

# “The 1916 Irish Rising: Australasian Perspectives”

## International Conference

Thursday 7 – Friday 8 April 2016

*Programme, Abstracts & Associated Events*



*The Arrest* (1916), Kathleen Fox, Courtesy of The Niland Collection, Sligo.

Newman College, The University of Melbourne



Ambasáid na hÉireann  
Embassy of Ireland

ÉIRE  
IRELAND

1916  
2016

Clár Comórtha  
Céad Bliain  
Centenary  
Programme



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## Programme: Thursday 7 April

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- 8.30-9.00: **Registration, Tea and Coffee**  
*Registration desk located outside The Oratory, Newman College*
- 9.00-9.30: **Welcome:** Professor Glyn Davis, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne
- 9.30-10.30: **Keynote Speaker:** Dr Roisín Higgins (Teesside University)  
‘We Honour Them in all the Long Tomorrows of our Land’: The Changing Meanings of the Easter Rising
- 10.30-11.00: **Morning Tea**
- 11.00-12.30: **Panel 1: Language, Politics and Print**  
Chair: Dr Dianne Hall (Victoria University)
- Dr Robert Lindsey (University of Melbourne)  
‘Sinn Féin, Sinn Féin’: The Easter Rising and Irish Cultural Nationalism in Melbourne
- Jimmy Yan (University of Melbourne)  
Setting a Torch to a Global Conflagration: James Connolly and Labour Internationalist Print in the First World War
- Professor Gillian Russell (University of Melbourne)  
Proclaiming Independence: Fugitive Print in the Subversion of Empire, 1803-1916
- 12.30-1.15: **Lunch**
- 1.15-2.45: **Panel 2: Women and the Rising**  
Chair: Dr Val Noone (University of Melbourne)
- Dr Wendy Dick (University of Melbourne)  
‘Answering The Loudest Call’: Tracing the Life Paths Crossing Easter 1916 of Two Women from Families from the Nineteenth Century Diaspora from County Cork to Colonial Victoria
- Dr Dianne Hall (Victoria University)  
‘Stirring the Hearts of her Fellow Countrywomen’: Women of the Rising in Australia
- 2.45-3.15: **Afternoon Tea**
- 3.15-4.45: **Panel 3: Reactions and Commemoration**  
Chair: Dr Fearghal McGarry (Queen’s University Belfast)
- Dr Stephanie James (Flinders University)  
Australian Responses to the 1916 Rising: Some Evidence from Below

Dr Kevin Molloy (State Library of Victoria)  
Reading the Middle Classes: Australia's Irish-Protestant Reaction to the  
Easter Rising

Dr Jeff Kildea (University of New South Wales)  
'We Personally Had No Quarrel with the Rioters': Anzacs in Dublin During  
The Easter Rising 1916

5.15-6.00: **Reception**

*Location: Fritz Loewe Theatre, McCoy Building, Elgin St, University of  
Melbourne (Map in conference pack)*

6.00.-7.00: **Public Lecture:** Dr Guy Beiner (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)  
Terror at the GPO

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## Programme: Friday 8 April

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9.00-9.30: **Tea and Coffee**

9.30-10.30: **Panel 4: Material Cultures and Remembrance**

Chair: Professor Gillian Russell (University of Melbourne)

Dr Georgina Fitzpatrick (Independent Scholar)  
The Easter Rising and Trinity College Dublin: Some Commemorative  
Objects

Dr Antoine Guillemette (Victoria University)  
Waving the Irish Tricolour Against the Empire, 1916-1921

10.30-11.00: **Morning Tea**

11.00-12.30: **Panel 5: Reverberations in Victoria**

Chair: Margaret Coffey (University of Melbourne)

Michael Francis (University of Melbourne)  
The Rising and Newman College

Dr Val Noone (University of Melbourne)  
The Importance of Easter 1916 in the History of Victoria

Dr Anne Beggs-Sumter (Federation University)  
The 'Savages of Bungaree': Irish-Catholic Opposition to Conscription and  
War in Ballarat during World War One

12.30-1.15: **Lunch**

1.15-2.45: **Panel 6: Australian and Transnational Dimensions**

Chair: Dr Roisín Higgins (Teesside University)

Dr Rory Sweetman (University of Otago)  
New Zealand Perspectives on the Easter Rising: Bishop Henry Cleary and the  
North King Street Murders

John Clancy (Flinders University)  
Argentina and the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence

Associate Professor Rodney Sullivan and Associate Professor Robin Sullivan  
(University of Queensland)  
The Easter Rising: Reverberations in Brisbane, 1916-1926

