourne's metropolitan dailies carrying anodyne reports of the event.³² However, the film's first Sydney season overlapped with the annual 12 July celebrations. At a meeting in the town hall, the principal speaker was the Orange Order's grand chaplain, Reverend W.J. Gray, who warned his audience of 'a conspiracy to render the community harmless and bind upon it the shackles of the tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church'.³³ This would be the tenor of much of the criticism over the next twelve months: treating the film not only as political propaganda, but also as part of a sinister Catholic plot. Of course, Mannix's identification with the film and some of its imagery gave it the look and feel of militant Catholicism that would have invited such a response. But the close association of Protestantism and empire loyalty also provided a dynamic to amplify the anti-Catholic dimension of the criticism.

J.H. Dawes, secretary of the newly-formed Diggers' Vigilant Society, an ex-servicemen's organisation, wrote to Sydney's *Sunday Times* criticising the film on empire loyalty grounds, describing it as a 'Mannix masterpiece of propaganda':

It fairly bristles with hatred and venom to everything British, with no attempt to conceal the Sinn Fein doctrine as promulgated by that apostle of hatred to the British Empire, Archbishop Mannix. ... We fail as loyal Diggers to see why Australia and Australians should be made a catspaw by this Sinn Fein agitator camouflaged as an Archbishop and teacher of the Gospel.³⁴

Despite the film's first Melbourne season passing off without controversy, the city council decided on short notice to cancel the return season scheduled to start at the town hall on 2 August.³⁵ The reason assigned was the organisers' failure to provide a programme of the event as requested. But perhaps the members of the council were troubled by newspaper reports of audience reactions to the film in Sydney. One report, headlined 'Celtic Blood Afire', claimed that British soldiers appearing in the film were hissed and hooted while Sinn Féin leaders were received with 'riotous cheering'.³⁶

Nevertheless, it was not until *Ireland will be Free* found its way to Tasmania that the controversy began to ramp up. After screening without incident in Launceston at the end of September 1920, the film moved to Hobart with matinee and evening performances over three days commencing on 4 October.³⁷ The day after its opening, the Hobart *Mercury* called for the film to be banned, describing it as 'rank, open treason' and

'mental and moral poison' for children. The *Mercury* expressed its grave concern that school children were being subjected to 'Sinn Féin propaganda', particularly scenes of rebels being executed, and it castigated the teachers and priests who brought them to the theatre. The next day the schools returned fire. On the way to a matinee performance, the teachers marched their children past the *Mercury's* offices singing Irish songs. The newspaper's ire was further aroused by the evening performance during which Fr Arthur Cullen addressed the audience in a blistering attack on the *Mercury*, accusing it of wanting to close down the picture to keep the Australian people in ignorance of conditions in Ireland. Both Cullen and Sheedy thanked the *Mercury* for the free publicity it had given the film.³⁸

The *Mercury's* competitor, the *World*, rejected its rival's approach, arguing that only the foolish would describe the film as treasonable. It described it as 'an instructive educative presentation' and gave a detailed commentary on the history behind some of the scenes in the film.³⁹ The editor argued:

What hurts about 'Ireland Will Be Free' are not the pictures of an execution and military tyranny in Ireland, but the 14 V.C.'s and 10,000 Australian soldiers marching in the St. Patrick's Day procession in Melbourne. The screen shows that the demonstration on March 17 [sic] was the biggest thing that has ever taken place in Australia and no 'fake,' and that is why it is not relished.⁴⁰

He had a point. The film's critics frequently used the epithet 'fake' to describe the pictures. Some denied that the footage of the marching ex-servicemen was taken at the St Patrick's Day parade, claiming it was from a military function or a route march. Others claimed there were only two VCs.⁴¹

The *World* also commented on the free publicity provided by the *Mercury*, pointing out that the film was being exhibited in a theatre in which it was understood that Charles Davies MLC, managing proprietor of the *Mercury*, was financially interested. This prompted Sheedy to say that it would be his pleasing duty to tender his rental for use of the theatre at the *Mercury's* office.⁴² The *World* later suggested, tongue-in-cheek, that the proprietors of the theatre 'should be compelled to show cause why they should not be prosecuted for permitting the theatre to be used for the exhibition of "treasonable pictures"'.⁴³ The following week, the Tasmanian branch of the Loyalty League of Australia held a meeting in the city hall to protest against 'the recent Sinn Féin propaganda in Hobart'. In addressing the meeting Reverend F.J. Barnes not only condemned the film but also delivered what the *World* described as 'a sectarian tirade', accusing the papacy of being 'opposed to everything that was British and everything that was free'. He told his audience that Catholic priests in Ireland 'were working to plant the Papal flag there in the place of the Union Jack'. He praised the *Mercury* for being 'the loyalist paper' and criticised the authorities for not banning the film. The meeting passed a resolution strongly deprecating Catholic Archbishop Patrick Delaney

and others for their patronage of the film, 'on the grounds that it portrayed treasonable and rebellious sentiment against our King and Empire, and misrepresented the true facts relating to the execution of certain rebels in Ireland'.⁴⁴

