Foregrounding Irish Women: The Antipodes and Beyond

ISAANZ 24: Irish Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference

Conference Programme and Abstracts

Flinders University • Adelaide • Australia • 9–12 December 2019
Flinders in the City, 182 Victoria Square, Adelaide

Special thanks to our sponsors
A word from your conference committee

It is our great pleasure to welcome you to **ISAANZ 24** with the theme of **Foregrounding Irish Women: The Antipodes and Beyond**.

This is the second time the conference has been hosted in Adelaide, and we hope you enjoy your time here. We have endeavoured to bring you a truly interdisciplinary range of papers and are grateful to all contributors for their efforts. Special thanks to our keynote speakers, Professor Regina Úi Chollatáin and Dr Sharon Crozier-De Rosa for their insightful and inspiring lectures.

Our thanks to Flinders University and the Embassy of Ireland for their support. Special thanks to HE Ambassador Breandán Ó Caoláí, Ambassador of Ireland to Australia, for his continued support.

Please do not hesitate to approach us with any needs or concerns during the conference.

_Dymphna, Stephanie, Fidelma and Susan_

---

**Acknowledgement of Country**

We recognise that Flinders University operates on Indigenous peoples’ traditional lands and waters and acknowledge their continued responsibility to care for country at the University’s various locations. We acknowledge that the land that we meet on today is the traditional Country of the Kaurna people and we pay respect to Elders past and present. We acknowledge the Kaurna people as the custodians of the Adelaide region and recognise that their cultural heritage, beliefs and relationship with the land are of continuing importance to the Kaurna people living today. We also pay respect to the cultural authority of Aboriginal people who are attending from other areas of Australia and who are present here.
Welcome to Adelaide

We hope you enjoy the conference events and the facilities provided at Flinders in the City, located at 182 Victoria Square in the centre of the city.

For your information:

- Conference proceedings will be held on Levels 1 and 2, 182 Victoria Square. Enter from Flinders Street or Victoria Square.
- Tea and lunch breaks will take place on level 1 in the break-out space.
- During sessions, please turn your mobile phone OFF or put it on SILENT.
- Please take note of the location of the emergency exits and designated meeting point.
## Conference Programme

**Monday 9 December – Conference registration; Tionól Irish language gathering; Conference reception**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>Event Information</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pm-2pm</td>
<td><strong>Conference registration</strong></td>
<td>Level 1 break-out space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pm-2.30pm</td>
<td>History of the Irish language</td>
<td>Level 1 Room 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Dymphna Lonergan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30-3.30pm</td>
<td>How Irish works – introduction to the Irish language and beginners’ lesson</td>
<td>Level 1 Room 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marc Ó Conaill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Dymphna Lonergan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.30pm-4pm</td>
<td><strong>Afternoon tea</strong></td>
<td>Level 1 break-out space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4pm-5.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Tionól: Irish Language Gathering</strong></td>
<td>Level 1 Room 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An t-Ollamh [Professor] Regina Úi Chollatáin University College Dublin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Aran Island/Connemara native Irish speakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pádraic Conneely, Éanna Ó Cualainn, Miceál Ó Fathartaigh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30pm-7pm</td>
<td>Meet HE Ambassador Breandán Ó Caolláí, Irish Ambassador to Australia at the <strong>Conference Reception</strong> (please arrive before 6pm)</td>
<td>Level 1 break-out space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Session</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.30am-9am</td>
<td>Conference registration/tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9am-9.15am</td>
<td>Conference opening – Dr Fidelma Breen and HE Ambassador Breandán Ó Caoláí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.15am-10am</td>
<td>Keynote speaker – Dr Sharon Crozier-De Rosa University of Wollongong</td>
<td>Irish women’s history and the emotional politics of nation and empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Level 1 Room 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Level 2 Room 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9am-9.15am</td>
<td>Conference opening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.15am-10am</td>
<td>Keynote speaker – Dr Sharon Crozier-De Rosa University of Wollongong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10am-10.30am</td>
<td>Dr Brad Patterson</td>
<td>‘She carried Irish orphan girls to South Australia’: the curious fate of The Inconstant an immigrant vessel in the Australasian trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30am-11am</td>
<td>Peter Moore</td>
<td>Mary Coveney: an Irish woman in South Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11am-11.30am</td>
<td>Morning tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.30am-12pm</td>
<td>Dr Rory Hope</td>
<td>Trials, tribulations and culture clashes in colonial South Australia: Geary v Hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12pm-12.30pm</td>
<td>Dr Gay Lynch</td>
<td>Too sexy to be a settler: missing Irish diasporic girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.30pm-1pm</td>
<td>Dr Jillian Dooley</td>
<td>‘Like a breathless enchanted girl’: music in Iris Murdoch’s Irish novels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pm-2pm</td>
<td>Lunch in the break-out space, Level 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pm-2.30pm</td>
<td>Séamus Krumrey-Quinn</td>
<td>Indigenous law in post-independent Ireland and Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30pm-3pm</td>
<td>Dr Denise George</td>
<td>Mary Lee: ‘turbulent anarchist’ and ‘Irish of the wrong sort’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pm-3.30pm</td>
<td>Dr Kevin Molloy</td>
<td>Gender and migration: female migration to Australia in the post war period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.30pm-4pm</td>
<td>Afternoon tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4pm-4.30pm</td>
<td>Dr Jeff Kildea</td>
<td>More than Mannix: Irish-Australian women who helped defeat conscription in WW1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30pm-5pm</td>
<td>Dr Rodney Sullivan and Dr Robin Sullivan</td>
<td>‘Women are not permitted to enter here’: gender and the Queensland Irish Association, 1898-2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Conference Papers – Day Two Wednesday 11 December

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>Level 1 Room 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.30am-9am</td>
<td>Conference registration/tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.15am-10am</td>
<td><strong>Keynote speaker: Professor Regina Uí Chollatáin</strong> University College Dublin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|               | The Women of the Gaelic Revival: 'Influencers' or 'dilettantes toying with this strange archaic language, who had little else to do and were just following a whim or fancy'?

### When

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level 1 Room 1</th>
<th>Level 2 Room 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SESSION 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Bronte Gould</td>
<td>Chair: Dymphna Lonergan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10am-10.30am</td>
<td>Anita Stelmach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Case studies of criminal Irish women in early twentieth-century South Australia: the typical and the atypical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Perry McIntyre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Filthy spoken street-walkers’? Single Irish workhouse women to Adelaide 1848-1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30am-11am</td>
<td>Dr Eamonn Wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waking with cracked lips: E.M. Reapy’s Red Dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11am-11.30am</td>
<td><strong>Morning tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SESSION 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Susan Arthure</td>
<td>Chair: Val Noone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.30am-12pm</td>
<td>Dr Bill Mulligan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish identity in the diaspora: the role of nuns and separate educational institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Burke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duggan’s world: Eileen Duggan Irish-New Zealand poet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12pm-12.30pm</td>
<td>Dr Stephanie James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘You must bear in mind that no nuns have ever been in my diocese’: the early years of Adelaide’s Irish Dominican Sisters, 1868-1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Richard Reid and Dr Ann Herraman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archbishop Robert William Spence and his ‘Foundational Trowel’ collection, 1914 to 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.30pm-1pm</td>
<td>Eamonn McNamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Troubles in Australia: a political history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Loughlin Sweeney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agents of empire: Irish women and professional migration networks in the Western Pacific, 1870-1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pm-2pm</td>
<td><strong>Lunch in the break-out space, Level 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SESSION 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Dymphna Lonergan</td>
<td>Chair: Jimmy Yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pm-2.30pm</td>
<td>Professor Emerita Rosemary Owens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From Glendalough, Ireland, to Armagh, South Australia, and beyond: the lives of the Butler sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr Liz Rushen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anastasia Burke: from female immigrant to businesswoman and community leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30pm-3.30pm</td>
<td>Professor Ronan McDonald and Associate Professor Frances Devlin-Glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>panel discussion: What is Irish Australian Literature?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.30pm-4pm</td>
<td><strong>Afternoon tea/coffee in the break-out space</strong> also ISAANZ AGM from 3.30pm (Level 2, room 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30pm onwards</td>
<td>Three book launches in the break-out space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philip Bull’s <em>Monksgrange: Portrait of an Irish House and Family, 1769–1969</em> by Professor Sonja Tiernan, Eamon Cleary Professor of Irish Studies, University of Otago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loughlin Sweeney’s, <em>Irish Military Elites, Nation and Empire 1870-1925</em> by Dr Brad Patterson, Victoria University, Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gay Lynch’s <em>Unsettled</em> by Hannah Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7pm</td>
<td><strong>Conference dinner, King’s Head Hotel, 357 King William Street (cnr Sturt Street)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Room 1 Level 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.30am-9am</td>
<td><strong>Tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION 1</td>
<td>Chair: Dymphna Lonergan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9am-10am</td>
<td>Writing Irish Histories panel discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10am-10.30am</td>
<td><strong>Dr Katherine Side</strong> &lt;br&gt;‘Unknown Knowns’: everyday stories and abortion reform in the Republic of Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30am-11am</td>
<td><strong>Professor Ronan McDonald</strong> &lt;br&gt;Mary Colum ‘Creative’ Critic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11am-11.30am</td>
<td><strong>Morning tea/coffee in the break-out space, Level 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION 2</td>
<td>Chair: Stephanie James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.30am-12pm</td>
<td><strong>Dr Craig Pett</strong> &lt;br&gt;Sarah Harding: new evidence in her association with Swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12pm-12.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Mary Vanderfeen</strong> &lt;br&gt;Wattle and shamrock skirts and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.30pm-1pm</td>
<td><strong>Anne Marks and Margaret Carmody</strong> &lt;br&gt;The quiet contribution of Mrs J.J. Clark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pm-2pm</td>
<td><strong>Lunch in the break-out space, Level 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION 3</td>
<td>Chair: Loughlin Sweeney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pm-2.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Jimmy Yan</strong> &lt;br&gt;Irish nationalist feminism and Australian radicals: gendered cosmopolitanisms and settler colonialism, 1912-1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.30pm-3pm</td>
<td><strong>Dr Evan Smith and Dr Anastasia Dukova</strong> &lt;br&gt;Irish family chain migration and the national/border security nexus in Australia during ‘The Troubles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SESSION 4</td>
<td>Chair: Loughlin Sweeney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pm-4.30pm</td>
<td><strong>Jimmy Yan</strong> chairing Early Career Researcher/Postgraduate Workshop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SLÁN ABHAILE – SAFE HOME**
Abstracts

Dr Philip Bull
Defending Ireland from off the main stage: Edmund Burke and two O’Briens
In the late eighteenth century Edmund Burke would have compromised his critique on British
misgovernment in India and the American colonies had he publicly articulated his disgust at
what that government also meant for Ireland. He did, however, leave behind a powerful
unpublished attack on the penal laws and how they undermined the cohesion of Irish society.
In the twentieth century William O’Brien, nationalist member of the British parliament early
in the century, and Conor Cruise O’Brien, a member of Dáil Éireann and a minister in the
Fine Gael government towards the end of the century, were both biographers of Edmund
Burke. Significant products of nationalist Ireland, they both fell out with dominant
contemporary expressions of nationalism by taking political positions they saw as
commitments to communal cohesion but which others saw as betrayals. This paper will
explore continuities between their conceptions of Irishness and that of Edmund Burke and
raise some preliminary questions as to the ideological linkages between him and these two
biographers.