2.45-3.15: **Afternoon Tea**

3.15-4.45 **Panel 7: Memory, Representation and Voice**

Chair: Dr Guy Beiner (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Associate Professor Frances Devlin-Glass (Deakin University)  
'Do Rebels Never Retire?': Literary Apostacy and the Easter Rising

Anna-Rose Shack (University of Melbourne)  
Gathering Voices and Telling the story – The 1916 Rising in 2016

Professor Andrew Scott (Deakin University)  
Ringing Out Through the Foggy Dew: Learning about the Easter Rising and  
Other Irish Rebellions through Folk Songs in Australia

4.45-5.00: **Break**

5.00-6.00: **Keynote Speaker:** Dr Fearghal McGarry (Queen's University, Belfast)  
'A Land Beyond The Wave': Transnational Perspectives on the Easter 1916

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## Keynote Speakers

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**Dr Roisín Higgins** is a Senior Lecturer in History at Teesside University. She is the author of *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising* (Cork, 2012) which won the ACIS James Donnelly Sr Prize for History and Social Science. She is the editor, with Regina Uí Chollatáin, of *The Life and After-Life of P.H. Pearse* (Dublin, 2009). Roisín has also been historical advisor on the Commemoration zone of the GPO permanent exhibition in Dublin. She is the project leader on a Heritage Lottery funded project, ‘Dear Mrs Pennyman’, which is carrying out research into letters sent to Mary Pennyman from widows and mothers of men from Britain and Ireland who died in action during the First World War.

*‘We Honour Them in all the Long Tomorrows of our Land’: The Changing Meanings of the Easter Rising*

The Easter Rising inhabits a powerful position in the Irish imagination. The form this takes has been shaped by its commemorative history as well as the events of Easter week 1916. Even as it unfolded the Rising was experienced as an other-worldly event happening parallel to real life. The Republic was declared but not achieved on Easter Monday 1916 and it was into this ambiguity that a great deal of tension was generated in subsequent commemorations; they became conduits for explorations of the nature of Irish society and for expressions of Irishness. Therefore the Rising operates as discursive space as well as a historical event. This lecture discusses why the Easter Rising has become such an important commemorative vehicle. It looks at the ways in which its meanings have changed during different anniversaries and considers what commemorations of 1916 tells us about the politics of the present.

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**Dr Guy Beiner** teaches modern European history at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. He was a Government of Ireland Scholar at University College Dublin, a Government of Ireland Research Fellow at Trinity College Dublin, a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow at the University of Notre Dame’s Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies, a Government of Hungary Fellow at the Central European University, and, most recently, a Gerda Henkel Marie Curie fellow at the University of Oxford. He is the author of the prize-winning book *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (University of Wisconsin Press) and his next book *Rites of Oblivion* (forthcoming with University of Oxford Press) is on vernacular history and social forgetting in Ulster.

*Terror at the GPO*

Our understanding of the Easter Rising is, at least in part, a historical myth through which we interpret the past in light of our present concerns. With this in mind, I would like to suggest a new interpretation of 1916, which will take into account studies on the history of terrorism, and propose that the takeover of the GPO can be considered as an act of propaganda by deed. Such a thesis, of course, has implications for the memory of the event and how it is commemorated.

**Dr Fearghal McGarry** studied history at University College, Dublin, and Trinity College, Dublin. He lectured at Trinity, 1997-2000, before receiving a Government of Ireland research fellowship at NUI Maynooth. He joined the School of History at Queen's in 2002. He was joint editor of *Irish Historical Studies* (2008-2013), and is currently a member of the editorial board of *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C*. He is a series editor of Irish Historical Monographs (Boydell and Brewer).

*'A Land Beyond The Wave': Transnational Perspectives on the Easter 1916*

The Easter Rising devastated Dublin and transformed Irish politics, leading to popular support for Irish republicanism and a violent struggle for independence. Most accounts consider the rebellion's impact within an Irish context but what happens when we widen the frame by placing the Rising in a global context? How did the migration of people, whether individual revolutionaries or waves of Irish migrants, contribute to what happened in 1916? What influence did the international circulation of ideas such as socialism or self-determination have on the Rising's organisers? To what extent did broader cultural currents, such as the romantic nationalism identified with the 'generation of 1914' or the militarism that swept wartime European society, influence the revolutionary generation? How significant was the response to the Rising by the Irish Diaspora and revolutionaries from other countries? Such questions shed light on the extent to which Ireland's revolution can be seen to form part of a wider global shift as the age of empire gave way to a new order in which legitimate political power was increasingly believed to rest on popular sovereignty.