Reverend E.H. Hobday told his Baptist congregation, with masterful alliteration, that Hobart had been 'stained and shamed by a particularly pernicious picture, and by the fanatical fumings of a fatuous priest'. While commending the *Mercury* for its outspoken editorials on the film, he said that 'it seems not a little curious that the people, who are said to be interested both in the paper and in the playhouse, did not apply the remedy which lay in their hands'. Hobday then launched into an attack on the Catholic Church.⁴⁵ A correspondent to the *Mercury*, signing himself 'Vigilant', pursued the anti-Catholic line, arguing that the church was 'secretly and assiduously working for the downfall of the British Empire', urging readers: 'We need to awake to the Roman menace.' He expressed concern that the Christian Brothers' school in Hobart 'occupies a most prominent position ... and really commands the town'. Claiming the school could be used as a fortress 'if the time came for the church to try for power', he warned: 'This disloyalty unchecked is going to end in civil war unless we prevent it at all costs.' He recommended that the authorities search all church buildings and deport 'all those who hate the Empire'.⁴⁶

Not all correspondents to the *Mercury*, nor the newspaper itself, took an anti-Catholic line in criticising the film. One correspondent, Sylvester Falconer, argued that the situation in Ireland was political not religious and that criticism of the Catholic Church was wrong-headed. He suggested that the British government should be urged to call on the dominions to help find a political solution to the dispute in Ireland. This was a suggestion the editor of the *Mercury* endorsed, stating that he had been a supporter of Irish home rule since before the war and that he now supported dominion home rule akin to Australia, with the north and south of Ireland being separate states as part of a greater federation to include England, Scotland and Wales.⁴⁷

The film's seasons in Adelaide, Melbourne and western Victoria passed without incident. But when the film returned to Sydney in May 1921, it attracted renewed criticism. Reverend William Touchell told the Lithgow branch of the Protestant Federation he 'could not conceive anything that was more calculated to stir up the greatest hatred of the Union Jack and the administration of British justice', adding: 'The pictures were fakes from beginning to end, and the speeches the essence of disloyalty.'⁴⁸ At this time *Ireland will be Free* was but one of a number of displays of disloyalty troubling Protestant empire loyalists, fearful of an alliance between Sinn Féiners and Bolsheviks. A large meeting of the Protestant Federation in the Sydney Town Hall on 16 May 1921 called upon the government 'to prohibit the exhibition of Sinn Féin emblems or the red flag in processions or public meetings ... and the holding of disloyal entertainments'. But, again, the criticism moved from the political to the sectarian. After referring to *Ireland will be Free*, the grand master of the Loyal Orange Institution, R.E. Barton, said: '[Ireland] will never be free while they have priests there. Clear the priests out of Ireland and you will clear away the trouble, and the people there

will be all right. Clear the priests out of Australia and the people here will be all right.⁷⁴⁹

When the film was shown in Brisbane, much of the press commentary was critical, but not hysterical. The *Daily Mail* opined: 'It may achieve its objective of stirring up Sinn Féin feeling, but it will have a decided tendency to put Australia in sectarian fetters.'⁵⁰ Lamenting that the film 'may succeed in fanning the flames of sectarianism', the editor demonstrated his even-handedness by referring to a recent speech by a visiting NSW member of parliament, Sir Thomas Henley. Noting that Henley had 'delivered himself of a splenetic outburst directed against the Roman Catholic Church', the editor continued: 'We did not hesitate to condemn Sir Thomas Henley, and we do not hesitate to condemn this picture exhibition.'⁵¹ Barcardine's *Western Champion* also criticised the film for stirring up sectarian rancour, arguing: 'The Protestant section of our community is beginning to think that this Irish Republicanism business is being rubbed in too much. Strange to say it is always some visiting idiot from Sydney or Melbourne who fans Brisbane into a blaze.'⁵²

The *Brisbane Courier*, under the headline 'Anti-British Propaganda', characterised the evening's entertainment before a 'small audience' as 'a number of Australian topical films, a collection of indifferently produced historical lantern slides, and a variety of Sinn Féin songs'.⁵³ The *Daily Mail* was equally unimpressed by the quality of the entertainment, claiming: 'To those who are not burning with zeal for the wrongs of Ireland the picture is somewhat tedious.'⁵⁴ The *Daily Standard*, however, begged to differ, describing it as 'highly educative as well as a highly entertaining picture concert', adding that 'there is no feature at which any except the most bitter and hidebound enemy of Ireland need growl'.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, some Queenslanders did growl. A meeting of 'Brisbane Mothers' on 24 May 1921 resolved: 'We most emphatically protest against such Sinn Féin propaganda especially in connection with the children of our State.' They sent a telegram to the acting prime minister informing him of their resolution and inquiring whether the film had passed the censor.⁵⁶

In June, the Loyal Orange Lodge in Toowoomba passed a resolution protesting 'against the Town Hall being used for the showing of that one-sided anti-British and sectarian picture entitled "Ireland will be Free"'.⁵⁷ A special meeting of the Toowoomba Council was held to consider the lodge's request that the film not be shown. The meeting attracted 60 to 70 members of the public who were vocal in their support of the film. The matter was talked out and no action taken as a lease of the hall had already been granted.⁵⁸ As was so often the case, the controversy served to promote the film, with the *Warwick Daily News* reporting, no doubt with some hyperbole, that *Ireland will be Free* 'proved an unprecedented record, and that thousands of people were turned away from the doors'.⁵⁹

It is often asserted that *Ireland will be Free* was censored.⁶⁰ But this is not correct. In fact, the federal government had disavowed any power to censor the film because it was made in Australia and the Commonwealth's power extended only to imported films.⁶¹ In June 1921, when the Toowoomba Council was debating whether to prevent the film being shown at the town hall, a representative of the film's promoters told the

council that, except for Queensland where there was no censorship, the film had been passed by the censor in each state where it had been shown and by the Commonwealth censor.⁶² In Tasmania, Premier Sir Walter Lee told parliament that the film had been referred to the State Censorship Board, 'who reported there was nothing they could take exception to'.⁶³ Even though federal and state authorities did not censor the film, they monitored it, with their officers often reporting on the disloyalty of the film and its audiences.⁶⁴