Biographical note
Philip Bull is Adjunct Professor in History at La Trobe University and an Associate Research
Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Historic Irish Houses and Estates at Maynooth
University. His most recent book is Monksgrange: Portrait of an Irish house and family,
1769–1969, published this year by Four Courts Press. He is the author of Land Politics and

Peter Burke
Duggan’s world
This paper will look at the contribution that one of New Zealand’s greatest poets Eileen
Duggan made to society in Aotearoa. She was a complex and retiring individual, yet her
poems reflected across a wide area of New Zealand society. In some ways she was better
known internationally than in her native country.

The daughter of immigrant parents from County Kerry, Eileen was born near Blenheim in the
South Island in May 1894. She was the youngest of four daughters and there are three things
that stand out in her background which shaped her work as a poet – her Irish background, her
Catholic faith and her rural upbringing. She trained as a teacher but worked only briefly at
this profession although this included time at St Patricks College Wellington. This paper will
look at her literary works but mainly focus on the influence she had on society both as a
world-renowned poet and a passionate Irish woman.
Biographical note

Peter Burke has worked as a journalist in television, radio, print and public relations in New Zealand for nearly fifty years. He has won numerous journalism awards, and in 1987 was named the inaugural Agricultural Communicator of the Year. He is a life member of the NZ Guild of Agricultural Journalists and the Science Communicators Association of New Zealand. Peter has travelled widely overseas in the course of his work covering major political and trade talks in Europe, Asia and North America and especially Ireland. He is currently employed as senior reporter by the Rural News Group and also works part time for a Maori Trust. His writing interest outside agriculture is modern NZ/Irish history and his paper is based on the book he is currently writing.

Margaret Carmody and Anne Marks

The quiet contribution of Mrs J.J. Clark

In 1874, five-year-old Margaret Agnes Power came to Adelaide from Mohera, Co. Tipperary as an Assisted Passenger with her parents and her five siblings. Cornelius and Sarah Power had a market garden in Goodwood and Margaret attended Franklin Street School, run by the Sisters of St Joseph. At 14, she became a pupil teacher and at 17 taught at Sevenhill. In 1890, she married John James Clark, a coachbuilder and they had nine children, living predominantly in a large house on three acres at Clarence Park, where there is a street named after her. Their son Leo was an ambulance driver in WWI and Margaret worked at the Cheer Up Hut. But after the War, as her older children left home and her younger ones went to school, we know very little about her life. This is the gap that this paper addresses.

Taking a qualitative approach, the archival and oral history resources are examined not only for details of the life of Margaret Power and her family, both in Ireland and in Australia, but also for evidence of her quiet contribution, those unstated, largely hidden philanthropic activities from which certain themes emerge.

This paper argues that Margaret Clark made a major contribution to social life in Adelaide. The motivation for this work was her Irish background particularly her belief in the importance of education and her Catholic faith, but most of all her understanding of social and political circumstances which could lead to very hard times for individuals and her empathy for those individuals.

Biographical note

Margaret Carmody has a particular interest in women's oral history and is currently researching the history of the Australian Breastfeeding Association. The subject of this paper, Margaret Agnes Clark née Power, was one of Margaret’s great grandmothers.
Margaret works as a sessional lecturer at Australian Catholic University in the Faculty of Education and Arts. She has also worked as a researcher in policy, and as an adviser in student services.

She is a member of the Irish Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand, the NSW Branch of the Oral History Association of Australia, the Australian History Association and the Children's Book Council of Australia. Margaret believes that history should tell people's stories: it is these rich and varied stories that make a detailed picture of the past.

**Biographical note**

Anne Marks is the granddaughter of Margaret Agnes Clark, née Power, and has a strong interest in family history, Irish immigration and Irish achievements. Anne has kept family stories, photos, printed records from her mother and extended family members, and this year visited Ireland to try and link family stories with past records.

As did Margaret Agnes, Anne trained as a teacher, at Adelaide Teachers College, and taught in country and also city high schools. Anne has held positions in the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, and tutored in a part-time capacity, at University of South Australia in the Education faculty.

Anne, now retired, volunteers in local bush care activities through Trees for Life, and is a member of Friends of the Onkaparinga Park. Anne is also an active member of a golf club and a local bush walking group.

**John Clancy**

**Eliza Lynch, ruthless opportunist or Irish/ Latin American heroine?**

Authoritative historians of Latin American independence have honoured Irish born military leaders such as Admiral William Brown, Daniel Florence O’Leary, and John McKenna. Conspicuously absent has been Irish born woman Eliza Lynch (1834-86). Lynch has been denigrated by detractors and some lesser historians as a conniving Paris based courtesan who became the consort of Francisco Solano Lopez, future dictator of Paraguay, and who consequently amassed great personal wealth. In particular, her detractors damn her for allegedly urging Solano to launch the catastrophic War of the Triple Alliance against Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Finally, they claim that this was the bloodiest war in the nineteenth century Americas, with the loss of about one million Paraguayan dead.

This paper aims to challenge these allegations, and to present Lynch from a more truthful perspective. The result of the investigative process utilised in this paper may well reveal that Eliza Lynch aligned herself to the destiny of her adopted homeland, and that she may deserve to be exalted somewhat further within the constellation of Irish personages in Latin American history.

**Biographical note**

John Clancy is a private scholar based at Flinders University, having recently graduated with the Graduate Diploma in Language Teaching (Spanish) from there. John has pursued a successful career as a musician and music teacher since his arrival in Australia from Ireland thirty years ago. He has presented major event concerts in Victoria to commemorate the lives
and the contributions to early Australian music of Irish or Irish-Australian singers / musicians Catherine Hayes, Amy Castles, and William Vincent Wallace. John graduated from La Trobe University in 2017 with a BA Honours in History, the subject of his thesis being ‘The Independence of Uruguay’. He is currently studying for his Masters of Language Studies (Spanish) at Flinders University. The subject for his thesis is ‘The Representation of the Charrua Indians, exterminated in 1831, in three related late nineteenth century works of Uruguayan literature’. John travelled to Uruguay in June of this year to study the original score of the unknown opera ‘Liropeya’ by Uruguayan composer Leon Ribeiro. This opera forms the centrepiece of his thesis.

Margaret Coffey
Finding Ellen Hume

Diarist and artist Georgiana Huntly McCrae has become one of the best-known female figures of the colonial period of Victoria. In every rendition of her life – in her own edited version of her diary, in the subsequent version of McCrae's diary published by her grandson, or in Brenda Niall’s prize-winning biography – the figure of her Irish servant Ellen Hume makes an appearance. What does the variety in ‘editions’ of Ellen Hume tell us about the structuring of ‘settler colonial’ in Ireland and in the Antipodes?

Ellen appears episodically in the McCrae diaries for the years between 1841 and 1853 when she departs the family via marriage. These episodes point to her endurance, loyalty, warmth, and centrality to the life of the family and to the family’s friendly relations with Indigenous people. However, we must discover these aspects of Ellen Hume while peering at the texts through what Miranda Fricker might dub an epistemic veil: Georgiana represents Ellen in idiosyncratic speech pattern; Hugh McCrae’s editing of his grandmother’s diaries modulates Ellen even further towards stereotype. Since Georgiana’s biographers and memorialists relinquish Ellen as promptly as Georgiana does, I seek to go behind that ‘knowing’ veil in order to recover her.

Biographical note
Margaret Coffey is a PhD candidate, School of History (SoPHIS), Monash University. She has had a long career as a broadcaster and journalist, principally with ABC Radio National.

Sharon Crozier-De Rosa
Irish women’s history and the emotional politics of nation and empire

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Irish women performed violent activisms. They did this in the name of intersecting nationalist and feminist causes. They were aware that violent women violated gendered physical and emotional norms that deemed women passive and loving and men active and destructive. However, to legitimise their transgressive militancy, they argued that these norms were foreign impositions in Ireland. Fear, shame, courage all meant something different to the men and women of Ireland than to the British occupier. For the Irish to regain control of Ireland meant more than simply getting back hold of the land. To these women it meant regaining control of all facets of Irishness: myths, memories, emotions. In this paper, I will examine the ways in which Irish women argued for
the decolonisation of the emotional and ethical regimes governing colonised Ireland. Ungendering and re-nationalising emotions, they said, would render Ireland truly ‘free’. I will then look at how the militant Irish woman is remembered across the island – in the post-colonial South and British-maintained North – to ascertain if revolutionary women were successful in their emotional and ethical decolonising aims. This history has implications beyond Ireland’s disputed borders. Through situating the experiences and aspirations of Irish women in a wider transnational context – linking these with those of women in the imperial centre and colonial peripheries – we can go further to trace the diverse emotional politics of imperial, anti-colonial and post-colonial nationalisms in an age of continuing colonisation and budding decolonisation.

**Biographical note**

Dr Sharon Crozier-De Rosa is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Wollongong. Her research is situated at the intersections of imperial/colonial, gender, emotions and violence histories. It is transnational in scope, spanning Ireland, Britain, Australia and the USA. She is the author of *Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash: Britain, Ireland and Australia, 1890-1920* (Routledge 2018) and co-author of *Remembering Women’s Activism* (with Vera Mackie, Routledge 2019). Her current project on how women preserve and archive their own memory has been awarded a 2020 National Library of Australia Fellowship. She is the Deputy Editor of *Women’s Historical Review*. Email: sharoncd@uow.edu.au

Frances Devlin-Glass

‘Never mind the loss of the priests’: *Dubliners* then and now, and revision of gender scripts in Thomas Norris’s (ed.) *Dubliners 100*

A hundred years after its publication, Thomas Norris challenged 15 Irish writers, some of them well-established in their careers and some neophytes, to respond to Joyce’s *Dubliners*. This paper critically responds to the stories in *Dubliners 100* and the different ways they update Joyce’s original story, or resist it. In particular, it focuses on the multifarious ways in which they perceive sexual and gender scripts in the 21st century, and problematise them, and react to Joyce’s original.