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## Abstracts

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### **Panel 1: Language, Politics and Print**

**Dr Robert Lindsey** (*University of Melbourne*)

*‘Sinn Féin, Sinn Féin’: The Easter Rising and Irish Cultural Nationalism in Melbourne*

This presentation will outline how Melbourne’s Irish republican community asserted itself and then fractured itself in the decade following the Easter Rising, somewhat reflecting the political complications experienced by republicans in Ireland itself. Although the Rising undoubtedly served as a catalyst for Irish cultural activities in Melbourne, the ambitious political ideas expressed in the Easter Proclamation ultimately proved to be an unstable basis for ongoing and collective action. The Irish language was one of several contested grounds over which Melbourne-based nationalists of various political persuasions squabbled, but after 1916 it became increasingly evident that active promotion of the Irish language in Melbourne came hand-in-hand with a belief in the need for the immediate establishment of a 32-county Irish republic. Irish cultural life in Melbourne was not only subject to politicisation, but to an alignment with republican views, so that the activities of local branches of the Gaelic League and the Young Ireland Society were increasingly seen to be a front for potentially ‘disloyal’ political activities. This shift came much to the chagrin of Dr Nicholas O’Donnell and Morgan Jageurs, two local and long-established leaders of the Irish cultural revival, who were very vocal in their calls for Irish Home Rule to be achieved by non-violent means. Ongoing research is revealing how the events surrounding the struggle for Irish independence shaped the social and cultural experiences of Melbourne-based Irish and Irish-Australians for decades afterwards, including several community leaders who have as yet have received little or no attention from researchers.

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**Jimmy Yan** (*University of Melbourne*)

*Setting a Torch to a Global Conflagration: James Connolly and Labour Internationalist Print in the First World War*

An emerging historiography of the Irish Revolution has re-emphasised its global historical implications in the context of War World One. In assessing the immediate pre-Rising political outlook of James Connolly within ties beyond Ireland, this paper will contend that the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) embodied a distinctly internationalist current within the Republican movement up to and including Easter Week 1916. Between the outbreak of War in August 1914 and the 1916 Rising, a transnational reading of the wartime situation permeated the Irish Worker and The Workers' Republic, the trade union newspapers edited by James Connolly from October 1914. An identification with international labour opposition to War and conscription is evidenced not only directly in the political commentary of Connolly, but also indirectly in political linkages embodied in material selected for re-publication from international sources. Political solidarity with the international labour movement in 1915 encompassed coverage of munitions industry strikes in the United States, the Red Clydeside movement in Scotland, the Welsh Miners Strike and anti-enlistment activities in Australia. Commentary on the war itself remained subsumed to the primacy of opposition to the British empire. By January 1916, the integration of the ICA into the Military Council of the Easter Rising embodied the culmination of a re-negotiation of the relationship between the socialist and Fenian strands of Connolly's political thought. Nevertheless, a



specific interrogation of the internationalist dimension of the Irish labour press bears implications for a historical memory of the Rising beyond the framework of the national state.

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**Professor Gillian Russell** (*University of Melbourne*)

*Proclaiming Independence: Fugitive Print in the Subversion of Empire, 1803-1916*

One of the most frequently reproduced images of the Easter Rising of 1916 is the broadside poster ‘Poblacht na hÉireann The provisional government of the Irish Republic to the people of Ireland’, which was printed at Liberty Hall in Dublin on 23 April 1916. Two days later another broadside poster was produced proclaiming martial law in the name of King George V. The proclamation was a long-standing medium of government communication with its own performative rituals: originally delivered orally, its impact was amplified by the technologies of print after the mid-seventeenth century and the growth of urban space on which broadsides could be displayed. The archiving of proclamations was a form of political history, widely practiced by antiquarians and bibliophiles. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century the proclamation took its place among a diversity of forms of broadside publication which, using increasingly sophisticated techniques of graphic communication, transformed the walls of towns and cities throughout the empire, constituting a form of vivid street art. With reference to Jay Fliegelman’s *Declaring Independence*, a study of another important broadside, the ‘Declaration’ of the independence of the United States, this paper considers ‘Poblacht na hÉireann’ and its antecedent in the proclamation of a ‘Provisional Government’ of Ireland in the Rising of 1803. I will also consider the afterlives of such fugitive or ephemeral publications – a copy of ‘Poblacht na hÉireann’ is in the State Library of Victoria – as part of a wider exploration of the importance of fugitive media for the Easter Rising and its afterlives.