Conclusion

Ireland will be Free was a provocative statement of Catholic Irish triumphalism and Sinn Féin propaganda that, during the fifteen months it was shown in Australia, stirred the passions of supporters and critics alike. As such, the film both reflected and contributed to the heightened level of sectarianism that had emerged following the 1916 Dublin Rising and the conscription debates of 1916 and 1917 in Australia and that had intensified with the deteriorating situation in Ireland in the early post-war period. As a militant expression of 'green pride' by the Catholic Irish and Irish-Australian minority, the film is an important source for helping us to gain a better appreciation of the major divisions existing in early 1920s Australia.

Appendices

1. Versions of *Ireland will be Free*
2. Scenes depicted in versions of *Ireland will be Free*
3. Scenes missing from all current versions
4. *Ireland will be Free* screenings
5. Victoria Cross recipients who escorted Archbishop Mannix at the 1920 Melbourne St Patrick's Day parade

Appendix 1: Versions of Ireland will be Free

After its final public screening in August 1921, the film was largely forgotten. However, in 1994 the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission (MDHC) deposited the two-part film *Ireland will be Free* with the National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA) in Canberra for preservation. The NFSA catalogue lists the parts as follows:

11801: Martyrs of Easter Week, 1920 [sic]; and

11803: St Patrick's Day Celebrations, Melbourne March 17 [sic], 1920
(Alternative title: *Ireland will be Free*)

These parts are discussed in the main article. The NFSA catalogue also lists the following related titles:

11800: Archbishop Mannix's Journey to Ireland;

33507: Archbishop Mannix in Procession in Melbourne, Leaving for Ireland from Sydney, 1920;

104336: Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne Arrives in Sydney: A Great Welcome is Extended to Him at the Town Hall: He Departs by S.S. Ventura for America thence to Rome;

502982: Martyrs of Easter Weekend, 1916: Documentation;

502983: Martyrs of Easter Weekend, 1916: Documentation: Martyrs of Easter Weekend, 1916: Script.

Title 11800

This title is available to be viewed at the NFSA on a video cassette of 33 minutes 40 seconds duration. Having regard to the descriptions in title 502983 referred to below, title 11800 seems to be a composite of:

- part of the first reel and the whole of the second reel of 'Martyrs of Easter Week 1916', as described in title 502983; and
- scenes of Mannix's departure from and return to Melbourne, as described in title 502983 under the heading 'Bishop Mannix Journeys to Ireland'.

The title starts with: 1) the extraneous inter-title 'The inner sanctum of the Chief of Police', which seems to have been inserted by accident; followed by 2) inter-titles and images relating to the death and funeral of Terence MacSwiney in London in October and November 1920; 3) inter-titles and moving images of the Mountjoy prison hunger strike of April 1920; 4) inter-titles quoting from a speech made by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords on 24 November 1920; 5) inter-titles of Mannix's departure from Melbourne; 6) inter-titles and images of the 'martyrs' of Easter week; and 6) inter-titles and images of Mannix entering St Patrick's Cathedral after his return to Melbourne in 1921.

Title 33507

This title, with a running time of 14 minutes 43 seconds, includes additional footage of scenes appearing in title 11803 relating to the 1920 St Patrick’s Day celebrations, namely:

- arrival of the New South Wales VCs at Spencer Street Station; and
- the marchers and the crowd at the St Patrick’s Day parade, including close-up moving images of Archbishop Mannix in his car escorted by the VCs.

It also includes footage of scenes not appearing in title 11803 or any other version, namely:

- Mannix and his escort leaving ‘Raheen’ to take their place in the parade;
- Mannix leaving Melbourne on 17 May 1920 from Essendon railway station; and a re-enactment of the execution of Padraic Pearse.

While some of this footage has appeared in television documentaries—for example, in *Michael, they’ve shot them* (2016) directed by Eoin Hahessy—it does not appear in the 2016 MDHC version.

In addition, title 33507 includes still and moving images whose omission from title 11803 is apparent because of the presence of inter-titles that are not followed by a corresponding image. The stray inter-titles in *Ireland will be Free* (using for reference purposes the 2016 re-mastered version) and the corresponding images in title 33507 are as follows:

| IWBF 2016 Inter-titles | Title 33507 Images* |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 0:02:45: His Grace Dr Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne. An eloquent and unconquerable champion of Ireland’s cause | 0:09:03 or 0:09:12 |
| 0:07:21: Archbishop Mannix, as he was before leaving Ireland. Photograph taken August, 1912 | 0:09:18 |
| 0:15:31: Victoria Cross winners arrive at the Occidental Hotel where they were entertained by leading Melbourne citizens. | 0:05:36 |

* The copy of title 33507 supplied by the NFSA was digitally time-coded, but the time-coding started at 0:01:30. The times in the table are the actual times not the embedded time-codes.

Title 104336

This title contains footage of Mannix at Sydney's town hall and of his embarkation on the *SS Ventura*. Although the *Ventura* footage seems to be comparable to similar footage in *Ireland will be Free*, the town hall scenes do not appear in any of the versions of the film and are not mentioned in newspaper reports and advertisements relating to the film. The footage is bundled with another newsreel clip showing a woman with bulldogs at a dog show. The composite bundle is identified under another title number, 43600. The production company is shown as Artcraft Pictures and the distributor as Paramount Pictures (Australia).

