

25 pages in this typed version, 28 May 2009.

PLEASE CITE AS:

Val Noone, 'Irish-Australian conference publications: content and context', pp 349-366, in Philip Bull, Frances Devlin Glass and Helen Doyle (eds), *Ireland and Australia 1798-1998: Studies in Culture, Identity and Migration*, Sydney, Crossing Press, 2000.

**NINE IRISH-AUSTRALIAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS:
CONTENT AND CONTEXT**

Paper for
Tenth Irish-Australian conference
La Trobe University
28 September - 2 October 1998

Dr Val Noone

Address: 268 Gore Street, Fitzroy 3065, Australia
Tel: (61-3) 9419 8631
e-mail: macmic@netspace.net.au

The nine volumes of proceedings of Irish-Australian conferences published before 1998 contain a wealth of new writing about the connections between Australia and Ireland. My first goal in this paper is to celebrate that achievement. Here is a list of the nine.¹

1. Oliver MacDonagh, W. F. Mandle and Pauric Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, London, Macmillan, 1983.
2. Colm Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988: Bicentenary essays*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1986.
3. Oliver MacDonagh and W. F. Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in cultural and political history*, London, Croom Helm, 1986.
4. John O'Brien and Pauric Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, Dublin, Poolbeg, 1991.
5. Seamus Grimes and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1989.
6. Oliver MacDonagh and W. F. Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Fifth Irish-Australian Conference*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1989.
7. Philip Bull, Chris McConville and Noel McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference, July 1990*, Melbourne, La Trobe University, 1991.
8. Rebecca Pelan, assisted by Mark Finnane and Noel Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Seventh Irish-Australian Conference, July 1993*, Sydney, Crossing Press, 1994.
9. Richard Davis, Jennifer Livett, Anne-Maree Whitaker and Peter Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: Papers delivered at the Eighth Irish-Australian Conference, Hobart July 1995*, Sydney, Crossing Press, 1996.

A tenth volume edited by Tadhg Foley is forthcoming from the conference held in Galway in April 1997.

This rich collection has an unclear genealogy. Although there have been differences of opinion as to which conferences belong in the series, the above list is that compiled by Philip Bull, convenor of the present conference. The convenors of the second Canberra conference (number three above) appear not to have counted the Kilkenny 1983 volume (number two) as part of the series while convenors of the past four conferences appear not to have counted the Galway 1988 conference (number five) as part of the series. This has resulted in the number of conferences being different from the number of volumes. Thus this is called the tenth Irish-Australian conference but, if the above list is correct, then its proceedings will be the eleventh volume. To make the list clear, I have numbered the volumes in chronological order of the conferences whose proceedings they publish.

This series has its origins in Canberra where Oliver MacDonagh and W. F. Mandle were central while in Ireland Con Howard and Pauric Travers seem to have been key workers. Of the first six conferences, three were held in Canberra and three in Ireland: on the other hand, the last three were held in Australia. Although a detailed history of the Irish-Australian conferences is beyond the scope of this paper, others here today may be able to fill in some of the story. Here is a preliminary bibliographical point.

¹ I wish to thank Mary Doyle for critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Prior to the first of the conferences which generated the nine volumes, there were two conferences and publications which look like forerunners. The first of those was *The Irish Contribution to Australia*, edited by the Office for the Commissioner for Community Relations, Canberra.² This is the proceedings of a seminar held in Sydney in September 1978 under the auspices of the Irish National Association and Sydney Carnivale '78. It has a preface by Al Grassby and contributors were Grassby, Lionel Murphy, Dan Clancy, Justin Carroll, Tim Pat Coogan, W. D. Neil, Patrick O'Farrell, David Cremin, Anthony Luchetti, and Clare Dunne. The second, *Celts in Australia: Imagination and Identity*, is the proceedings of a colloquium in March 1980, sponsored by The Christopher Brennan Society and the Literature Board of the Australia Council.³ Contributors were A. D. Hope, Vincent Buckley, Les A. Murray, Julie Ann Ford, Gerard Windsor, Patricia Rolfe, and Michael McKernan.