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## **Panel 2: Women and the Rising**

**Dr Wendy Dick** (*University of Melbourne*)

*‘Answering The Loudest Call’: Tracing the Life Paths Crossing Easter 1916 of Two Women from Families from the Nineteenth Century Diaspora from County Cork to Colonial Victoria*

During and following a study of Ellen Mulcahy (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2012), I have been looking at the lives and family formation in Victoria of Mulcahy families from Mid County Cork. There are some links rather than clear blood relationships. By 1916 the families were in effect Australian but deeply conscious of being Irish Australians. Some appear to have maintained contact with Irish branches. Placing a spotlight on Easter 1916 and especially on the activities of some of the women, I am asking what dominated the lives of these families at this time. Unsurprisingly, there is more evidence of their dealing with the direct claims of current challenging situations than of their position on the Easter crisis in the distant homeland. To ignore this aspect of the lives of Colonial Irish settlers might lead us to get the balance wrong, especially when for some families the more compelling distant crisis was World War 1. This paper focuses on two women: Ellen Mulcahy, a Labour and social activist, and Kathleen Mulcahy, who entered an Irish religious order.

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**Dr Dianne Hall** (*Victoria University*)

*'Stirring the Hearts of her Fellow Countrywomen': Women of the Rising in Australia*

Linda Kearns was as a nurse who ran a first aid station in North Great Georges Street during Easter week 1916, she later fought in the War of Independence and was imprisoned for smuggling guns. After the treaty, which she opposed, she was sent by De Valera with other women to the United States to raise money for the republican cause. Straight after her return to Ireland in 1924 she was again sent on a fund raising tour by De Valera, this time to Australia and in the company of Kathleen Barry. The lecturing and fund raising tour lasted five months and was an important way for Australians to hear about events in Ireland and their consequences. Kearns' message in her speeches was largely an appeal of funds to help the men who had been injured or killed. There was little reporting or mention of her own or other women's involvement in the Rising. This paper will analyse the messages given by Kearns at these fund raising events through the lens of contemporary Australian attitudes and reporting of Irishness, femininity and violence.

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### **Panel 3: Reactions and Commemoration**

**Dr Stephanie James** (*Flinders University*)

*Australian Responses to the 1916 Rising: Some Evidence from Below*

This paper uses material located in newspapers and the security files of Australia's National Archives to identify the ways that some ordinary Irish-Australians were affected by the Easter Rising and its consequences. Often the spotlight has rested on responses from the prominent, but accessing the Irish-Catholic press also reveals the voices of some 'ordinary' readers. These newspapers, critical in providing more reliable information than the daily press, also highlight the shift from Home Rule to Sinn Féin between 1916 and 1918. Surveillance authorities focussed on any Australians potentially linked to Sinn Fein from late 1917, so their files offer a rich repository of responses from some ordinary Irish-Australians. Equally, these files show both anti-Irish prejudice, and the lengths to which authorities were prepared to go to excise any threat of local Irish disloyalty. The Irish National Association attracted members in most states reflecting a growing radicalisation among many average Irish-Australians; files point to many more committed individuals than the seven interned in 1918. The captured voices of city and country-based Irish-born clerics demonstrate a further source of response judged as disloyal. By focussing on case studies of both Irish-Catholic newspapers and some non-prominent individuals, this material explores how the Rising was seen and interpreted more generally in the Irish-Australian community.

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**Dr Kevin Molloy** (*State Library of Victoria*)

*Reading the Middle Classes: Australia's Irish-Protestant Reaction to the Easter Rising*

Noted for the prominent role of first and second generation personalities from Irish Protestant backgrounds, Victoria, from the turn of the twentieth century to the eve of the World War One was no exception.

Some examples include politician and high court judge Henry Bournes Higgins; Sir William Hill Irvine, former Victorian Premier, Attorney General, and nephew of Irish patriot

John Mitchel; J G Roberts, benefactor and patron to well-known Australian artists such as C. J. Dennis, John Shirlow, Tom Roberts, and Robert Croll; Edmund LaTouche Armstrong, Director of the Melbourne Public Library; William Alexander Osborne, scientist, literary collector, and fellow at the University of Melbourne; and Ormond College (University of Melbourne) personality John Laurence Rentoul, clergyman, theologian and controversialist.

Although not a distinct grouping, these individuals displayed common interests, had access to similar networks, mixed in the same social circles, and could all be considered servants of the Empire with quite well-defined positions on Ireland.