Title 502982

The catalogue shows this as containing the documentation in title 502983.

Title 502983

This title comprises a script of twelve pages printed with a dot-matrix printer, suggesting it was compiled some years ago. The script is in two parts:

1. The first part is headed 'Martyrs of Easter Week 1916', with the description, '35mm, b&w, silent, 1734 feet'. It is in two sub-parts.
 - The first sub-part begins with an inter-title relating to Dáil Éireann, followed by an image of the meeting of the first Dáil at the Mansion House in Dublin in January 1919. There then follows inter-titles and images of those involved in the 1916 Rising, ending with quotations from Padraic Pearse's letter to his mother.
 - The second sub-part begins on p. 6 with the heading, 'Reel 2/2 Martyrs of Easter Week 1916'. This is followed by an inter-title 'The inner sanctum of the Chief of Police' and then inter-titles and images relating to the death of Terence MacSwiney in London and the protest outside Dublin's Mountjoy prison ending with inter-titles quoting from a speech made by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords on 24 November 1920.
2. The second part, starting at page 8, is headed 'Bishop Mannix Journeys to Ireland', with the description '35mm, b&w, silent 872 feet'. It opens with the inter-title 'Au Revoir to Australia's Great Archbishop Ireland owns you but Australia claims you. We must have you back'. It then describes inter-titles and scenes of Mannix's departure from Melbourne by train, his arrival in Sydney, his departure from Sydney on the *SS Ventura* and his return to Melbourne.

Appendix 2: Scenes depicted in versions of Ireland will be Free

| Scenes | MDHC IWBF 85m 48s | NFSA MOEW 26m 7s | NFSA SITB 45m 51s | NFSA IWBF 47m 25s | NFSA 11800 33m 40s | NFSA 33507 14m 43s |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Martyrs of Easter Week 1916 | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| Extraneous scene ('Inner Sanctum') added by accident | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| Death of Terence MacSwiney (25 October 1920)* | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| Mountjoy prison hunger strike (5-14 April 1920)* | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| Lord Birkenhead speech (24 November 1920)* | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ | |
| Original IWBF Title | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Pantheon of Irish heroes (Australia)** | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Pantheon of Irish heroes (Ireland) | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Welcome to VC recipients (14 March 1920) | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Welcome to VC recipients (18 March 1920) | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Mannix at 'Raheen' (right profile) | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| St Patrick's Day march (20 March 1920) A | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Exhortation to come again | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| St Patrick's Day sports (20 March 1920) | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Reception for VCs at 'Raheen' (22 March 1920)*** | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Mannix attempt to depart Melbourne (15 May 1920)* | ✓ | | | | | |
| Mannix arrives Sydney (18 May 1920)* | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| Mannix departs Sydney on <i>Ventura</i> (19 May 1920)* | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |
| Welcome home to Mannix (13 August 1921)* | ✓ | | | | ✓ | ✓ |

| Scenes | MDHC IWBF | NFSA MOEW | NFSA SITB | NFSA IWBF | NFSA 11800 | NFSA 33507 |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| God Save Ireland End Title | 85m 48s ✓ | 26m 7s | 45m 51s | 47m 25s | 33m 40s | 14m 43s |
| VCS pulling up in cars at Occidental Hotel (18 March 1920) | | | | | | ✓ |
| Mannix at 'Raheen' (facing camera) | | | | | | ✓ |
| Preparation for parade at 'Raheen' (20 March 1920) | | | | | | ✓ |
| St Patrick's Day March (20 March 1920) B | | | | | | ✓ |
| Image of priest (Mannix?) | | | | | | ✓ |
| Mannix departs Melbourne (17 May 1920)* | | | | | | ✓ |
| Re-enactment of Pearse's execution | | | | | | ✓ |

MDHC IWBF = *Ireland will be Free* released on DVD by Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission in 2016

NFSA MOEW = *Martyrs of Easter Week 1916* (National Film and Sound Archive Title No. 11801)

NFSA SITB = *Ireland will be Free* released as part of *The Shamrock in the Bush* VCR in 1998

NFSA IWBF = *Ireland will be Free* remastered version released in 2016

NFSA 33507 = 'Archbishop Mannix in Procession in Melbourne, Leaving for Ireland from Sydney, 1920'

NFSA 11800 = 'Archbishop Mannix's Journey to Ireland'

* = scenes of events occurring after original screening which were added to the film; ** = inter-title re. death of T.J. Ryan (1/8/1921) added after original screening; *** = inter-title re. death of Sgt Maurice Buckley (27/1/1921) added after original screening

Appendix 3: Scenes missing from all current versions

The following scenes referred to in contemporary newspaper reports, advertisements and other documents relating to *Ireland will be Free* do not appear in any of the extant versions:

- VC dinner at the Melbourne Exhibition Building⁶⁵
- Proclamation of the Irish Republic⁶⁶
- Pictures of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,⁶⁷ Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, Cardinal Logue and Eoin MacNeill⁶⁸
- Cartoon showing tank crushing a map of Ireland⁶⁹
- Inter-titles with the words ‘Rule by the sword and bullet is popular with that apostle of liberty, Dublin Castle’⁷⁰ and ‘Irish valour and English might’⁷¹
- Deportation of Fr Charles Jerger⁷²
- Reciting the rosary at the 1798 memorial in Waverley Cemetery, Sydney⁷³
- Requiem mass for Terence MacSwiney at St Mary’s Cathedral, Sydney⁷⁴
- Pictures of J.A. Fihelly and M.J. Kirwan⁷⁵
- Inter-title listing the cost to England of the present Irish turmoil leading to greater hatred⁷⁶
- A map of Ireland shown with red dots all over it to illustrate how the country had been destroyed by British guns⁷⁷