Canberra 1981 - discussion of Irish nationalism

What follows is an introduction to the nine volumes. The first volume in the series was published in 1983, the fruit of a conference in Canberra in July 1981. Its sixteen papers discussed Irish nationalism from both revisionist and anti-revisionist perspectives. The editors, Oliver MacDonagh, W. F. Mandle and Pauric Travers, explained their aims:

The main purpose of the book [and the conference] was to help to define and establish, as well as to contribute to, Irish cultural history. ... A secondary, but far from negligible, purpose of the book is to further Irish studies in Australia.

They understood Irish cultural history to include what happened among Irish settlers in Australia and, in this, they anticipated some aspects of more recent talk about an Irish diaspora or scattering. However, this volume has a greater emphasis on Irish history than later volumes.

Twelve chapters are on Ireland: three literary ones and nine historical. The former are F. S. L. Lyons on Yeats, A. M Gibbs on Bernard Shaw and Vincent Buckley on poets avoiding nationalism. The historical ones are J. C. Beckett on Edmund Burke, E. M. Johnston on common problems of Catholic and Protestant churches in the eighteenth century, Elizabeth Malcolm on recreation in the nineteenth century, H. V. Brasted on nationalism and Empire in the late nineteenth century, W. F. Mandle on Gaelic sports around 1900, Patrick Rafroidi on the Cuchalain myth and 1916, A. R. G. Griffith on Finnish and Norwegian links with 1916, Pauric Travers on the politics of conscription in World War I, and Geoffrey Bolton on the Anglo-Irish, 1830-1980.

Only four papers are on Irish-Australia: one is literary - Gerard Windsor on novels around 1900 - and three are historical of which two are on pre-1900, namely J. Parnaby on Gavan Duffy and Oliver MacDonagh on St Patrick's Day 1888, and one on post-1900, Patrick O'Farrell on the Irish Republican Brotherhood and 1918 internments.

The editors expressed their thanks to Humanities Research Centre, Australian Historical Association, Miss Mary Theo and other staff of HRC,

² Office for the Commissioner for Community Relations, *The Irish Contribution to Australia*, Proceedings of the Irish Day Seminar, Canberra, Office for the Commissioner for Community Relations and Bunratty Castle, 1979, (Cunamh Muintir na hEireann chuig Buntus agus Aitriú an Astrail: Seiminear 'La Muintir na hEireann'.)

³ Edmund Campion, Axel Clark, John Fletcher and Robin Marsden (eds), *Celts in Australia: Imagination and Identity*, Colloquium papers, Sydney, Christopher Brennan Society, [1980?].

Irish Cultural Relations committee, secretarial staffs of History Department, Research School of Social Science, Australian National University for typing and 'mastering the new technology'. Although published by Macmillan of London, the typesetting is that of an electric typewriter. Fifteen contributors were academics and one a freelance writer (Gerard Windsor). Three were based in Ireland, twelve in Australia (one, Vincent Buckley, on extended leave in Ireland) and one in Lille, France.

Kilkenny 1983 - bicentenary focus

The second volume which in 1986 published the proceedings of a conference in Kilkenny October 1983 had a different theme from the previous one. The editor, Colm Kiernan, stated it this way:

What unites the papers that follow is the stress which most of them place on what Vincent Buckley described as the 'otherness' of Irishness in Australian culture.

He went on to argue against assimilation and for affirming ethnic identity. Con Howard, 'organiser-in-chief', outlined the context:

The idea of the conference was to ensure that when the Australian bicentenary is celebrated in 1988, the Irish contribution to nation building in Australia would not be overlooked. It is all too easy to note a 'British' presence, as has often been done or, in more recent times, to substitute for 'British' an 'Australian' presence, without ever inquiring about what these terms mean. The Irish contribution was different from the English or British achievement and ought not to be subsumed by either term.