**Biographical note**

Dr Frances Devlin-Glass is an Honorary Associate Professor at Deakin University. She works in the areas of Australasian Literature, Irish Literature, Feminist Literature and Theory. She is currently an editor of *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, a former editor of JASAL (*Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*), an editor of the Australian-Irish online magazine *Tinteán*, and is the founding director of Bloomsday in Melbourne Inc. (since 1994) which annually stages a new original play inspired by Joyce’s fiction. She has completed annotated editions of *Such is Life* and *Buln-Buln and the Brolga* by Joseph Furphy, and is a co-author (with Lyn McCredden) of *Feminist Poetics of the Sacred: Creative Suspicions* (OUP 2001) and with Bill Ashcroft and Lyn McCredden of *Intimate Horizons: The Post-Colonial Sacred in Australian Literature* (Australian Theological Forum Press, 2009).
Dr Gillian Dooley

‘Like a breathless enchanted girl’: music in Iris Murdoch’s Irish novels

Although Iris Murdoch identified herself as Irish, she only set two novels, The Unicorn and The Red and the Green, in Ireland. In both these books, written in the early 1960s, music and song play a small but significant role. In The Unicorn, Marion, the young English woman who has been employed as a ‘governess’ in the mysterious household at Gaze Castle, is entranced by Denis Nolan, the estate clerk, when he sings a Manx ballad. In The Red and the Green, we also find music casting a spell, but his time on the whole city, personified in female form: ‘Dublin stood and watched liked a breathless enchanted girl’ when the volunteers marched to the sound of the pipe band. In this novel, music is often mentioned in the context of politics and religion: partisan songs, Anglican hymns, soldier’s songs. Even choosing to attend a Gilbert and Sullivan opera instead of Yeats’s Countess Cathleen betrays sectarian sympathies.

In this paper I will focus on the way Murdoch deploys music in these novels, whether specific songs or musical genres, and consider how our understanding of the novels’ deeper meaning might be enhanced by appreciating the musical choices she made.

Biographical note

Gillian Dooley is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Flinders University, South Australia. Her publications include From a Tiny Corner in the House of Fiction: Conversations with Iris Murdoch (2003), Never Mind about the Bourgeoisie: the correspondence between Iris Murdoch and Brian Medlin (co-edited with Graham Nerlich, 2014), Reading Iris Murdoch’s Metaphysics as a Guide to Morals (co-edited with Nora Hämäläinen, 2019), and other books and articles on authors from Jane Austen to J.M. Coetzee. She is presently writing a book on music and sound-worlds in Iris Murdoch’s novels.

Dr Denise George

Mary Lee: ‘turbulent anarchist’ and ‘Irish of the wrong sort’

This year we celebrate the 125th anniversary of Women’s Suffrage in South Australia. Monaghan-born Mary Lee was Secretary of the Women’s Suffrage League, and became the face and chief orator of the battle for women’s suffrage. Lee spearheaded the campaign in South Australia which subsequently won women the unprecedented dual right to vote and become elected members of parliament in 1894.

White and Indigenous women were accorded little status in colonial society. They had few, if any, rights around education, marriage, guardianship, and suffrage. Women’s historical records were minimal at best and sometimes erased completely. Re-telling their stories has proved a challenge, and often misinterpreted as an absence of woman’s contribution to the social, political, and cultural development of Australian society. Lee undertook her work in colonial Adelaide, a society dominated by European patriarchal culture and pervading anti-Irish sentiment. The antagonism from politicians and a hostile public against her every endeavour was unrelenting. This paper explores aspects of Lee’s Irish origins, and its impact on her work as a women’s suffrage advocate within an Australian colonial context.
Biographical note

Denise was a nurse, youth worker, social worker, counsellor, and stay at home mum before making the shift to writing. She returned to full time study as a mature age student, completing a BA and Honours in Professional Writing and Communication; Masters in Creative Writing; and PhD at Adelaide University. Her studies focused on gender, the construction of identity, and developments and changes in contemporary biography and life writing. Denise is the author of *Mary Lee: The life and times of a ‘turbulent anarchist’ and her battle for women’s rights.*

Yuwei Gou


This paper will focus on Enright's third novel *The Pleasure of Eliza Lynch*’s fictional representation of a real historical Irish woman Eliza Lynch’s emigration from Ireland to Paraguay in the mid-nineteenth century. My argument will focus on how Eliza Lynch’s sense of home has been carried out in a subjective, fluid and constantly transformed mode beyond any given identities attributed to women in Irish traditional cultural imaginary. Through a rediscovery of Eliza Lynch’s experiences in Enright's writing, I would also like to see how Enright’s writing sheds light on the contemporary Irish women’s alternative mode of being in terms of women's relation to home.

Biographical note

I am currently a second-year PhD student in The University of South Australia. My research focuses on Anne Enright’s writing. With a lens of French feminism and Irish feminists’ study, my research tends to demonstrate how female protagonists’ experiences in Anne Enright’s novels set up both temporal and spatial challenges and subversions to women’s embodied identities in Irish nationalist and Catholic discourses.

Diane Heenan

The dark side of the Antipodean moon

Irish immigration literature often highlights how initial difficulties are overcome to achieve successful settlement and improvement to the neglect of casualties in the migration story. Emigration from Ireland to the Antipodes turned the life of my great-great grandfather upside-down and reversed his fortunes. Peter McLoughlin was born in 1846 into a Catholic family living in Mullingar in the Irish Midlands. At 18, Peter served in the British Army for three years, including a stint in Bengal in India. He returned to Mullingar after discharge from the army when diagnosed with epilepsy. Peter was aged 27, a labourer and married with three small children when the family emigrated from Ireland. They arrived in Brisbane auspiciously on New Year’s Day 1874. Peter’s life went into a downward spiral after being convicted of assault only months later. He was sentenced to twelve months’ hard labour in Queensland’s prison system, including St Helena Penal Establishment. After release from prison Peter never regained his footing in life. He was convicted and imprisoned numerous times for crimes including drunkenness, larceny and assault. Peter’s body was found by a
policeman on the corner of North Quay and Turbot Street in Brisbane early on an October morning in 1883. He was just 37 years old. An inquiry into his death found no suspicious circumstances. What went so badly wrong for Peter? This paper engages discussions of nineteenth-century Irish emigration by historians including Patrick O’Farrell, David Fitzpatrick, Malcolm Campbell and Kerby Miller to examine why Peter’s life crumbled and disintegrated after emigrating from Ireland.

Biographical note
Dianne Heenan is a doctoral candidate at Griffith University in Brisbane. Her research project makes connections between family, local and transnational histories in the second half of the nineteenth century. Her Principal Supervisor is Mark Finnane with Fiona Paisley as Associate. Dianne graduated from the Queensland College of Art in the 1970s and practised in Brisbane’s artist-run-spaces until the early 1980s. Her art practice evolved into public gallery management as inaugural director of Gladstone Regional Art Gallery and Museum (1985-1990) and Rockhampton Art Gallery (1990-1995). Dianne was awarded a Master of Arts (Research) in Sociology (2000). She worked in the government sector until 2012 where she obtained a Diploma in Project Management. Dianne is an independent researcher, writer and visual artist.

Dr Rory Hope
Trials, tribulations and culture clashes in colonial South Australia: Geary v Hope
The trial Geary v Hope took place in 1861 in the Supreme Court of South Australia; it centered on a claim by the plaintiff Mary Anne Geary, a domestic servant, for the balance of wages due to her by the defendant John Hope, a squatter pastoralist of the mid north of SA, and Mary’s former employer. Both Hope and Geary were born in Ireland.

At first glance the dispute seems unremarkable. Indeed, it is strange that the matter ever went as high as the Supreme Court and that Hope’s barrister was the Attorney General. Yet, when analyzed in a historical context, and taking into account the social status and political affiliations of those involved, the trial proved to be far from straight forward as it branched out in unpredictable ways. More significantly, the case provides insights into the way the legal system and the press dealt with power struggles in the newly found colony of South Australia. Mary Geary, a young Irish woman in ill health and with limited resources, ‘took on’ her employer, an older man with significantly greater financial and social capital, and ‘won’ the legal battle, initially at least!

Biographical note
Rory Hope is a retired geneticist. After graduating in 1965 with BSc (Hons) from the University of Adelaide, he completed a PhD in the Department of Genetics. He then carried
our postdoctoral research at the University of Oxford, UK. In 1974 Rory was appointed Lecturer in Genetics at the University of Adelaide. Although holding several senior administrative positions at the University, his main interests were postgraduate teaching and research, especially in population genetics, and molecular evolution. He undertook collaborative research projects in London, Oxford, Detroit and Japan. At the time of his retirement in 2002, Rory was Associate Professor, and Head of the Laboratory of Molecular Evolution in the School of Molecular and Biomedical Science. Rory was a foundation member of the Human Genetics Society of Australia and is an honorary life member of the Genetics Society of Australia.

Dr Stephanie James
‘You must bear in mind that no Nuns have ever been in my Diocese’: the early years of Adelaide’s Irish Dominican Sisters, 1868-1873

On 5 December 1868 when seven young Irish Dominican Sisters reached Adelaide, the colony of South Australia was just 32 years old. In July 1867 in a Pastoral Letter written from Wexford, Bishop Sheil, appointed as the local bishop in September 1866, but within 6 months travelling overseas on official visits to Rome and Ireland, expressed his wish to set up ‘superior schools in our diocese especially for the female portion of the young’.

This paper will look at the first five years of the pioneering Irish sisters in Adelaide, in particular the school they established in Franklin Street Adelaide, St Mary’s. Sources for their story are sparse: a PhD examining the Dominican community’s first ninety years in Adelaide, and items from both the local Dominican Archives and those of Cabra, Dublin as well as those from Trove. Life in the young colony was challenging, and there were complex diocesan divisions involving different clerical cliques, and issues related to the locally founded Sisters of St Joseph. These will not be the focus of today’s paper; they have received detailed attention elsewhere. Instead, the emphasis will be on documenting the Irish women.

Biographical note
With a full complement of Irish-born great-grandparents, Stephanie James is passionate about the history of Irish Australia, with particular emphasis on South Australia. Her MA looked at the early history of the Irish in the Clare Valley, while her PhD examined issues of Irish-Australian loyalty during times of Imperial crisis. The Irish-Catholic press has been crucial to her research. Early publications have focused on World War One – questions about Irish-Australian disloyalty and war time surveillance and parallels between the treatment of German and Irish Australians. More recently she was a co-editor of *Irish South Australia: new histories and insights* (Wakefield Press 2019).

Jeff Kildea
More than Mannix: Irish-Australian women who helped defeat conscription in WW1

During the First World War the Australian people were deeply divided over the government’s plans to introduce compulsory overseas military service. In referendums held in 1916 and 1917 they twice voted to reject conscription. It was widely accepted that the Australian Irish were strongly against conscription. So much so that empire loyalists, including the prime
minister and the governor-general, blamed them for the defeat of the referendums. When we look back at those times, the anti-conscription campaigners among the Australian Irish whose names readily spring to mind include Melbourne’s archbishop Daniel Mannix and Queensland’s premier Tom Ryan. Yet, many Irish-Australian women also played a part in galvanising public opinion against conscription. Although well-known at the time, over the years their contribution to the anti-conscription campaign has faded into obscurity. This paper will look at three of them: Agnes Murphy, Agnes Macready and Bella Guerin, three remarkable women whose stories deserve to be brought back to the forefront of the historiography of that campaign.