Appendix 4: Ireland will be Free screenings

| 1920 | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| May 10–14 | Melbourne ⁷⁸ |
| June 21–23 | Ballarat ⁷⁹ |
| July 3–12, 16–17 | Sydney ⁸⁰ |
| August | Melbourne (cancelled) ⁸¹ |
| September 13–15 | Geelong ⁸² |
| September 27–29 | Launceston ⁸³ |
| October 4–6 | Hobart ⁸⁴ |
| October 25–November 6 | Adelaide ⁸⁵ |

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| December 4–18 | Melbourne ⁸⁶ |
| 1921 | |
| January 31 | Port Fairy ⁸⁷ |
| February 1 | Warrnambool ⁸⁸ |
| February 2 | Koroit ⁸⁹ |
| February 3 | Terang ⁹⁰ |
| February 4 | Colac ⁹¹ |
| May 7–14, 17, 19, 21 | Sydney ⁹² |
| May 24–June 2 | Brisbane ⁹³ |
| June 14–15, 19 | Toowoomba ⁹⁴ |
| June 16–18 | Warwick ⁹⁵ |
| June 30 | Ipswich ⁹⁶ |
| July 12 | Sydney ⁹⁷ |
| August 13, 16, 18, 20 | Melbourne ⁹⁸ |

Appendix 5: VCs who escorted Archbishop Mannix at the 1920 Melbourne St Patrick's Day parade

| Name | Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Place Enlisted | Date and Place of VC Award | Date of Death | Religion |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Cpl Thomas Axford VC, MM | 18/6/1894 | Carrieton, SA | Kalgoorlie, WA | 4/7/1918 Vaire and Hamel Woods, France | 11/10/1983 | Catholic |
| Sgt Maurice Vincent Buckley VC, DCM | 13/4/1891 | Hawthorn, Vic | Melbourne, Vic | 18/9/1918 Le Verguier, France | 27/1/1921 | Catholic |
| Cpl John Carroll VC | 16/8/1891 | Brisbane, Qld | Blackboy Hill, WA | 10/6/1917 Messines, Belgium | 4/10/1971 | Catholic |
| Pte George Cartwright VC | 9/12/1894 | South Kensington, England | Inverell, NSW | 31/8/1918 Peronne, France | 2/2/1978 | Church of England |
| Pte William Matthew Currey VC | 19/9/1895 | Wallsend, NSW | Sydney, NSW | 1/9/1918 Peronne, France | 30/4/1948 | Presbyterian |
| Lt John James Dwyer VC | 9/3/1890 | Cygnets, Tas | Claremont, Tas | 26/9/1917 Zonnebeke, Belgium | 17/1/1962 | Catholic |
| Lt John Hamilton VC | 24/1/1896 | Orange, NSW | Sydney, NSW | 9/8/1915 Gallipoli, Turkey | 27/2/1961 | Catholic |
| Sgt George Julian Howell VC, MM | 19/11/1893 | Enfield, NSW | Liverpool, NSW | 6/5/1917 Bullecourt, France | 24/12/1964 | Church of England |
| Pte William Jackson VC | 13/9/1897 | Hay, NSW | Liverpool, NSW | 26/6/1916 Armentieres, France | 4/8/1959 | Presbyterian |

| Name | Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Place Enlisted | Date and Place of VC Award | Date of Death | Religion |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Lt Joseph Maxwell VC, MC and Bar, DCM | 10/2/1896 | Annandale, NSW | Liverpool, NSW | 3/10/1918 Estrées, France | 6/7/1967 | Church of England |
| Lt Lawrence Dominic McCarthy VC, CdeG | 21/1/1892 | York, WA | Helena Vale, WA | 23/8/1918 Vermandovillers, France | 25/5/1975 | Catholic |
| Cpl Walter Peeler VC | 9/8/1887 | Barker's Creek, Vic | Leongatha, Vic | 4/10/1917 Broodseinde, Belgium | 23/5/1968 | Presbyterian |
| Pte John Ryan VC | 9/2/1890 | Tumut, NSW | Wagga Wagga, NSW | 30/9/1918 Bellicourt, France | 3/6/1941 | Catholic |
| Sgt John Woods Whittle VC, DCM | 3/8/1882 | Glebe, NSW | Claremont, Tas | 9/4/1917 Boursies, France | 2/3/1946 | Catholic |

(Total 14 VCs: Catholic 8, Church of England 3, Presbyterian 3)