Taking two of these individuals, cultural benefactor J G Roberts and high court judge Henry Bournes Higgins - both of whom strongly supported WW1 while yet maintaining strong family and cultural ties with Ireland - this paper will explore how such figures reacted to the Irish Rising of 1916, and negotiated its aftermath. Conclusions will reveal the nuanced complexity of ethnic and political allegiances, allegiances that evolved over the war years to encompass a post-independent Ireland and a six-county Northern Ireland.

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**Dr Jeff Kildea** (*University of New South Wales*)

*'We Personally Had No Quarrel with the Rioters': Anzacs in Dublin During The Easter Rising 1916*

When the Easter Rising began on Easter Monday 1916 Australian and New Zealand soldiers on leave in Ireland found themselves caught up in the fighting. Many of them were veterans of Gallipoli who had been invalided to England suffering from wounds or illness and had taken convalescent leave in Ireland. By that time I Anzac Corps had arrived on the Western Front and had begun to face the horrors of modern industrialised trench warfare. But, for those on leave, Ireland was a haven from all that. Yet Ireland itself would soon become a battle front. These Anzacs, who had enlisted to fight Germans in the fields of France, were given rifles and ordered to fight Irishmen on the streets of Dublin. This paper describes the experiences of some of the Anzacs caught up in the rising and looks at their reports home and how those reports were received.

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#### **Panel 4: Material Cultures and Remembrance**

**Dr Georgina Fitzpatrick** (*Independent Scholar*)

*The Easter Rising and Trinity College Dublin: Some Commemorative Objects*

The 37 acres of Trinity College commanded a central position in Dublin. Its boundaries lay along key routes between the GPO, the College of Surgeons, Westland Row railway viaduct and other locations captured by Irish Volunteers and Connolly's ICA on Easter Monday. From midday on, College servants, College Fellows and OTC cadets mounted the defence of the College against an attack which never eventuated. After a tense night, the 71 initial defenders relinquished responsibility to British forces. The College thereafter served as central accommodation for British troops and as a location for counter-offensive strategies.

TCD's Easter Week is well documented in the College collections of manuscripts, artefacts, ephemera, photographs and various contemporary publications but these, until recently, have been accessible only to scholars making personal visits. However, many of these items are now pictured and discussed online by curatorial staff in an extensive website.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Changed Utterly: Ireland and the Easter Rising*, [www.tcd.ie/Library/1916/](http://www.tcd.ie/Library/1916/)

As someone who explored these 1916 items in person when preparing a commissioned booklet,<sup>2</sup> I enjoyed re-acquainting myself with them from the other side of the world. However, some artefacts connected with the defence of Trinity are not featured: the commemorative cups and the illuminated Deed of Gift, items presented to the College by grateful businessmen from the Grafton Street area. In this paper, I will place these commemorative objects in context and present them to you as intriguing examples of the material culture of the 1916 Rising collected from the loyalist side.

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**Dr Antoine Guillemette** (*Victoria University*)  
*Waving the Irish Tricolour Against the Empire, 1916-1921*

This paper proposes to assess the early acts of commemorative defiance in Ireland devised during the final years of the British Empire. More specifically, it will focus on the material culture of remembrance through the use of the Irish tricolour during the Rising itself up to 1921. That period was marked by a game of commemorative cat and mouse between Irish nationalists and authorities. While the British rulers had law and order on their side, their attempts to curtail the Rising's public presence largely failed. Easter Week represented the ideal moment to introduce new traditions and symbols which were to occupy centre stage in commemorations. Among the variety of traditions and symbols introduced was the Irish tricolour which would be given prominence at subsequent Easters. The use of the tricolour during Easter Week and in following commemorations allowed nationalists to claim continuity with a glorious past while enabling them to impart new meanings to it. Sightings of the tricolour during the Rising would cause confusion, exhilaration and ambiguous reactions. While the tricolour was a relatively unknown symbol during Easter Week, later recollections consecrated the flag and its hoisting as a powerful moment of the Rising and early commemorations. Overall, this paper will discuss how, over a very short time, the tricolour went from a relatively unknown symbol to a very powerful national one.