Biographical note
Jeff Kildea is an adjunct professor in Irish Studies at the University of New South Wales. In 2014 he held the Keith Cameron Chair of Australian History at University College Dublin. He is the author of Tearing the Fabric: Sectarianism in Australia 1910-1925 (2002); Anzacs and Ireland (2007); Wartime Australians: Billy Hughes (2008) and Hugh Mahon: Patriot, Pressman, Politician Vol 1 (2017). The second volume of the Hugh Mahon biography will be published in 2020.

Séamus Krumrey Ó Cuinn/ James Krumrey-Quinn
Indigenous law in post-independent Ireland and Australia

In 1992, the Australian High Court handed down its landmark judgement recognising native title, Mabo (No 2) (1992) 175 CLR 1. Amongst the British cases cited in support of recognition was Le Case de Tanistry (1608) Davis 28; 80 ER 516, a decision of the Court of King’s Bench sitting in Dublin. Although Le Case de Tanistry recognised for the first time that the indigenous law of a colony was capable of being recognised by and applied under English common law as ‘local custom’, the Court found tánaise, the early Irish law that was sought be invoked, was void for unreasonableness and uncertainty as, amongst other things, it was a law ‘founded in violence’. Whereas Mabo (No 2) spawned an entire new source of law in Australia, native title, Le Case de Tanistry marked the decline not just of tánaise but the practice of early Irish law in Ireland as a whole. The paper will compare the impact of Mabo (No 2) and Le Case de Tanistry in the law in Australia and Ireland in the 21st century. By critically examining legal, social and historical sources the paper seeks to explore the relevance and value of recognising indigenous law in the two post-colonial British societies.

Biographical note
Séamus Krumrey-Quinn is a solicitor in employment/industrial law firm, Lieschke & Weatherill Lawyers in Adelaide. He worked as a Senior Associate in the Victorian Court of Appeal and has worked at international organisations in Europe and Africa. He has published on law and religion and access to justice. He has a research interest in early and modern Irish law and native title.
Dr Peter Kuch

'Foot loose but language bound—'Antipodes/antipodean' and Irish modernist discourses'

This paper will compare and contrast the trope of ‘antipodes/antipodean’ in a selection of Irish modernist writers with a select history of usage of ‘antipodes/antipodean’ in Australian, New Zealand, Irish and British newspapers between 1830 and 1930 as a way of gauging the imbrication of registers characteristic of modernist writing, particularly discourses of relation and space.

Biographical note

Emeritus Professor Peter Kuch has recently retired as the inaugural Eamon Cleary Professor of Irish Studies at the University of Otago. He has held posts at the University of Newcastle, Australia; Université de Caen, France; and the University of New South Wales, Australia; and been a Visiting Fellow at the Humanities Research Centre at the Australian National University; at Trinity College, Dublin; and the Keogh Naughton Institute at Notre Dame (USA). He has published more than 60 refereed articles, book chapters and books on Yeats, Joyce, Eliot, Irish theatre, Irish literature, Irish and Australian film, literary theory, Australian literature, and Irish/Australian history and presented conference papers and given lectures in over 30 countries. He is a commissioning editor for the Irish Studies Review (Routledge) and is on the Editorial Board of several journals. Widely published, his most recent book is Irish Divorce/Joyce's Ulysses (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Dr Gay Lynch

Too sexy to be a settler: missing Irish diasporic girls

My father sent my London daughter, his beloved granddaughter and, in any measurable way, our most successful family member, a copy of his family tree: photographs of his grandfather, father, him, son, grandson, great-grandson.

‘But, Papa, I’m not in it,’ she wrote back.

How can historical, feminist, counter-narratives support descendants seeking agency and cultural identity? At about the halfway point of my PhD, an influential reader asserted that my historical novel was not a feminist text because the protagonist was sexually naive, in fact, she was – a passive construction – used by men. At a meeting for a Festival literary award, so a judge later advised me, the book was challenged because a pregnant Irish girl protagonist, was considered a cliché. Is a pregnant Irish girl a cliché? What are the Australian and Irish literary precedents? Can an alternative history of an Irish girl fill gaps between apocryphal, inter-generational, male stories? Even now, can Irish-descended girls stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers?

Biographical note

Gay Lynch works as an adjunct academic in creative writing and English at Flinders University, publishing essays, hybrid memoir pieces, novels, papers and short stories. You can find her recent work in Best Australian Stories, Bluestem Journal, Edições Humus Limitada, Island, Meanjin, Meniscus, Griffith Review, Westerly, TEXT and Sleepers Almanac. From 2011-2015, she was Fiction and Life Writing editor at Transnational Literature.
ejournal. In 2010, she published *Apocryphal and Literary Influences on Galway Diasporic History* (2010), an exegetical work accompanying ‘Unsettled’, the historical novel that will be launched at this conference. See Mary Byrne, [http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/handle/2328/27609](http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/handle/2328/27609)

**Jules McCue**

*Kathleen and Kitty*

*The Irish creative spirit moves through the blood of these antipodean women*

Two women, one a painter, the other a composer/performer, both born in the late nineteenth century in relative privilege; these women’s lives hold many similarities and differences. Pushing into the male dominated arts worlds, anywhere at the turn of the century, was strenuous, but they did: one with more resolve than the other: one whose soul was more tenacious, the other more vulnerable to romantic sentimentality.

Kathleen was born in New Zealand, moving to Western Australia with her family when her father takes on a significant role of establishing infrastructure in that colony. Kitty, on the other hand, who spends her formative years in London and parts of Europe, does not fully realise her creative potential, perhaps diminished by life’s disappointments, returned from Europe and after a personal sadness, spends most of her life in Australian towns and cities.

This paper is an exposition exploring the lives and work of two Australian women artists whose work is worthy of attention and who have a connection to Ireland. Music and pictures are essential to this exposition.

**Biographical note**

Obsessed with making pictures from an early age, Jules spent her formative academic years studying Painting, Drawing, Print-Making, Art History and Art and Society, completing a Master of Creative Arts at the University of Wollongong in 1994; the subject, the history of women artists, who, through still life painting, ‘marched into the forefront of modernism’. Her Master’s paper Not Surrealism: Magical Realism, based on her dissertation, Part I: Wildflowers and White Porcelain and Part 2: Circles and Seeds, accompanied her exhibition of paintings Pretty Still, at Access Gallery, Sydney.

Amongst numerous commissioned essays, her most recent was in 2017, *Behind the Scenes: The Life, Art, Design and Community Work of Roberta Bell*, now deposited in the Australian Art Research Library at the National Gallery of Australia. For many years, in NSW and Tasmania, she has been a teacher of Art, History, French and other disciplines.

Jules’ other obsession with all things Irish, now takes the lead in her creative output, evolving into manifold research projects, based mostly around family history: a huge investigation of the social, political and cultural history of the Irish and the diaspora to Australia. In 2016, Jules completed, *From Cork to Coalcliff: Finding Richard Coady*, the story of her great grandfather. [Illawarra History Society, 2017].
Dr Ronan McDonald

Mary Colum: ‘creative’ critic

Once lauded as the most significant woman critic in America, Sligo-Mary Colum (1884-1957) has been overlooked by Irish studies, until relatively recently. Involved in literary circles during her Dublin years from 1902 to 1913, she moved to New York city with her husband Padraic Colum in 1914, but also spent long periods in Paris, Nice, and London. Fulfilling Yeats’s insightful early discernment of ‘critical prowess’, she became a voluminous writer, reviewer and critic, writing both for generalist periodicals and for more literary publications like The Dial.

As a woman, she encountered prejudice for writing what was seen as an unsuitably masculine intellectual and rational mode – namely criticism (or what we might call meta-criticism). Yet, paradoxically, one of the reasons Colum has not been vaunted by Irish studies, is because criticism has an aura of the secondary and derivative, and tends not to be as celebrated, taught and anthologised as ‘primary’ or ‘creative’ work. It is to counter this idea that Colum begins her major work From these Roots: The Ideas that have Made Modern Literature (1937) by disputing that, in a gendered image, criticism is merely the ‘stepchild and handmaiden of the other arts and other literary modes’ (2). She insists that criticism is a creative, rather than a parasitical form. This book, which I suggest strongly anticipates some of the values and methods of contemporary ‘world literature’, argues that it is criticism that creates the intellectual contexts in which literature flourishes. She produces a story for the emergence not just of Western literature but of the aesthetic agendas behind it. Criticism, or more precisely that which she wants to distinguish with the handle ‘creative criticism’ is that which allows innovation to refresh tradition, which in turn leads to new literary creativity.

Biographical note

Professor Ronan McDonald holds the Gerry Higgins Chair of Irish Studies at the University of Melbourne. He is President of the Irish Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand. He has research interests in Irish literature, especially Irish modernism, the history of criticism and the value of the humanities. His books include Tragedy and Irish Literature (2002), The Cambridge Introduction to Samuel Beckett (2007) and The Death of the Critic (2008). Recent edited collections include The Values of Literary Studies: Critical Institutions, Scholarly Agendas (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and Flann O’Brien and Modernism (2014). He is the series editor for Cambridge Themes in Irish Literature and Culture.

Dr Perry McIntyre

‘Filthy spoken street-walkers’? Single Irish workhouse women to Adelaide 1848-1849

Bridget Cotter and Mary Coveney were charged in Adelaide Police Court a year after their arrival on the Elgin in September 1849 with being ‘filthy spoken street street-walkers’ and ‘for making use of atrociously obscene language in Hindley Street’. They were two of at least sixteen of the 197 workhouse young orphan women who arrived to Adelaide on the Elgin who were charged with similar offences. This paper will examine the lives of some of the 606 workhouse girls who arrived in South Australia between October 1848 and September 1849. Were they bad women unsuited to the colonial needs of the Australian colonies? Did some have what today would be diagnosed as post-traumatic stress or did the early battles to
survive and the lively responses of some tarnish the reputations of this group of young Irish women who were carefully selected and given a free passage to become respectable, healthy domestic servants and the future mothers of colonial South Australia?

Biographical note
Perry McIntyre has been involved in history and biography since the late 1970s. Her community activities include serving on the committees of the History Council of NSW (President 2005-06), the Society of Australian Genealogists for 20 years, the RAHS, the Great Irish Famine Commemoration Committee (chair 2012-4). She has published and spoken extensively on immigration, particularly 19th century Irish. She was the archivist at St John’s College at the University of Sydney for six years and is a Director of Anchor Books Australia. Her PhD on convict family reunion was first published by Irish Academic Press in 2010.