REFERENCES

- ¹ Jeff Kildea, “‘A veritable hurricane of sectarianism’: The Year 1920 and Ethno-Religious Conflict in Australia”, in Colin Barr and Hilary M. Carey (eds), *Religion and Greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish Global Networks, 1750–1950*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015, pp. 363–82.
- ² *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 6 May 1920, p. 1868.
- ³ *Age* (Melbourne), 8 May 1920, p. 14. According to the report of a private screening of the film before its public release, the history pageant segment preceded the St Patrick’s Day segment. *Advocate* (Melbourne), 6 May 1920, p. 23. However, reports of the film’s public showings indicate the order was sometimes reversed. Today numerous versions of the film and its component parts are extant. Appendix 1 describes the various versions.
- ⁴ Ian Aitken (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film*, vol. 2, New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 972; Andrew Moore, *Francis de Groot: Irish Fascist, Australian Legend*, Sydney: Federation Press, 2005, p. 96. Cross would not have been the only cameraman filming the 1920 Melbourne St Patrick’s Day parade for the production because there appear to have been at least three camera positions.
- ⁵ Elizabeth Kwan, ‘The Australian Flag: Ambiguous Symbol of Nationality in Melbourne and Sydney, 1920–21’, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 103, 1994, p. 288.
- ⁶ The Mountjoy prison scene was not part of the film screened in Melbourne in May 1920. It first appeared during the film’s Sydney season in July 1920. *Catholic Press* (Sydney), 8 July 1920, p. 20.
- ⁷ Rachel Naughton, archivist MDHC, booklet accompanying the DVD of *Ireland will be Free*, June 2016, pp. 9–11. In 2007 Wal Bayliss, a half-brother of Richard Bayliss, the soldier reputed to have brought the material to Australia, provided the MDHC with an edited extract from Richard’s journal that described a priest in Ireland giving him a packet of photographs to deliver to a priest in Melbourne. The journal identified the contents of the packet as ‘photos of many of the rebels of the Easter Week Rising in Dublin’ and named some of the rebels depicted. I am grateful to Rachel Naughton for providing me with a copy of the journal extract. It is not known whether any of the packet’s photographs were used to make the Irish history segment of the film, but images of the 1916 rebels had already been publicly exhibited in Australia. On 25 June 1917, for example, Fr Patrick Tuomey gave a lecture in Sydney illustrated with lantern slides of the ‘Men and Women of Easter Week’. *Catholic Press*, 5 July 1917, p. 21.
- ⁸ Appendix 2 identifies those scenes and inter-titles.
- ⁹ For Mannix’s controversial 1920–21 overseas visit, see Thomas E. Hachey, ‘The Quarantine of Archbishop Mannix: A British Preventive Policy during the Anglo-Irish Troubles’, *Irish University Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1970, pp. 111–30.
- ¹⁰ Appendix 3 contains a list of scenes described in contemporary newspaper reports, advertisements and other documents relating to the film, but which do not appear in the extant versions.
- ¹¹ The film was not mentioned in any of the six Mannix biographies published before 2012, nor in James Griffin’s 1984 entry on Mannix in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. But Griffin

did devote a page to the film in his 2012 Mannix biography, basically paraphrasing a 1993 seminar paper given by Elizabeth Kwan. Brenda Niall included one sentence on the film in her 2015 biography of Mannix: 'At a cost of £3,000, Wren had the whole procession filmed, and released for showing as *Ireland Will Be Free*'. She cited as her source Griffin's 2004 biography of John Wren, which had also used the Kwan seminar paper. The other biographies of John Wren gave the film even less attention, although they covered the St Patrick's Day parade in some detail. Hugh Buggy simply stated: 'A film was made of this procession and "J.W." took steps to ensure that it was shown in every State'. Niall Brennan failed to mention the film at all, while Colm Kiernan in his 1984 book about Mannix and Ireland devoted a paragraph to the film, citing contemporary newspaper reports and Buggy's Wren biography. See James Griffin, *Daniel Mannix: Beyond the Myths*, Mulgrave, VIC: Garratt Publishing, 2012, pp. 212–13; Brenda Niall, *Mannix*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2015, p. 148; James Griffin, *John Wren: A Life Reconsidered*, Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2004, pp. 243–4; Hugh Buggy, *The Real John Wren*, Melbourne: Widescope, 1977, p. 193; Niall Brennan, *John Wren Gambler: His Life and Times*, Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1971; Colm Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland*, Morwell, VIC: Alella Books, 1984, p. 139.

¹² Naughton, booklet accompanying the DVD of *Ireland will be Free*, June 2016, p. 11.

¹³ Kwan, 'The Australian Flag', p. 288, footnote 40. It is not clear what Kwan was referring to in the last sentence about differences between the 16mm and 35mm versions. According to the NFSA catalogue, both films were originally on 35mm nitrate and each has access copies of 16mm and 35mm. Kwan's description of the two titles held by the NFSA in 1994 seems to coincide with titles 11801 and 11803, currently in the NFSA catalogue as described in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 compares the various versions.

¹⁴ Brennan agreed with Buggy, stating that Wren 'advanced a plan ... and it was eagerly seized upon by the St Patrick's Day committee'. Griffin wrote that 'Wren conceived, or was given the idea', although he added: 'Wren's most dramatic idea was to invite some Victoria Cross winners'. Kiernan and Griffin also agreed that it was Wren who had the parade filmed. At the time, Adelaide's Catholic newspaper, the *Southern Cross*, claimed that 'Mr Wren planned the whole affair'. *Southern Cross* (Adelaide), 30 July 1920, p. 22. See also Buggy, *The Real John Wren*, p. 191; Brennan, *John Wren Gambler*, p. 129; Griffin, *John Wren*, p. 240–41, 243; Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland*, p. 139; Griffin, *Daniel Mannix*, p. 212.

¹⁵ *Advocate*, 18 March 1920, p. 16.

¹⁶ Buggy, *The Real John Wren*, p. 194.

¹⁷ *WA Record* (Perth), 27 March 1920, p. 21.