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## **Panel 5: Reverberations in Victoria**

**Michael Francis** (*University of Melbourne*)  
*The Rising and Newman College*

The foundation of Newman College (1914-1918) took place during a period of great turmoil. In 1914 the Catholics of Victoria embarked on the monumental effort to build a residential college for male students attending the University of Melbourne. Their aim was to redress perceived social disadvantage by nurturing a Catholic intellectual class who would enter the professions. This project was one of accommodation, where Catholic gentlemen would quietly taking their rightful place alongside their Protestant counterparts. But with the 1916 Easter Rising and the concomitant outbreak of sectarian tensions, the idea of Newman College was irrevocably changed. Led by the charismatic Irish nationalist, Archbishop Daniel Mannix, the Catholic community was accused of disloyalty and sedition. Calls for Mannix's deportation caused Catholics to close ranks and come together in spectacular displays of group solidarity, of which the 40,000 strong crowd who attended the opening of Newman is

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<sup>2</sup> Georgina Fitzpatrick, *Trinity College and Irish Society, 1914-1922*, Dublin, 1992, commissioned by TCD Quatercentenary Schools' Liaison Committee.

but one example. In this context, Newman became a fortress of the Faith. This paper will track the impact of the Rising on Catholic Victoria and the resulting ontological transformation of Newman College.

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**Dr Val Noone** (*University of Melbourne*)  
*The Importance of Easter 1916 in the History of Victoria*

Surveying secondary sources and relying on primary ones, this paper begins with a sketch of the social setting for the birth of Pearse McKeown in Melbourne in 1917 and his father's internment a year later by the Australian Government as a suspected member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The experiences of this working-class family will be analysed in the light of the bitter hardships flowing from World War I, accompanying rising food prices, the impact of the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland and the October 1916 Australian referendum on military conscription. Particular attention is given to the end of the twenty-year pre eminence of West Melbourne-based Dr Nicholas O'Donnell as the national leader of Home Rule support and the emergence of Archbishop Daniel Mannix as a spokesman on labour issues, conscription and Irish independence. The paper concludes that the Easter Rising was important in the history of Victoria, at least, because of the way it catalysed an alliance – rare and temporary – between labour radicals and a Catholic archbishop, and because of the contribution it made to the democratic vote – perhaps unique in the world and repeated for good measure – against military conscription.

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**Dr Anne Beggs-Sumter** (*Federation University*)  
*The 'Savages of Bungaree': Irish-Catholic Opposition to Conscription and War in Ballarat during World War One*

This paper addresses the impact of the Dublin Rebellion on an Irish-Catholic farming community near Ballarat during World War One. The Warrenheip district had been settled by Irish families from the 1850s, and the bush landscape was rapidly transformed into a pseudo-Irish landscape by Irish agricultural workers, who selected farms in the area and established a strong network of Catholic churches and schools. From the 1860s it was derided by anti-Irish politicians who stereotyped the inhabitants as illiterate, Catholic, radical and clinging to Irish values and attitudes. In 1916 these families were deeply interested in questions of Home Rule for Ireland, as well as Australia's contribution to the Empire war effort. A Ballarat labour newspaper, the *Evening Echo*, reported on the aftermath of the Dublin Rising in April 1916 with dramatic headlines, and helped to shape opposition to conscription to military service in aid of the British war effort. It was the only daily newspaper in Victoria to fearlessly report on the aftermath of the Dublin Rising, and to take a strongly anti-conscription stance when the Australian government attempted to introduce military conscription through a plebiscite. This paper will analyse the impact of the Irish-Australian editor of the *Evening Echo*, James Scullin, and the importance of local Irish nationalist organisations in the farming community of Warrenheip, in defeating conscription.

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## **Panel 6: Australian and Transnational Dimensions**

**Dr Rory Sweetman** (*University of Otago*)

*New Zealand Perspectives on the Easter Rising: Bishop Henry Cleary and the North King Street Murders*

The paper will explore an episode not covered in my chapter on antipodean Irish Catholic responses to the Easter Rising in *The Impact of the 1916 Rising: Among the Nations* (Ruan O'Donnell, ed., Dublin, 2008). In February 1917 Cleary (Catholic bishop of Auckland) interviewed several witnesses to the British troops' savage repression of suspected insurgents in North King Street, Dublin, during the dying stages of the insurrection. What he did with the explosive information he uncovered throws light on the dilemma posed by the Irish Revolution for colonial Catholic leaders in Australia and New Zealand.