Eamonn McNamara
The Troubles in Australia: a political history
This paper examines Australian politicians and their responses to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. From the time the Troubles broke out in 1968, Australia’s politicians - State, Territory and Federal - debated how Australia should respond to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Nestled in between debates around the metric system, National Service and migration, antipodeans fiercely debated the origins of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and solutions to the conflict. Some politicians such as Prime Minister John Gorton argued that it was ‘great temerity to interfere in any way in the affairs of Ireland’ (1969), while others like Western Australian Senator Harry Cant stated in 1971 that: ‘There are not 2 Irelands. There are not Northern Ireland and Eire. There is only Ireland’. Some politicians’ responses fell along confessional lines, while others referred to a personal interest in Ireland for their support of nationalists or unionist causes. Outside of the nation’s parliaments, Sinn Féin collected money for Republican prisoners on St Patrick’s Day, waterside workers in Port Kembla forced a British ship to stay docked and Irish Clubs around Australia fractured over the issue of the 1981 Hunger Strikes. This politically-focused paper is the beginning of a research project that examines broader Australian engagement with the Troubles in Northern Ireland throughout the conflict (1969-1998) to better understand Australian (especially Irish Australian) understandings of Ireland in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Biographical note
Eamonn McNamara is a Research Officer at the National Museum of Australia. He completed a Master of Philosophy at the Australian National University in 2017 with a topic
that focussed on the Good Friday Agreement. In 2019 he received the ANU’s Vice Chancellor’s award for tutoring.

Dr Jeanette Mollenhauer

Women take the lead: the feminisation of Irish step dance in Australia

Around the dawn of the twentieth century, two momentous changes in step dance governance were experienced in both Ireland and Australia: the genre was appropriated by the Gaelic League for the promotion of nationalistic fervour, and choreographic authority passed from the nineteenth-century dance masters to a new breed of dancers and teachers who were, more frequently, female. Irish-Australians of the early twentieth century, such as Gertie Stapleton, Annie Maher and Molly McCabe, pioneered the feminisation of step dance performance, teaching and administration in Australia. These women were both accomplished dancers and pedagogical architects who laid the foundation for subsequent generations. In the twenty-first century, their legacy persists amongst the present cohort of female Irish-Australian step dancers, whose emotional connections with Ireland are also articulated somatically when they practise and perform. This paper draws on both archival sources and ethnographic data obtained from current dancers to narrate the stories of women who have developed the genre, and who continue to expand it, in the Australian sector of the global Irish step dance community.

Biographical note

Jeanette Mollenhauer is an independent dance scholar who was the first to complete doctoral research about Irish dance in Australia. Her work has been published twice in *The Australasian Journal of Irish Studies* as well as in *The Journal of Intercultural Studies* and the *Dance Research Journal*. As well as belonging to the ISAANZ, Jeanette is a member of a variety of Australian and international research organisations, including The International Council for Traditional Music, the Dance Studies Association and Dance Research Forum Ireland. She is also a recreational folk dance teacher and the Vice President of Folk Dance Australia.

Dr Kevin Molloy

Gender and migration: female migration to Australia in the post war period

Post-war Irish migration to Australia is noted for its gender imbalance, the country attracting far more young male migrants than females. This phenomenon deserves deeper investigation in terms of gender preferences, perceived opportunities for female employment, the notion of Australia as still somehow a frontier country, and perceptions of Australia in terms of its attractiveness as a suitable destination as compared with more established cosmopolitan destinations such as the UK, the east coast of North America, and the central provinces of Canada.

This paper will draw upon a set of interviews with Irish female migrants to Australia in the post-war period, determining their reasons for migration and their expectations of both the Irish and Australian communities and what they thought Australia could offer them and what skills they could bring to the country. It will examine how they networked and socialised as
they integrated into Australian society, contrasting their role and social mobility, with that of their male counterparts.

**Biographical note**

Kevin Molloy is Manager, Manuscripts Collection at the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. He completed his PhD at Trinity College Dublin on the subject of William Lecky and nineteenth century Irish historiography. He currently researches and writes on international Irish print networks, the Irish American novel and post-war Irish migration.

**Peter Moore**

**Mary Coveney: an Irish woman in South Australia**

Mary Coveney (1839-1920) would not have dreamed of being talked about a century after her death. An assisted immigrant from Limerick in 1857, Mary succeeded in South Australia, principally as a publican for 35 years, and experienced the many joys and sorrows of marriage and children — only to outlive three husbands and six of her eight children. Mary’s story provides an opportunity to tease out ideas about what we really know and can know, what we do not or cannot know, as well as what we still need to know, about Irish women in Australia, to make sense of their variety, their contributions, and their significance. A literature on Irish women in Australia has barely begun, so the paper works blind to a degree. Historical in method and scope, it avoids the mythic: the received, the supposed, the hoped-for. It discloses essential genealogical and socio-economic facts about Mary’s life. It combines them with other facts to build information and to make knowledge about her place in her world and ours. But was Mary Coveney ‘typical’ — of her class, ethnicity, religion, occupation — and how can we tell?

**Biographical note**

Peter Moore is a fourth generation Irish-Australian, South Australian by birth, education, and legal profession. In 1978-79 he undertook postgraduate history studies in connection with the Chair of Australian History at University College Dublin, with a particular interest in Col. Robert Torrens and the colonization of New Zealand and South Australia. Peter mixes professional work with a passion for Irish and Irish-Australian history and culture. He was Managing Editor of Crossing Press, specialising in books of Irish and Australian history, from 1992 to 2019. He has taught Irish History at adult education centres in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide since 1993 and has taken cultural tours of Ireland since 1994. He also leads a walking tour of Sydney’s Irish icons. He has a particular interest in Irish lawyers in Australia and may yet complete a comparative doctorate on lawyers in early colonial New South Wales, South Australia and New Zealand.

**Dr Bill Mulligan**

**Irish identity in the diaspora: the role of nuns and separate educational institutions**

My paper will deal with the role Catholic schools played in the lives of Irish emigrants and how those schools balanced preparing students for useful lives as citizens in their host countries without compromising their Catholicism or their Irishness. It will especially look at the role of religious women, who were the foundation of such schools well into the twentieth
century. While largely focused on the Irish in the Michigan Copper Country, the community I have been studying for some years, I will draw on secondary works for other parts of the United States and the Diaspora. That is part of a second book I am working on the general history of the Diaspora. There are a very large number of histories of religious congregations of women in the US at Notre Dame. I plan to return and work through those soon. I have also been collecting secondary studies of nuns including at least one book on nuns in Australia and hope to find more. This is more an attempt to synthesize what has been written about and suggest avenues for future research than a report on archival investigation.

**Biographical note**

William H. Mulligan, Jr. is Professor of History at Murray State University in Murray, Kentucky, where he has taught since 1993. He is Migration Studies editor for *New Hibernia Review*. He has his bachelor's degree (1970) in history from Assumption College *magna cum laude* and his master's (1973) and doctoral (1982) degrees in American history from Clark University.

In 2005, he received the Murray State University Board of Regents Award for Teaching Excellence. In 2007, he received the MSU College of Humanities and Fine Arts Award for Scholarship and Creative Activity. During the spring semester 2009, he was a Fulbright Scholar in history at University College Cork, Ireland. In 2012 he received the Murray State University Alumni Association Distinguished Researcher Award. In 2000 he delivered the Henry Brown Memorial Lecture at Wayne State University. In 2006, he delivered the Ernie O’Malley Memorial Lecture at Glucksman Ireland House, New York University. In 2007, he delivered the DeSantis Lecture at the University of Notre Dame.

He is currently researching migration from copper mining areas in Ireland to the Copper Country of Michigan in the nineteenth century and the Civil War in far western Kentucky, especially the role of African Americans.

**Dr Val Noone**

**Irish Famine orphan girls: a survey of 30 years’ work**

Over the past 30 years, family historians, academics, community groups, novelists, song-writers, poets and sculptors have researched, written about and memorialised the 4000 young women whom the British and colonial governments transported from Irish workhouses to Australia during the Great Irish Famine. Partly stimulated by Trevor McCloughlin’s publication of names and other details, partly coinciding with the 150th anniversary, members of this informal coalition have thereby broken the astounding silences in Australian Irish memories. As if answering Patrick O’Farrell who asserted that “the great disaster of the Irish Famine had largely passed Australia by”, such people have changed public awareness of a segment of Famine history. In this paper, drawing on documentary research as well as experience as chair of the Melbourne Famine Commemoration Committee, I attempt a survey and analysis of the now sizeable body of work on the Irish Famine orphan girls (mostly in Australia but also in Ireland) with a short reflection on its relevance.
**Biographical note**

Dr Val Noone is a Fellow of the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne.

**Mary O’Connell**

**Bee Walshe (1855 Mayo – 1901 Sydney) ‘Go without your stockings then!’ – the story of a lost Ladies Land Leaguer**

You were worlds apart  
From the land  
Held your hungry heart  
In her hand.  
Katharine Tynan, The Exile,  
poem for Bee Walshe, 11 Nov 1901

Bee Walshe – born in Balla, Co Mayo in 1855, and died in Sydney 1901 was a land activist, social campaigner and fundraiser, executive member of the Ladies Land League, writer, and friend to many writers. She was buried with great honours by Land League colleagues in Sydney’s Rookwood Cemetery (her death noted in diaspora newspaper) under a large sandstone Celtic cross which remains standing – while she herself is now almost completely forgotten.

My paper will explore the known facts of Bee’s life, her radical Mayo milieu, the relationship with Michael Davitt, the extraordinary actions of Bee and others within Anna Parnell’s Ladies Land League in the revolutionary period of the Irish Land War (1879 – 1882), and her friendship with Irish writers Kathleen Tynan and Hannah Lynch. Along with her sister Margaret, Bee emigrated to Australia in 1884, just two years after the Kilmainham ‘treaty’ – joining their brother John. Bee continued her fundraising work for the West, and her correspondence with Irish nationalist writers in Sydney – a city where she was both honoured and silenced. I will also look at the evidence and literary imaginings of her relationship with Michael Davitt.

**Biographical note**

I am a writer and historian, and community arts/garden organiser, with particular interest in the lives of women, and the culture and spirituality of the Irish diaspora in Australasia. My PhD on the young Irish Australian mystic, Eileen O’Connor (1892-1921) was published as *Our Lady of Coogee* by Crossing Press in 2009. My other books include an historical novel about Hildegard of Bingen. *The King’s Daughter* (Handmaid Press, Sydney, 2004) and a historical novel on the Irish Land War, *The Country of our Dreams*; which will be published in late 2019.