The volume did that by offering three overview papers, four literary ones and eighteen historical ones with thirteen on the pre-1900 period and five on post-1900. The overview papers were Colm Kiernan on 1788-1988, Geoffrey Bolton on the Irish in Australian historiography and Susan Ryan on the unique Irish contribution.

The literary papers were Dinny O'Hearn on the church and sexuality in some recent Australian novels, Vincent Buckley on the Irish in earlier Australian novels, Colm Kiernan on Henry Handel Richardson, and Anna Rutherford on three recent Irish Australian memoirs.

The pre-1900 historical papers about Irish Australia were Margaret Pawsey on sectarian debates around 1870 in Victoria, Breandán Mac Giolla Choille on records about Australia in Dublin Castle, Portia Robinson on Irish women convicts, Con Costello on transportation from Ireland, Oliver MacDonagh and David Fitzpatrick on overviews of Irish migration to Australia, Eugene Doyle on Gavan Duffy's Land Act, Norman Jeffares on Torrens in South Australia, Brum Henderson on Ned Kelly, Joe Judge on Burke and Wills, Bernie Barrett on migrants from Derryveagh in Donegal, Kevin Condon on All Hallows (includes some twentieth century), and Patrick Connole on Caroline Chisholm's Irish links. The post-1900 papers were Frank Farrell on Scullin, Stephen Alomes on culture, class and ethnicity, Seamus Grimes on recent migrants in Sydney, John O'Brien on Australia and the repeal of the External Relations Act of 1948, and Brian Murphy on Ireland, Australia and the Commonwealth.⁴

⁴ The papers at Kilkenny by Con Costello, David Fitzpatrick, Geoffrey Bolton, Colm Kiernan, Brian Murphy and John O'Brien were also given with similar content as talks on Radio Telefis Eireann and published in Colm Kiernan (ed.), *Ireland and Australia*, Dublin, Mercier Press, 1984.

Eighteen of the 25 authors were academics, eleven from Australia, five from Ireland, one from Scotland and one from Denmark. The other seven were: an Australian minister (Senator Susan Ryan, ALP), the Victorian state historian, two Dublin citizens (one a civilian, the other an army officer), the keeper of the state papers at Dublin Castle, the chairman of Ulster Television and the managing editor of *National Geographic*. An Irish minister of state also took part as did a second Australian minister. According to Con Howard, 'the crowning glory' of the conference was a Sidney Nolan exhibition. Foreign Affairs in Canberra and Dublin, as well as Heinz International funded the conference and the publication. There was a large organising committee headed by Mrs Susan O'Reilly.

Canberra 1985 - Ireland and Irish Australia

From papers given in Canberra in August 1985, Oliver MacDonagh and Bill Mandle edited the third volume in the series, which was published in 1986. Of its seventeen chapters, nine are on Ireland, seven on Irish-Australia and one on North America. This second Canberra conference differed from the first in having more about Irish Australia and less about Ireland. The editors stated that their aims were:

not only to disseminate the fruits of new research and fresh reflections but also to enlist public support for the causes of Irish-Australian studies and the study of Irish history, literature and culture in Australia.

In this they were sponsored by the History Department at Australian National University and the School of Liberal Studies at Canberra College of Advanced Education. They were also helped by the Irish Cultural Relations Committee and the Irish Ambassador to Australia, Joseph Small. The 'greatest contribution', they wrote, came from conference secretary, Mrs Pamela Crichton, who was helped by Mrs Beverly Gallina, secretary of the History Department.

Of the papers on Ireland, four are literary, five historical. The literary chapters are: Peter Steele on Swift's cautious self-revelation in *Journal of Stella*, Iain Topliss on Maria Edgeworth's novel *Rackrent* and the Union, Tom Dunne on Gerald Griffin's 1829 novel *The Collegians*, and Vincent Buckley on Yeats' political poetry in the years before 1916. The historians' chapters are: A. T. Q. Stewart on the republicanism of the United Irishmen, Philip Bull on the 1903 resignation of William O'Brien from leadership of the parliamentary party, Ken Inglis on the 1864 unveiling of a statue to Father Mathew in Cork, Bill Mandle on Antony MacDonnell's role in lowering police pressure around 1903, and David Fitzpatrick on some effects of World War I on Anglo-Irish relations.