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**John Clancy** (*Flinders University*)

*Argentina and the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence*

Much is known about North American support, both financial, moral, and military, to Ireland towards its struggle for independence in the early twentieth century. Much less known is the level of aid from Argentina, a country which had achieved its independence from Spain in 1816. In this paper, John Clancy will examine Argentine support for the 1916 rising and the subsequent War of Independence. This will be placed into the context of Irish migration to Argentina during the second half of the nineteenth century. John Clancy will look at how the initial strong rural base of the Irish community in Argentina and the increasingly urban base of that same community may have been a factor in the shaping of attitudes there. The influence of Irish Catholic religious orders in Argentina will also be considered. Comparisons may also be drawn between the attitude of the Irish-Argentine and the Irish-Australian communities towards the Rising and Irish independence. Mention will also be made of the support of the Irish-Argentine community for the LAND League in Ireland, the Home Rule movement, the Gaelic League, and the GAA.

John Clancy will present in some detail the story of a prominent Irish-Argentine who fought in the Rising. He will also examine the divergent views of the two Irish-Argentine newspapers, and will draw comparisons between the different attitudes towards the Rising and Irish independence among the Irish-Argentine community and similar divergent attitudes found in Ireland during those same years. The role played by some Irish leaders in the liberation from Spain of Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay a century earlier will also be considered, with reference to some well known personages and some lesser known ones.

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**Associate Professor Rodney and Associate Professor Robin Sullivan** (*University of Queensland*)

*The Easter Rising: Reverberations in Brisbane, 1916-1926*

The Easter Rising disrupted Brisbane's Irish-Australian community and tested its relations with the wider society. It forced a reappraisal of Irish-Australian identities, organisation and memory.

The Rising had internal ramifications for Brisbane's Irish community. The Queensland Irish Association (QIA) owed its hegemony to non-sectarian inclusiveness and commitment to Home Rule. In 1916 it deplored the Rising as a dangerous folly. Over the next decade, as a new generation of leaders emerged, it struggled over the meaning and

memory of the rebellion. In the mid-1920s the QIA was forced to contemplate a memory *volte-face* and disown its 1916 response.

Partly responsible for this memory crisis was a rival organisation, the Irish National Association (INA), itself a response to the Rising. It was uncompromisingly republican and, in February 1923, erected a funerary monument over the adjacent graves of two of its members, Thomas Fitzgerald and George McKitterick. This etched ‘Pearse’s gallant band’ and Irish history into Brisbane’s memorial landscape.

The Fitzgerald-McKitterick commemoration was dwarfed by the simultaneous memorialisation of the late former Premier of Queensland and QIA luminary, Thomas Joseph Ryan, a notable critic of the Rising. His funerary monument was unveiled a fortnight after that of the INA heroes and a public statue was erected in 1925. The contrasting memorialisations spoke of different times, places and constituencies. Unlike the Fitzgerald-McKitterick monument, the concretisation of Ryan’s memory embedded its subject in Queensland and its history. The biographies of the memorials disclose vastly different after-lives. Ryan’s monuments retain their vitality; the Fitzgerald-McKitterick structure teeters at oblivion’s edge.

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## **Panel 7: Memory, Representation and Voice**

***Associate Professor Frances Devlin-Glass*** (*Deakin University*)

*‘Do Rebels Never Retire?’: Literary Apostacy and the Easter Rising*

Literary responses to the Easter Rising have been famously, or notoriously, equivocal or resistant to hyper-nationalist interpretations of the events of that pivotal nation-building week. Yeats’s iconic lament, ‘Easter 1916’, is far from being alone in this regard. This paper will briefly survey some of the earliest responses to the Rising and examine Roddy Doyle’s more recent trilogy, *The Last Roundup* (completed almost a century later in 2010), and especially his highly subversive and darkly comic *A Star Called Henry* (2005). It will argue that, despite the very different political and ideological imperatives out of which Doyle’s novels arise, and to which they address themselves, there are some surprising continuities in the tradition of Literary Apostasy.

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***Anna-Rose Shack*** (*University of Melbourne*)

*Gathering Voices and Telling the story – The 1916 Rising in 2016*

Ireland is widely regarded as a nation of storytellers. Narratives of the 1916 Easter Rising have taken many forms; ‘official’ historical accounts exist alongside personal stories passed through generations. In many countries around the world, people have been inspired by their own Irish heritage to establish commemorations of the 1916 Easter Uprising in 2016. To ‘tell the story’ their mediums are as diverse as theatre, conferences, exhibitions, forums, visual art and writing. This paper explores some of the ways in which people have chosen to commemorate the event in 2016 and examines the motivations and possible implications of their choices. In the process of my research I will gather the opinions and views on 1916 of a diverse array of religious, political and lay people currently residing in Ireland, England and Australia. It will thus be a survey of what people think now, in April 2016, of the Rising. Foregrounding my own perspective as an English/Irish/Australian student, the paper will

reflect on the importance of personal history and individual voices in understanding and analysing the enduring impact of the 1916 Easter Uprising in 2016.