**Maeve O’Leary**

**1916 GPO Cumann na mBan nursing contingent’s ‘untold’ story**

Moments before the main GPO evacuation my grandmother Lucy Agnes Smyth was ordered to leave with about eleven other members of the Cumann na mBan nursing contingent and to
accompany the wounded, some on stretchers, to Jervis Street Hospital with a group of Volunteers disguised as Red Cross as escorts. They had a little known, life-threatening and hazardous route out of the GPO's Henry Street exit under a shower of bullets past Moore Street. No respect was given to the Red Cross flag they carried. They prepared to die in The Coliseum Theatre. They were trapped between two burning barricades in Williams Lane and eventually made their way to Jervis Street Hospital only to be turned away. They spent the night in the dispensary on the floor whilst the battle raged outside and were cast out the next day to make their way home.

This 1916 group of women were often humble and modest. Their commitment to their country and bravery in the pursuit of Irish freedom was equal to the men. Those that did keep a record of their contribution during Easter Week, talked openly about facing death many times in the course of their duties that week and in the burning battlefield on the eve of the surrender. Many left no written record and their contribution can be pieced together from others accounts, both verbal and written. These women sought no recognition for their bravery. Some lie in unmarked graves to this day. I would like to name and reclaim these inspirational women in Irish history.

**Biographical note**

Méabh is Dublin born and bred. She currently resides in Melbourne with her Australian husband, and three teenage daughters. She is a volunteer and advocate for mental wellbeing in the community. She has a particular interest in Irish women’s migration stories and the often hidden emotional costs across the migration lifecycle. Méabh has recently returned to study the Irish language. She broadcasts occasionally on the Irish Hour at 3ZZZ Melbourne Ethnic Community Radio. She is also a member of the Irish History Circle in Melbourne as well as The 1916 Relatives Association in Dublin.

Méabh is currently researching, with a view to publishing two booklets on her maternal grandparents’ revolutionary lives. Both were garrisoned in the GPO in 1916. She is a committed campaigner in the long-standing Campaign to Save Moore Street in Dublin - the unique extant 1916 Battlefield site and centuries old street market that is under threat. She spoke at BrigidFest in 2016, the centenary year, in the Celtic Club in Melbourne. Méabh also presented at the inaugural UCD Irish Diaspora Conference in Dublin on ‘The Silent Grief of Voluntary Migration’ in 2017. She presented at the 2018 ISAANZ Conference in Sydney on her grandfather’s extraordinary life, across three continents. A legacy she would like to leave is to tell the untold stories of other ‘ordinary’ 1916 Volunteers and their significant contribution to the cause of Irish freedom particularly the forgotten women’s stories.
Emerita Professor Rosemary Owens

From Glendalough, Ireland, to Armagh, South Australia, and beyond: the lives of the Butler sisters

This paper will interrogate some of the theories regarding Irish immigration and identity by examining the lives of three sisters born to Irish parents in the County of Stanley, South Australia, in the 1840s and 1850s.

Patrick Butler and his wife Sarah Naulty arrived in South Australia from Glendalough, County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1839. Over the next 21 years they had 10 children – 7 sons and 3 daughters – most of whom were born in Armagh, in the Clare District, where the family had settled. There, in that most unique ‘Continental style Irish village’, they were also surrounded by a large extended Irish family. Sarah’s widowed mother, Bridget O’Neil, arrived in 1846 with six of her Irish-born children who all settled nearby. Patrick’s brother, John Butler, arrived a decade later in c.1855, with his wife and two of his Irish-born children, and they also settled in Armagh where a further six children were born.

This paper examines the lives of the three daughters of Patrick Butler and Sarah Naulty - Mary Ann (born 1844), Elizabeth Ellen (born c1852) and Sarah (born c1854) – who were all born in Armagh, SA. It will focus on several of the factors – marriage, class and status, religion and geographic area – which historians have identified as important influences on the maintenance and development of social and cultural identity.

Biographical note

Rosemary Owens, AO is Professor Emerita at The University of Adelaide where she was employed from 1987. She was formerly Dame Roma Mitchell Chair of Law (2008-2015) and Dean of Law (2007-2011). Professor Owens is a member of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (the CEACR) of the International Labour Organization to which she was appointed in 2010. She is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Law. In 2014, she was appointed as an Officer in the Order of Australia for her distinguished service to law, to international and national labour law and relations, and to women.

While Professor Owens’ significant body of published research has focused primarily on workplace law, especially its impacts on women and other marginalized groups, her first degree was in history and it is to this discipline she has also now returned with a special focus on South Australia and its early Irish and Scottish immigrants.
Dr Brad Patterson

‘She carried Irish orphan girls to South Australia’: the curious fate of an immigrant vessel in the Australasian trade

On 7 June 1849 the barque Inconstant reached its destination of Adelaide after a 112-day passage from Plymouth. Aboard were nearly 200 young Irish women, despatched to the colony under Earl Grey’s pauper immigration scheme for lives in domestic service. Within two weeks the women had been safely landed, most being quickly hired by colonists, but nearly three further months were to elapse before the vessel set out on its return voyage. While to date the Inconstant has tended to be a shadowy tangential footnote to investigations of the subsequent fortunes of its principal passengers, the present paper switches focus to the ship which carried them, the background to its first voyage to the Antipodes, and to its unexpected subsequent fate.

Buried beneath major buildings in the Wellington CBD, the Inconstant largely disappeared from public consciousness for more than a century. It was not until 1997 building refurbishments that the barque’s remains were rediscovered, leading to a major archaeological investigation and a strenuous attempt to preserve what was left as a monument of interest to at least four countries.

Biographical note

Brad Patterson is an Adjunct Research Fellow at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. He was formerly Director of the university’s Irish-Scottish Studies Programme. The author, editor, or co-editor of thirteen books, his publications include The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts & Perspectives (2002), Ulster-New Zealand Migration and Cultural Transfers (2006), Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand (2013), and most recently After the Treaty: The Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand (2016). His ongoing research projects include detailed studies of the survival of Irish and Scottish migrant identity in nineteenth-century New Zealand, and he is presently completing a book on the dynamics of settler capitalism in the early decades of the Wellington settlement.

Kathryn Patterson

‘In other parts of the world the position of the soldier’s wife is very different to what it is here’. Irish soldiers’ wives in nineteenth century New Zealand

What is meant by this statement from the NZ Herald in 1864? What can be discerned of the life of soldiers’ wives in nineteenth century New Zealand and how was it different to other parts of the world? What is known of their role, what happened to war widows, how was life different for those who married during war time compared to those who came out from England with their husbands and those who married post war? This paper presents some findings on this subject with reference to research done on Irish soldiers who took their discharge in New Zealand from the 18th, 58th, 65th and 68th regiments.

Biographical note

Kathryn Patterson is an independent researcher and writer and is presently an Adjunct Research Associate at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria
Kathryn has had a long career in the New Zealand public service, principally in information management. Initially training as a librarian, the positions she has held include Deputy Parliamentary Librarian, Director of Information Management at The Treasury, and Director and Chief Archivist of Archives of New Zealand. In addition to contributions to the professional literature, Kathryn has co-edited (with Brad Patterson) New Zealand (1998), vol 18 in ABC-Clio’s World Bibliographical Series, and Ireland and the Irish Antipodes: One World or Worlds Apart? (2010), and (with Brad Patterson and Richard Hill) After the Treaty: the settler state, race relations & the exercise of power in colonial New Zealand.

Dr Craig Pett

Sarah Harding: new evidence in her association with Swift

In the latter half of the 1720’s, the Dublin printer Sarah Harding thought Jonathan Swift owed her. She was the widow of John Harding, the printer of Swift’s Drapier’s Letters in 1724 who had died from the effects of a violent imprisonment for printing the fourth of those Letters. Given the circumstances of her husband’s death, Sarah Harding had an expectation that Swift would support her. But this paper presents never-before-seen evidence concerning Swift’s obligations to Sarah Harding throughout this period and, for the most part, his failure to meet them. This includes new evidence as to why Swift’s pamphlet, A Modest Proposal, was written and sent to Sarah Harding to publish in 1729, and a new explanation for Sarah Harding’s disappearance from the Dublin printing scene soon after.

Biographical note

Craig Pett is an independent researcher of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish print cultures, with a concentration on the anonymous and pseudonymous publications of Johnathan Swift and the tradespeople who produced and put their names to them. His doctorate thesis, ‘I am no inconsiderable Shop-Keeper in this Town: Swift and his Dublin Printers of the 1720’s, Edward Waters, John Harding and Sarah Harding,’ completed at Monash University in 2015, disclosed new evidence illustrating that Swift did not treat his printers in the manner that has always been assumed and that our perceptions of this writer’s character have been mistaken. Craig has plans for further work in this field.
Archbishop Robert William Spence and his ‘Foundational Trowel’ collection, 1914 to 1934

Hidden away in the Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide, inside an old iron chest, are some fascinating objects. This is the so-called ‘Foundational Trowel’ collection, 48 all told, of individual trowels presented to Corkman, and Catholic Archbishop of Adelaide, Robert William Spence. Between 1914, when he became Archbishop, and 1933 Spence presided over the erection, according to Adelaide’s *Southern Cross* newspaper, of some 105 religious buildings in his diocese. Not surprisingly, he became known as ‘Spence the Builder’ and his pride in this sobriquet is evident from the photographs of two shields, hanging presumably in his residence, on which were displayed 43 of his ‘Foundational Trowels’.

The shields were a symbolic display of the outward and visible expansion of the church’s presence in South Australia, a presence founded on the immigration and settlement of the Catholic Irish in the 19th century. Spence’s buildings were made possible by the financial donations of thousands of the descendants of this supposedly marginalised Catholic population in a sea of hostile South Australian Protestantism. This presentation reveals the basic narrative of this building development, briefly examines Spence’s own public interpretation of this phenomenon, and shows something of the beauty of Adelaide’s extraordinary ‘Foundational Trowel’ collection.

**Biographical note**

Richard Reid, born in Portrush County Antrim, Ireland and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, came to Australia in 1972. Eleven years as a high school teacher in Wollongong, NSW, exposed him to the realities of Australian life. He went to Canberra in 1983 to be the Secondary Education Officer at the Australian War Memorial. From 1997 to 2013, Richard was the Senior Historian for the Commemorations Branch of the Australian Commonwealth’s Department of Veterans’ Affairs involved in the creation of websites such as anzacsites.gov.au, ww1westernfront.gov.au and numerous department history publications.

As a public historian and tour guide Richard has led groups to Ireland, Gallipoli and the Western Front. His primary interests are in Irish and Australian history, especially the history of Australians in World War 1, and he has written and published extensively on both these topics. Richard retired at the end of 2013 and is currently working, with Dr Perry McIntyre and Adjunct Professor Jeff Kildea, on a major history of the Irish National Association of Australasia (Sydney), 1915-2015.