Of the chapters on Irish-Australia, two are overview pieces, four are about the years before 1900 and one is on the twentieth century. The overviews are by Oliver MacDonagh and Patrick O'Farrell. On the pre-federation years, two discuss convicts - Edith Johnston on 'violence transported' and Portia Robinson on juvenile offenders - while Gerard Brennan discusses the unique role of Irish migrants in the law and F. X. Martin looks at Bishop Goold's role in the state aid debates of 1860-72. In the only twentieth century chapter James Griffin talked about Daniel Mannix and the cult of personality.

All contributors except one held university posts: twelve in Australia, three in the Republic of Ireland, one in Northern Ireland, and one in Canada. The one non-academic was Gerard Brennan, an Australian High Court judge.

Dublin 1987 - experiences of migration

The fourth in the series was edited by John O'Brien and Pauric Travers from papers given at a conference in Dublin in April 1987. Ten of the eleven contributors were academics: three from the Republic (including Bob Reece at that time professor of Australian History at UCD), one from Northern Ireland, one from England and six from Australia.

This conference too had a unifying theme, the migration experience in the nineteenth century. According to the editors, the book highlights the diversity of the migration experience while also confirming 'the enduring memory for most of their Irish origins'. Bob Reece and Oliver MacDonagh gave overview papers while Jakelin Troy presented a rare linguistic study - about the role of Irish in NSW Pidgin. The other eight papers were historical, six on the nineteenth century and two on the twentieth. On the earlier period, Trevor Parkhill wrote about emigration from Ulster 1790-1860, Joseph Robins and Judy Collingwood about the workhouse children emigrants, Eric Richards about settling in South Australia and Rose MacGinley on settling in Queensland, with F. B. Smith discussing some Irish academic migrants. In regard to the twentieth century, John Rickard wrote of Henry Bourne Higgins and Dermot Keogh of Mannix, de Valera and nationalism.

The editors thanked the Irish and Australian governments for their financial generosity which made the conference possible and the heads of University College Cork, University College Dublin, St Patrick's College Drumcondra, and Trinity College Dublin. David Fitzpatrick assisted in the initial preparation of the book. The conference organising committee were the editors along with F. X. Martin (chairman), David Fitzpatrick and Bob Reece.

Galway 1988 - bi-lingual Bicentenary special

A special conference, to mark the Australian Bi-Centenary, was held in Galway in January 1988 from which came the fifth volume edited by Seamus Grimes and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh. It includes a foreword by Frank Milne, Australian Ambassador. This is the only volume in the series to include Irish language contributions. Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh's introduction has alternating Irish and English sections and Tomás de Bhaldraithe's chapter is in Irish. The editors point out that the volume does not include a presentation by Donal O'Sullivan on the Australian connections of the O'Loghlens of the Burren nor any record of 'a recital of poetry and music, in which the culture of the indigenous population of Australia was presented by the poet Gabriel Rosenstock and musician Steve Cooney' at the conference dinner.

The conference was made possible through the support of the Irish-Australian Bi-centennial Committee of the Irish Foreign Affairs department, Bord na Gaeilge and University College Galway. Con Howard was a key organiser.

All seven chapters are about Irish-Australia. Bob Reece writes on Frank the Poet, Kevin Nowlan offers an historical overview which is followed by three chapters on pre-1900 and two on post-1900. On the earlier period, Tomás de Bhaldraithe writes about the Connery brothers, Thomas Boylan and Timothy Foley about the impact of political economist W. E. Hearn, and Michael Murphy on Irish miners. On the twentieth century, Prionsias Mac Aonghusa writes about the Catholic Church and recent working-class

politics; and Seamus Grimes about post-war immigrants in Sydney. The chapter by Boylan and Foley was not given at the conference but added later by the editors because of its relevance to the theme. Four contributors came from Irish Universities - Bob Reece was professor at UCD at the time: the other three were Tomás de Bhaldraithe of the Royal Irish Academy, Michael Murphy of Burmin Exploration and Development Limited and Proinsias Mac Aonghusa of Radio Telefis Eireann.