¹⁸ The *Argus* reported the number of VCs as 13, while the *Advocate* reported 14. They are not easy to count, but in newspaper photographs there appear to be 12 in front of Mannix's car in 4 columns of 3 horsemen and 2 behind. *Argus* (Melbourne), 22 March 1920, p. 8; *Advocate*, 25 March 1920, p. 10.

¹⁹ First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1914–1920, National Archives of Australia, Canberra [hereafter NAA], series B2455. Brief biographical details of the fourteen VCs are set out in the Appendix 5.

²⁰ Brennan, *John Wren Gambler*, p. 129.

²¹ Griffin, *John Wren*, pp. 209–10.

²² Of the 64 Australian Victoria Cross recipients during the First World War, 15 died in the action for which their VC was awarded, 2 more died before war's end and one was admitted to a mental hospital on his return to Australia—leaving 46. Wren's 14 were more than the 11 who were presented to the Prince of Wales in Sydney on 16 June 1920 during his visit to Australia. Gerald Gliddon, *VCs of the First World War: The Final Days, 1918*, Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2014, p. 61.

²³ *Advocate*, 18 March 1920, p. 19.

²⁴ Kwan, 'The Australian Flag', p. 288. A column entitled 'Our Victorian Letter', dated 16 March 1920 and published in Perth's Catholic newspaper, stated that fifteen VCs would escort Mannix. *WA Record*, 27 March 1920, p. 15.

²⁵ *WA Record*, 27 March 1920, p. 21; *Age*, 22 March 1920, p. 7; *Argus*, 22 March 1920, p. 8; *Sunday Times* (Perth), 21 March 1920, p. 1.

²⁶ *Advocate*, 13 May 1920, p. 22, 20 May 1920, p. 10; *Argus*, 11 May 1920, p. 4. So popular was the film during its initial screenings in Melbourne that the director of entertainment, Joseph Sheedy, was fined for overcrowding the Princess Theatre, when 2,250 instead of the permitted 1,988 attended the concluding night. *Advocate*, 3 June 1920, p. 16.

²⁷ *Catholic Press* 6 November 1919, p. 22. For Sheedy, who died on Christmas Day 1945, see his obituary in *Advocate*, 9 January 1946, p. 4.

²⁸ Appendix 4 contains a list of screenings.

²⁹ *Ballarat Star*, 22 June 1920, p. 6

³⁰ The *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Sun* had all refused to accept advertisements for the Sydney performances in May 1921. Reverend William Touchell to acting prime minister, 16 May 1921, NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1.

³¹ *Advocate*, 25 August 1921, p. 23.

³² *Argus*, 11 May 1920, p. 4, 15 May 1920, p. 18; *Age*, 11 May 1920, p. 8.

³³ *Watchman* (Sydney), 15 July 1920, p. 6.

³⁴ *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 1 August 1920, p. 4.

³⁵ *Age*, 30 July 1920, p. 8, 31 July 1920, p. 14; *Advocate*, 5 August 1920, p. 17.

³⁶ See, for example, *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 4 July 1920, p. 2; *Sun* (Sydney), 4 July 1920, p. 2.

³⁷ After the controversy aroused by the film's showing in Hobart, the Fraternal Association of Launceston, representing Protestant churches, passed a resolution protesting against the film's 'disloyal utterances' and 'disloyal picture propaganda' and expressing 'surprise and disgust' that it had been passed by the censor. *Daily Telegraph* (Launceston), 9 October 1920, p. 6.

³⁸ *Mercury* (Hobart), 5 October 1920, pp. 4–5, 6 October 1920, p. 5, 7 October 1920, p. 5.

³⁹ *World* (Hobart), 6 October 1920, p. 4, 7 October 1920, p. 4.

⁴⁰ *World*, 9 October 1920, p. 4.

⁴¹ See, for example, W.J. Hawkes to Captain E.E. Lloyd MC, Intelligence Section, Victoria Barracks, 5 July 1920; Reverend William Touchell to acting prime minister, 16 May 1921, NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1.

⁴² *World*, 6 October 1920, p. 4, 7 October 1920, p. 6.

⁴³ *World*, 13 October 1920, p. 4.