**Dr Liz Rushen**

**Anastasia Burke: from female immigrant to businesswoman and community leader**

Callan-born Anastasia Burke was 27 years old when she arrived in Adelaide in June 1855, at a time when South Australia was struggling to cope with the unprecedented number of Irish immigrant women, leading to a Parliamentary Enquiry in 1856 into ‘excessive female immigration’. She had departed her family home for a new life in Australia, leaving behind the devastating effects of the Great Famine and widespread protest against poverty and the injustice of the Tithe Tax. To what extent did Anastasia’s birthplace or the controversy...
surrounding her arrival in Adelaide influence her colonial life and the Irish causes she later supported as an influential and wealthy woman? This paper analyses the enduring legacies Anastasia has left in both her hometown and her township of adoption.

**Biographical note**

Dr Liz Rushen is a director of the new Melbourne Maritime Heritage Network, the deputy chair of the History Council of Victoria, a State Library Victoria creative fellow 2018-19, and an adjunct research associate in the School of Historical Studies at Monash University. Liz has published widely in the field of migration history, including *Single and Free: female migration to Australia, 1833-1837*, *Anastasia: From Callan to Stockyard Creek* and a social history, *Bishopscourt Melbourne: official residence and family home.*

**Pat Ryan**

**Unmasking Mary: daughter of Ireland, revolutionary, grandmother**

In the closing years of the 19th century, Mary Kelly was born in Derry to a family steeped in the traditions of Irish independence, Catholicism, Gaelic language and culture. The family’s comfortable middle-class status allowed Mary the opportunity to be educated to tertiary level and she qualified as a teacher. She joined the fledgling Inghinidhe na hÉireann, and later, Cumann na mBan. As the new century began, so too did Ireland’s march towards armed insurrection against British rule, sweeping Mary, her brother Dan, and her future husband James Deeney, onward in the rush towards Dublin, Bolands Mills, and Jacobs Factory.

As we commemorate the 100th anniversary of 1916 and the aftermath, it is time to find Mary and tell her story, through the eyes of her grand-daughter, records from the military archives, eye-witness accounts, family history and memory. It is time to speak of the dramatic events forged by men and women like my indomitable grandmother, Mary Deeney.

**Biographical note**

Pat Ryan migrated to Australia from Ireland some forty years ago and has developed an extensive knowledge of the Irish in Australia in this time. As an oral historian, she has published accounts of Irish migration to Australia, including the Warwick district. She was a long-time broadcaster and presenter on the Radio 4eb Irish Program. She is also an accomplished researcher, policy writer and community worker.

**Dr Katherine Side**

**‘Unknown knowns’: Everyday Stories and abortion reform in the Republic of Ireland**

In May 2018, Ireland’s past was changed by a chorus of unknown stories that were seldom told or heard. This paper analyses *Everyday Stories*, a storytelling and illustration project that encouraged individuals to participate in social change by telling their personal stories. *Everyday Stories* was an affiliate group of the Together for Yes campaign.

In the last half of this century, abortion stories were Ireland’s ‘unknown knowns’ (Irish Times 2015). When shared in the context of the referendum, they carried considerable suasion (Irish Times 2018). Michéal Martin (Fianna Fáil) said his decision to vote to remove the 8th Amendment was based on ‘listening to the diverse contributions of women’ (thejournal.ie
2018). Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar said his changed position was a direct result of listening to women (Gilmartin and Kennedy 2019). Poet, Michael Longley described storytellers as ‘poets in their own way’ (The Times 2018). Everyday Stories was shared in public testimonial, travelling exhibitions, and on social media. My three-part analysis and presentation focuses on presentation of its Facebook platform.

I argue Everyday Stories’ Facebook account offered a space of anonymous participation, minimized personal risks and provided levity to balance a campaign that also encompassed ‘protest, counter-spectacle, and an aesthetics of the carnivalesque’ (Nic Ghachann 2018, 554). It made ‘unknown knowns.’

**Biographical note**

Dr. Katherine Side is Professor, Department of Gender Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. She has published about reproductive justice in Ireland and Northern Ireland in scholarly publications, Gender, Place and Culture, International Journal of Feminist Politics, Social Politics, Human Rights in Ireland, and in popular publications, Herizons (Canada), and Women’s News (Northern Ireland).

**Dr Evan Smith** and **Dr Anastasia Dukova**

Irish family chain migration and the national/border security nexus in Australia during ‘The Troubles’

Migration from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to Australia remained significant during the post-war era, with few restrictions on Irish migrants, alongside those from England, Scotland and Wales. One aspect of this was family chain migration, when one member of a family emigrated and was joined by others from the same family over a number of years. Although some Irish migrants received assisted fares, families in the Antipodes acted as sponsors for those family members looking to emigrate.

During ‘The Troubles’, there was increased monitoring of Irish migrants to Australia. This included intelligence received from Britain and Northern Ireland, as well as from the Australian Migration Office (AMO) in Belfast. The AMO acted as the first port of call for many potential migrants to Australia and those seeking to come to this country were first screened in their country of origin. Amidst the first years of the conflict in Northern Ireland, enquiries were made into any possible links between potential migrants and paramilitary groups in either Northern Ireland or the Republic.

This paper looks at intelligence reports provided to the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) from the AMO in Belfast in the early-to-mid-1970s. It focuses on a case study of the scrutiny placed upon family members of suspected IRA sympathisers who were already in Australia who were seeking to join them from Northern Ireland. This case study can help illuminate how the Australian border control system (and the Migration Act 1958 (Cth) in particular) was used for national security purposes in an era of heightened concern about international terrorism, and how this affected the processing of family chain migration from Northern Ireland in the 1970s.
Biographical note

Dr Evan Smith is a Research Fellow in History in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University. He is currently part of the ARC Discovery Project, 'Managing Migrants and Border Control in Britain and Australia, 1901-1981'. He has published widely on the history of political extremism, national security and border control in the Anglosphere. He tweets from @evanishistory.

Dr Anastasia Dukova is a crime and policing historian specialising in the history of urban policing, with a primary focus on Ireland, Australia and Canada. She is particularly interested in the impact of Irish policing experience on the development of colonial policing models, both state and municipal. Anastasia is a Partner Investigator on the ARC DP Managing Migrants and Border Control in Britain and Australia, 1901-1981 (DP180102200 Flinders University). She is a recipient of the Q ANZAC 100: Memories for a New Generation Fellowship with the State Library Queensland and Lord Mayor’s Helen Taylor Research History Award, Brisbane City Council. Dr Dukova’s recent monographs are Policing Colonial Brisbane (University of Queensland Press, 2020) and A History of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and Its Colonial Legacy (Palgrave Macmillan).

Glennis and Rod Smith

Imagining Sarah Anne Guinness

In March last year New Zealand family historian Rod Smith published his book Guinness Down Under – the famous brew and the family come to Australia and New Zealand. The catalyst for the project was a discussion in 1992 with his mother-in-law Pauline Williamson about her descent from the Guinness family. Pauline’s grandmother Sarah Guinness grew up surrounded by the wealth of the Irish brewing family but bereft of her mother who died when she was just 18 months old. Sarah emigrated to Melbourne in 1855 with her father Rev William Newton Guinness and stepmother Harriette and continued in the comfort of vicarage life in South Yarra. In 1863 she married Irishman Thomas Minchin, son of a landed but impoverished emigrant family living in New Zealand. Sarah and Thomas lived near Christchurch, then Fiji for nine years and then back in the far north of New Zealand where she died aged 44. Her life as a colonial wife and mother was an ongoing struggle in climatic extremes and straitened circumstances, the complete opposite to her upbringing. Rod recorded family stories from Sarah’s descendants, found accounts in records from Canada and Australia, and information in online newspapers, and in libraries in Melbourne and Ireland. He chose to tell Sarah’s story in her own voice, imaginary reminiscences and letters to her father. These have proven to be a much more poignant medium and a contrast to the book’s historical narrative. That material forms the basis of the presentation by Rod and his wife Glennis, Sarah’s great-grand-daughter.
Biographical note

The author of Guinness Down Under, Rod Smith is a Tauranga-based family historian who has spent many years researching and writing family stories. Now retired, he is a former newspaper journalist, with a career which included time in the probation service, social work training, family courts, forestry, defence, and accident insurance. He holds a Diploma in Social Work from Victoria University, Wellington. His wife Glennis is a sixth-generation descendant of Arthur Guinness, founder of the renowned brewery, and his wife Olivia. Together they have visited relatives throughout New Zealand, in Australia, Ireland, Scotland, England, and Italy. The research for Guinness Down Under started in 1992 and since then Rod has gathered information and pictures from over 300 people and sourced material from over forty libraries, archives and historical societies in New Zealand, Australia, and overseas.

Anita Stelmach

Case studies of criminal Irish women in early twentieth-century South Australia: the typical and the atypical

In early twentieth-century Australia, criminal women were commonly regarded as failures of femininity due to their disconnection from nuclear family life and their rejection of traditional gender roles within the privacy of the home. These marginalised, ‘public women’ included vagrants, thieves, inebriates and prostitutes. This paper focusses upon the criminal careers of three Irish women who were imprisoned for offences against morality and good order in South Australia during the early twentieth century. These case studies exemplify the typical pathways undertaken by many contemporary criminal women, including homelessness, poverty, and cycles of offending and imprisonment. However, this paper also illustrates some unusual outcomes realised by these three Irish women, which were atypical for most criminal women at the time.

Biographical note

Anita Stelmach is a PhD candidate in History at Flinders University. Her 2015 Honours thesis focussed upon the 1921 riot at the South Australian Girls’ Reformatory at Redruth, near Burra. Her PhD research project investigates the history of interwar prostitution in Adelaide.

Dr Rod and Dr Robin Sullivan

‘Women are not permitted to enter here’: gender and the Queensland Irish Association, 1898-2018

The presentation attempts a gender-oriented analysis of the Queensland Irish Association (QIA). This organisation, formed in Brisbane in 1898 by members of a disbanded ethnic military corps, the Queensland Irish Volunteers, was constituted as a male-only body with female relatives confined to ancillary, though not unimportant, roles. We explore male members’ attitudes towards gender and the masculine culture encoded in the Association’s symbols, processions, songs, oratory and recreational activities. Such attitudes had implications for female contributions to and roles within the organisation. The presentation examines the operations and eventual dilution of the Association’s masculine culture.
Rodney Sullivan is an honorary research associate professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry at The University of Queensland. He was formerly an Associate Professor in the Department of History & Politics at James Cook University, Townsville. He has published in the fields of Australian and Philippine-American history, and recent articles on the Irish in Queensland. He contributes to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate*.

**Biographical notes**

Rodney holds a PhD in History from James Cook University, Australia.

Rodney and Robin Sullivan are Honorary Historians of the Queensland Irish Association. They are writing a history of the Association to be published for its 125th anniversary in 2023.

Robin Sullivan is an honorary research associate professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry at The University of Queensland. She was formerly Queensland Commissioner for Children and Young People and a Director-General in the Queensland public service. Her publications include articles on labour history, education and family issues. She has co-authored recent articles on the Irish in Queensland. Robin holds honorary doctorates from the Queensland University of Technology and the Central Queensland University.