According to Ó Tuathaigh, one of the main objectives of the conference organisers was to dispel some of the ignorance in Ireland about the relatively high percentage of Irish immigrants in the Australian population. Although migration to Australia in the nineteenth century may be less than five per cent of the total Irish outflow, 'the Irish contribution accounted for almost a quarter of Australia's population during the nineteenth century', he recalled.

Canberra 1988 - new voices, fewer from Ireland

From a third Canberra conference, that of 29 August - 2 September 1988, came the sixth volume in the series, edited by Oliver MacDonagh and W. F. Mandle. Four of the eighteen contributors were from the Republic, one from Northern Ireland, and thirteen from Australia. All except two of the Australians were academics. The volume includes the address of Senator Michael Duffy to a conference lunch.

Twelve chapters are on Irish Australia, five on Ireland and one on Britain. Of those on Irish Australia, two are literary: Philip Butters on convict ballads and Frank Molloy on Irish consciousness in Australian novels. Of the ten historical ones, eight are concerned with the pre-1900 period and two with post-1900. On the earlier period, and Mark Finnane writes on convicts and crime, Colm Kiernan on Gavan Duffy, Sharon Morgan on women in Victoria 1840-60, Tony Pagliaro on barrister R. D. Ireland in Victoria around the same time, Richard Reid on migration patterns into New South Wales, Malcolm Campbell on settlement in the south west of that state, Larry Geary on Australasian responses to the Irish crisis of 1879-80, and Noel McLachlan on 'reversible nationalism' in the 1890s. On the twentieth century, John O'Brien discusses the Ottawa Conference of 1932 and Noel Quirke Ireland's declaration of a republic in 1948. Michael Duffy's address which offered an overview of the Irish in Australian politics was not counted by the editors as a chapter.

The five on Ireland are: Nicholas Canny on connecting revised views of English conquest to peace in the North, Peter Kuch on aspects of the creation of English-language Irish literature, Barry Coldrey on the Christian Brothers and revolutionary nationalism, Pauric Travers on changing Irish attitudes to emigration 1922-60, and David Harkness on 'the crisis in Ireland' - the first explicit treatment in the series of the Troubles. The one paper on Britain is Iain McCalman's study of Irish influence in British radicalism. One of the papers at the 1988 conference had already been published as an illustrated pamphlet and was not included in the volume, namely, Michael O'Sullivan's 'The 1798 memorial at Waverley Cemetery'.⁵

The editors brought in new Irish-Australian scholars: they sought Australian contributions only from those who had not previously addressed a Canberra conference. Both Canberra College of Advanced Education (where the conference was held) and Australian National University helped

⁵ Michael O'Sullivan, *The 1798 memorial at Waverley Cemetery*, published by the author, PO Box 189, Rosebery, NSW 2018, 1989.

financially and in other ways as did the Irish Cultural Relations Committee and Mr James Sharkey, the Irish Ambassador to Australia. Pamela Crichton and colleagues were thanked for doing most of the organisational work and also for preparing the publication.

Melbourne 1990 - sense of achievement

Based on a conference at La Trobe University in Melbourne in July 1990, the seventh volume was edited by Philip Bull, Chris McConville and Noel McLachlan. It has twenty-one 'eclectic' papers with special focus on Melbourne and Victoria. The publishers were careless with the design and typesetting of this volume, for example, footnotes are nearly illegible and chapter five is missing, and the publisher's list of previous volumes has only the three Canberra conferences and omits the Kilkenny, Dublin and Galway ones.