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**Professor Andrew Scott** (*Deakin University*)

*Ringling Out Through the Foggy Dew: Learning about the Easter Rising and Other Irish Rebellions through Folk Songs in Australia*

This paper will examine the transmission of historical knowledge about the 1916 Easter Rising to people of Irish descent in Australia through music and university education. Songs such as ‘The Foggy Dew’ as sung by The Dubliners, and as then further explained by committed lecturers in tertiary history subjects, have helped to educate younger generations about this event and have influenced individuals’ political development. The Easter Rising is one of a series of major events in Irish history which have been effectively memorialised in song in Australia. The event in this series which has produced the largest number of popular songs, however, is the 1798 Irish Rebellion: narrated in ‘The Wearing of the Green’, ‘Roddy McCorley’, and ‘Kelly the Boy from Killane’. All of these have become well-known in Australia and also, to those tunes, new Australian folk songs were written, played and recorded. Those songs express a strong sense of Celtic identification and associate an Irish rebellious spirit with Australian historical events like the Eureka Stockade and the life of bushranger Ned Kelly. The paper will consider the convergence of these songs in performances and informal sessions held from the 1970s, appropriately, at a Melbourne venue named after a 19<sup>th</sup> century campaigner for Irish Catholic emancipation – the Dan O’Connell Hotel. It will consider the political and ethnic importance of this music and its contribution to stoking the fires of genealogical interest by more Australians to rediscover their Irish ancestries, which had in many cases been previously hidden or downplayed.



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## Associated Events

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### **Remembering Melbourne's Easter Rising Links**

Melbourne General Cemetery tour conducted by Dr Val Noone (University of Melbourne)

Location: Melbourne General Cemetery, Parkville (meet at main entrance on College Crescent)

Day and Time: Saturday 9 April, 10.00-11.30 am

For more information and to reserve your place on the tour, please contact Dr Val Noone: [valnoone@iinet.net.au](mailto:valnoone@iinet.net.au)

### **The Irish Rising: 'A Terrible Beauty is Born'**

Exhibition at the State Library of Victoria

Location: State Library of Victoria

Dates: Thursday 17 March – Sunday 31 July

For more information, please see: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/irish-rising>

### **Curator's Talk: 'The Irish Rising'**

Hear the curator, Dr Anna Welch, discuss highlights of the 'Irish Rising' display

Location: Cowen Gallery, State Library of Victoria

Dates: Various days/times from Saturday 17 March – Tuesday 3 May

For more information, please see: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/whats-on/curators-talk-irish-rising>

### **Six Days that Shook an Empire: The Centenary of the Irish Rising**

A panel of speakers chaired by Maxine McKew commemorate the centenary of the Easter Rising in Dublin, 1916

Location: Village Roadshow Theatrette, State Library of Victoria

Date: Saturday 9 April, 2:00-3:15 pm

Panellists:

- Maxine McKew (chair), Honorary Fellow, Melbourne Graduate School of Education, University of Melbourne
- Dr Fearghal McGarry, Queen's University, Belfast
- Professor Gillian Russell, Gerry Higgins Chair in Irish Studies, University of Melbourne
- John Clarke, writer and performer
- Dr Kevin Molloy, Manager, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria.

To make a booking, please visit: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/whats-on/six-days-shook-empire-centenary-irish-rising>

### **'Michael, They Have Shot Them': Film Screening**

An independent documentary that revisits the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin and its repercussions in Australia

Location: Village Roadshow Theatrette, State Library of Victoria

Date: Saturday 9 April, 3:30–4:15 pm

To make a booking, please visit: <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/whats-on/michael-they-have-shot-them>

**A Terrible Beauty: Poetry Reading of the Easter Rising**

Directed by Liam Gillespie for Bloomsday in Melbourne

Location: Celtic Club, 316-320 Queen Street, Melbourne

Date: Friday 15 April, 7.30 pm

For more information and to make a booking, please visit:

<http://www.bloomsdayinmelbourne.org.au/events/a-terrible-beauty-poetry-of-the-easter-rising/>

**Panel Discussion: Memory, History and the Irish**

A panel discussion with Dr Guy Beiner, Dr Roisín Higgins and Dr Fearghal McGarry

Location: G370, Victoria University, Footscray Park

Date: Wednesday 6 April, 4.00-5.00 pm

To register for this event, please contact [cidm@vu.edu.au](mailto:cidm@vu.edu.au)