**Dr Loughlin Sweeney**

**Agents of Empire: Irish women and professional migration networks in the Western Pacific, 1870-1920**

The British Empire in the late nineteenth century Pacific comprised a diversity of territories and frontiers: settler colonies, formal imperial possessions, and an informal network of legations, trading houses, and naval bases that oversaw British commercial activity. In all of these various colonial contexts, the role of women as arbiters of ‘imperial domesticity’, to use Alison Blunt’s term, manifested itself in multiple ways. This paper tracks a particular type of female imperial space, existing both within and also apart from a circulating network of Irish professional sojourners and colonial officials. It will examine how different colonial methods of rule utilised Irishwomen’s mobility and networks to establish the parameters of respectability, and how little-studied Irishwomen, such as Emily de Burgh Daly and Georgina Kennedy, navigated between the ‘informal empire’ on the China coast, the formal colonial space of Hong Kong, and the settler colonial sphere of Australia.

**Biographical note**

Loughlin Sweeney is an Assistant Professor (or 'Chogyosu') at the John Endicott College of International Studies in Daejeon, South Korea. Originally from Dublin, Loughlin completed an MPhil and PhD at Queens' College Cambridge under the supervision of Eugenio Biagini, which examined the British Army establishment in Ireland and its links to empire from the period of the first Home Rule Bill to the War of Independence. He has held visiting fellowships at the University of Edinburgh and Queen Mary, University of London, and is currently working on two projects: a network analysis of Irish professional migration around the Pacific rim in the nineteenth century, and a biography of the Australian-born military
nurse Maud McCarthy. His first book, *Irish Military Elites, Nation and Empire 1870-1925*, has just been published with Palgrave Macmillan, and is being launched at this conference.

Dr Sonja Tiernan

**Anti-conscription movements in Britain, Ireland and Australia during World War One**

Remembrance of the Great War undoubtedly had a more contentious position in former territories of the British Empire than in Britain itself, something particularly evident during Ireland’s decade of centenary events. This paper discusses an area that national commemorative events failed to appropriately observe in many countries: those who campaigned against war from 1914-18 and worked against conscription of men into the British forces, with a particular focus on the significance of women in anti-war activities. By tracing the activities of female peace activists during the Great War, it becomes apparent that these women forged an unlikely bond between peace movements in Ireland and England during a turbulent time in Anglo-Irish relations. This connection challenges our views of anti-war campaigners and of connections between Irish and British feminists at this time. It is clearly evident from this research that female anti-war activists in England influenced an even more focussed campaign against conscription in Ireland. Yet ultimately women in Ireland were following in the footsteps of their counterparts in Australia, a fact not clearly acknowledged at the time.

*Biographical note*

Sonja Tiernan is Éamon Cleary Professor of Irish Studies and co-director of the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies and the University of Otago, New Zealand. She has published widely in the area of modern Irish gender and women’s history. Among her publications is the first dedicated biography of Eva Gore-Booth and the first complete edition of Gore-Booth’s poetry, with a foreword by President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins. Sonja is originally from Dublin and received her PhD from University College Dublin and has held fellowships at the National Library of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame, the School of Irish Studies at Concordia and most recently she was awarded a Moore Visiting Fellowship from the National University of Ireland Galway in 2019. Her most recent monograph, *The History of Marriage Equality in Ireland: a social revolution begins*, is due for publication in 2020.

Regina Uí Chollatáin

**The Women of the Gaelic Revival: 'Influencers' or ‘dilettantes toying with this strange archaic language, who had little else to do and were just following a whim or fancy'?**

*Biographical note*

Professor Regina Uí Chollatáin is the Head of the UCD School of Irish, Celtic Studies and Folklore. Research areas include Irish language Revival, media and print culture. She has published nine books (monographs and co-edited) and has published widely in academic and cultural journals on these areas. Her most recent publications *Saothrú na Gaeilge scríofa i suímh uirbeacha na hÉireann 1700-1850* (co-editor, 2017) examines urban Irish language writing in Ireland, and *Litríocht na Gaeilge ar fud an Domhain* (co-editor, 2015) is the first
comprehensive study of Irish language literature in a global context. She was awarded the 2019 Nicholas O’Donnell Fellowship in Newman College, Melbourne University and the Ireland Canada University Foundation Senior Visiting Professor (2011-12). She is a regular panellist on Irish broadcast media and has contributed to many documentaries on the Irish Revival and international events on the Decade of Centenaries. She authored the first national commissioned report on Irish language (Foras na Gaeilge, 2011) and she was appointed to the first State Board of TG4. She is currently a member of the National Academic Advisory Board of the new Museum of Literature of Ireland (MoLI) and the Folklore of Ireland Council; the Chair of the National Newspaper and Periodical History Forum of Ireland and the President of the Global Irish Diaspora Congress which she co-founded in 2017. She is currently working on a monograph entitled *Pobal agus Scéal: Irish language revival and media* examining the role of print media in Irish language revival in a national and international context.

**Mary Vanderfeen**

**Wattle and shamrock skirts and politics**

These Australian-Irish women, of diverse formal education, are only three of the ‘invisible’ women in Australasian-Irish history. With entrepreneurial spirit and social justice objectives, they believed women must be involved in setting directions, making laws and in administration. Operating individually, and in women’s organisations, they were nation builders. In contrast, the story of women in politics in Victoria, Tasmania and New Zealand has less congruity.

Melbourne born, **Margaret Ann Purnell** [1850-1929] was a matriculated teacher and political activist, a New Zealand public school principal and Melbourne private school proprietor. Margaret employed Bella Guerin Halloran M. A. preparing young women for Pharmacy, Matriculation and Public Service. She established the Victorian *Women's Political and Social Reform League*, in 1894.

Tasmanian born, **Alicia Teresa O'Shea-Petersen** [1862-1923] was a twice married small business woman. Alicia withdrew a 1903 Senate bid and contested, as an independent, later Federal elections. A member of a succession of Tasmanian women’s associations, Alicia expressed views on social and political matters in the press, deputations and public meetings. With a rural primary school education, Alicia studied politics to advance women and children, qualified in sanitation, to argue for improvements in community health.

First Geelong woman admitted to the Bar **Kathleen Margaret Walsh** [1900-1950] qualified for Matriculation at 14, in Accounting at 20, admitted to the Bar in 1925. Struggling to support herself in the law, Kathleen joined the public service. Bringing news of St Joan’s Alliance to Australia, Kathleen was active in that organisation to advance the position of women.

**Biographical note**

An independent researcher, and formerly a technical writer, TAFE and secondary teacher, Mary Vanderfeen has been on a quest to uncover the stories of the women in her family. This
has led her deep into the history of Australia and uncovered long forgotten Irish-Australian history. Of these women, two are family members, the other, the teacher of a family member.

Dr Eamonn Wall
Waking with cracked lips: E.M. Reapy's Red Dirt

Reviewing Red Dirt in The Irish Independent, novelist Mike McCormack noted that ‘the gap-year generation of young Irish men and women who went to Australia has found its laureate.’ His review of E.M. Reapy’s Red Dirt was one of many stellar notices that the novel received, both in Ireland and in the UK. For Red Dirt, Reapy was awarded Ireland’s Rooney Prize for best first novel.

In Red Dirt, a trio of young Irish people have come to Australia to wait-out the collapse of the Irish economy following the 2008 crash: they seek adventure, work, and expect to leave their struggles behind. But instead of the hoped-for liberation, they find violence and complication, and are tormented by the entanglements they left behind in Ireland. Red Dirt is raw, disturbing, and compelling.

Reapy focuses on a new kind of Irish immigrant: the woman, or man, who spends an intense period away from Ireland before returning home. To better explain this concept, I will show how Reapy’s novel can be placed on a spectrum of other recent Irish works that also focus on short-stay emigration: Derek Mahon’s The Hudson Letter, Colum McCann’s Let the Great World Spin, and Eavan Boland’s In a Time Of Violence being three relevant examples. To borrow Neil Campbell’s phrase, Irish writing today, keeping pace with Irish lives, is often ‘a travelling or mobile discourse.’

Biographical note

Eamonn Wall is a professor of International Studies and English at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. A native of Co. Wexford, he is a past-president of the American Conference for Irish Studies and currently serves as a vice-president of Irish American Writers & Artists Inc. His publications include From Oven Lane to Sun Prairie: In Search of Irish America (Arlen House/Syracuse UP, 2019), Writing the Irish West: Ecologies and Traditions (Notre Dame, 2011), From the Sin-é Café to the Black Hills: Notes on the New Irish (Wisconsin, 2000), and Junction City: New and Selected Poems 1990-2015 (Salmon Poetry, Ireland, 2015), as well as articles, essays, and poems in The Irish Times, The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, Irish Literary Supplement, New Hibernia Review and other publications.

Jimmy Yan
Irish nationalist feminism and Australian radicals: gendered cosmopolitanisms and settler colonialism, 1912-23

Despite a growing recognition of the centrality of women’s political agency to the Irish revolution, the convergence of suffrage radicalism with revolutionary nationalism in Ireland remains an under-examined facet of the ‘Global Irish Revolution’ in the Pacific. Drawing on personal correspondence and travelogues, this paper traces connections between Irish
nationalist feminists and political radicals in ‘White’ Australia during the Irish revolutionary period of 1912-21. In understanding ‘Ireland-Australia’ connections within specific border-crossings rather than essentialist conceptions of national identity, it situates the circulation and diffusion of Irish feminist nationalism within the ‘suffrage internationalist’ world. In doing so, it considers the extent to which ‘Ireland’ figured not only as a focus of diasporic nationalism, but perhaps less intuitively, as a site of radical cosmopolitanism. The gendered mobilities of radicals who made direct contact with the Irish Women’s Franchise League and Cumann na mBan, either before migrating to Australia or as political travellers to revolutionary Ireland, offer insights into the networked character of this intellectual exchange. These connections were, at the same time, shaped by specifically settler-colonial forms of subjection. As representatives of what Marilyn Lake terms transnational progressivism, Australian radicals in Ireland not only contested the ‘Irish Question’ itself, but also the ‘Australian Question.’ The perception within the Anglophone world of Australia as a ‘social laboratory’ for women’s emancipation was a trope that figured prominently in politicised enactments of ‘Australianness’ in Ireland. A re-centering of intersections between gender, ‘race’ and radical contention can help to extricate the ‘Irish Question’ from masculinised narratives of nation-building while recovering previously overlooked transnational solidarities.

**Biographical note**

Jimmy Yan is a third-year PhD candidate in History at the University of Melbourne. His research examines connections between the Irish revolutionary period, Australian radical movements and settler-colonialism. He has published in Labour History and the Australasian Journal of Irish Studies, and in 2017, received the ISAANZ Postgraduate Essay Prize. This year, he undertook research at the National Library of Australia as the Seymour Summer Scholar. He is the ISAANZ postgraduate representative.
Notes
Notes