- ⁴⁴ *Mercury*, 12 October 1920, p. 5; *World*, 12 October 1920, p. 5.
- ⁴⁵ *World*, 12 October 1920, p. 6.
- ⁴⁶ *Mercury*, 15 October 1920, p. 2.
- ⁴⁷ *Mercury*, 15 October 1920, p. 2, 19 October 1920, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸ *Lithgow Mercury*, 27 May 1921, p. 6.
- ⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁵⁰ *Daily Mail* (Brisbane), 25 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁵¹ *Daily Mail*, 26 May 1921, p. 6.
- ⁵² *Western Champion* (Barcaldine), 11 June 1921, p. 11.
- ⁵³ *Brisbane Courier*, 25 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁵⁴ *Daily Mail*, 25 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁵⁵ *Daily Standard* (Brisbane), 27 May 1921, p. 6.
- ⁵⁶ NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457 D514/1.
- ⁵⁷ *Darling Downs Gazette* (Toowoomba), 13 June 1921, p. 6.
- ⁵⁸ *Queensland Times* (Ipswich), 14 June 1921, p. 5; *Advocate*, 23 June 1921, p. 19.
- ⁵⁹ *Warwick Daily News*, 16 June 1921, p. 6.
- ⁶⁰ 'There is little doubt the film was heavily censored before it was screened in May 1920', *Guardian Online*, 22 April 2016: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/postcolonial-blog/2016/apr/22/divided-melbourne-when-the-archbishop-turned-st-patricks-day-into-propaganda>, accessed 7 November 2017; 'An opening section about the Easter Rising leaders was censored by Australian Prime Minister Billy Hughes', Tinteán: <https://tintean.org.au/2016/11/06/ireland-will-be-free/>, accessed 7 November 2017; State Library of Victoria: <https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/whats-on/ireland-will-be-free>, accessed 7 November 2017; *Sunday Times* (London), 3 July 2016, p. 6.
- ⁶¹ R.R. Garran, secretary, Attorney-General's Department, to secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 2 June 1921; acting prime minister to Reverend William Touchell, 15 June 1921, NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1. In deciding against censorship, the federal government had accepted the assurance given by Ambrose McMahon that all films in the programme had been made in Melbourne by the Australasian Film Company in April 1920 and that no imported film material was used in the production. But McMahon's assurance given in 1921 was incorrect, at least with regard to footage of hunger strikers being removed from Mountjoy prison in April 1920, as this was clearly filmed in Dublin. The scene first appeared during the film's Sydney season in July 1920. A.R. Townsend, secretary, Commonwealth Film Censorship Board, to acting comptroller-general of customs, 31 May 1921, NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1; *Catholic Press*, 8 July 1920, p. 20.
- ⁶² *Advocate*, 23 June 1921, p. 19; *Queensland Times*, 14 June 1921, p. 5.
- ⁶³ *Mercury*, 20 October 1920, p. 7; *World*, 20 October 1920, p. 8. The Tasmanian premier's comments were made after Prime Minister Hughes had declined to intervene. *Advocate*, 14 October 1920, p. 25).
- ⁶⁴ NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1; 'Ireland will be Free'—Disloyal Sinn Fein Motion Picture, NAA, A8911 248.
- ⁶⁵ *Advocate* (Melbourne), 6 May 1920, p. 23.

- ⁶⁶ *Age* (Melbourne), 10 May 1920, p. 6; *Argus* (Melbourne), 10 May 1920, p. 6; *Advocate*, 13 May 1920, p. 22; *Southern Cross* (Adelaide), 30 July 1920, p. 22.
- ⁶⁷ *World* (Hobart), 5 October 1920, p. 6; *Daily Standard* (Brisbane), 27 May 1921, p. 6.
- ⁶⁸ *Mercury* (Hobart), 5 October 1920, p. 5.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Southern Cross*, 29 October 1920, p. 8; *Advocate*, 2 December 1920, p. 15, 9 December 1920, p. 11; *Truth* (Sydney), 1 May 1921, p. 2.
- ⁷³ *Catholic Press*, 5 May 1921, p. 32.
- ⁷⁴ *Catholic Press*, 5 May 1921, p. 32.
- ⁷⁵ *Daily Mail* (Brisbane), 25 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁷⁶ *Mercury*, 5 October 1920, p. 5; W.J. Hawkes to Captain E.E. Lloyd MC, Intelligence Section, Victoria Barracks, 5 July 1920, NAA: Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1.
- ⁷⁷ Reverend William Touchell to acting prime minister, 16 May 1921, NAA, Disloyalty, Disloyal Pictures, A457, D514/1.
- ⁷⁸ *Advocate* (Melbourne), 13 May 1920, p. 22, 20 May 1920, p. 10; *Argus* (Melbourne), 11 May 1920, p. 4.
- ⁷⁹ *Ballarat Star* 12 June 1920, p. 2, 16 June 1920, p. 6, 21 June 1920, p. 4, 22 June 1920, p. 6.
- ⁸⁰ *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), 8 July 1920, p. 26; *Catholic Press* (Sydney), 8 July 1920, p. 20, 15 July 1920, pp. 19, 25.
- ⁸¹ *Age* (Melbourne), 30 July 1920, p. 8; *Advocate*, 5 August 1920, p. 17.
- ⁸² *Geelong Advertiser*, 13 September 1920, p. 1; *Advocate*, 16 September 1920, p. 26.
- ⁸³ *Daily Telegraph* (Launceston), 27 September 1920, p. 7.
- ⁸⁴ *Mercury* (Hobart), 4 October 1920, p. 6; *Catholic Press*, 14 October 1920, p. 32.
- ⁸⁵ *Southern Cross* (Adelaide), 22 October 1920, p. 2.
- ⁸⁶ *Advocate*, 2 December 1920, p. 15, 16 December 1920, p. 18.
- ⁸⁷ *Advocate*, 27 January 1921, p. 24.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² *Freeman's Journal*, 28 April 1920, p. 24, 5 May 1921, p. 26; *Catholic Press*, 5 May 1921, pp. 23, 32; *Evening News* (Sydney), 16 May 1921, p. 8.
- ⁹³ *Brisbane Courier*, 21 May 1921, p. 6; *Daily Standard* (Brisbane), 28 May 1921, p. 9.
- ⁹⁴ *Darling Downs Gazette* (Toowoomba), 14 June 1921, p. 1, 16 June 1921, p. 1.
- ⁹⁵ *Warwick Daily News*, 3 June 1921, p. 2; 11 June 1921, p. 8; *Darling Downs Gazette*, 16 June 1921, p. 3, 18 June 1921, p. 1.
- ⁹⁶ *Queensland Times* (Ipswich), 27 June 1921, p. 4, 28 June 1921, p. 1.
- ⁹⁷ *Catholic Press*, 7 July 1921, pp. 19, 29, 21 July 1921, p. 20, 28 July 1921, p. 44.
- ⁹⁸ *Advocate*, 4 August 1921, pp. 13, 24.