The editors thanked a number of people. They paid tribute to Oliver MacDonagh for 'the groundwork for the success' of the whole series of conferences to that date. For financial assistance, they thanked the Irish and Australian governments, Davis McCaughey then Governor of Victoria, the Irish Ambassador, some ministers of government and the Queensland Irish Association. They apologised for not being able to reproduce John A. Murphy's public lecture which was hosted by Melbourne University and which evoked a protest from some local republicans. This conference included a tour of Raheen, Parliament House, the State Library and St Patrick's Cathedral as well as a conference dinner speech by Niall Brennan. Margaret Coffey of ABC arranged radio coverage and tape recordings. Brenda Joyce, secretary to the conference, was praised for her contribution as were those who typed the papers.

In his foreword, McCaughey pointed to the achievement of studies such as these. He remarked:

Aspects of Irish life largely hidden from us when we lived in Ireland come alive as we look at Irish Australia ... It is also true that we shall not understand the Australia in which we live if we do not understand the countries and cultures from which we come.

He further commented these studies advance our understanding of other immigrants in Australia.

Fifteen papers were on Irish Australia and six on Ireland. Of those on Ireland three were on literary themes: Anne Partlon on Daniel Corkery, Sean O Faolain and Frank O'Connor, Rebecca Pelan on Edna O'Brien and Sam Porter on Daniel Corkery. The three historical ones were: Jonathan Wooding on the overseas contacts of pre-Viking Ireland, Thomas Boylan and Timothy Foley on previously undiscovered Irish works of the laissez-faire economist, W. E. Hearn, and Noel Quirke on the Irish refusal to join NATO in 1949.

One of the papers on Irish Australia was literary, the other fourteen historical. The literary one was a panel on the work of the then recently deceased Vincent Buckley. Of the historical papers, one chapter was also a panel, this time on the Patrick O'Farrell's *The Irish in Australia*, with contributions by Helen Bourke, Davis McCaughey, Chris McConville and O'Farrell. Of the other thirteen, nine were on pre-1900: Malcolm Campbell on Irish women as 'a more hidden Ireland', Ruth Campbell on Irish lawyers in Victoria, 1838-60, Gordon Forth on the Anglo-Irish, Brendan Hayes on Archbishop Carr, Chris McConville on the Irish townscape of Melbourne, Peter Moore on the selling of emigration from Ireland to South Australia,

Patrick Morgan on the Irish in Gippsland, Pauline Rule on immigration to Geelong, and Janice Tanter on the Irish base of the Sisters of St Joseph. The four on twentieth century Irish Australia were Jim Griffin and Geoff Browne on John Wren, Val Noone on Melbourne, Ireland and Vietnam, and Graeme Smith on Irish music in Melbourne.

The organisers did 'not seek extensive contributions from abroad' but invited two distinguished speakers from Ireland, John A. Murphy and Timothy Foley. All speakers except one were Australian, and all except five were academics.

Brisbane 1993 - expansion and new features

With 356 pages and twenty-nine chapters, the eighth was the largest volume to that date and the second largest of the nine. Edited by Rebecca Pelan with Mark Finnane and Noel Quirke, it reports on a conference in Brisbane in July 1993, sponsored jointly by University of Queensland and Griffith University. This was the first conference to have a day on film and literature. Prominent Irish film director, Pat Murphy, became the first woman keynote speaker in the series although her paper was not included in the book. While the editors write in the preface of this as the seventh in a series, the publisher lists it as the fifth, omitting Galway, Kilkenny and Dublin. This volume has good layout and typesetting.

In addition to expansion, this volume had some other new features. Two contributors discussed the Troubles in Northern Ireland, two referred to the revisionist approach to Irish history, and three drew on Irish-language materials. Another characteristic of this conference was the participation of new researchers 'many of whom were from New Zealand'. (The editors suggested renaming the series 'Irish-Australasian studies'.) The conference also included comparisons of the Irish in USA and Argentina.

Ten papers were on Ireland, seventeen on Irish Australia and two on Irish New Zealand. The ones on New Zealand were Lyndon Fraser on Irish Catholics in nineteenth century Christchurch and Rory Sweetman on the sedition trial of James Liston in 1922.

Of those on Ireland, three were literary: Anne Lyden on two novels, *The Absentee* by Maria Edgeworth and *The Wild Irish Girl* by Lady Morgan, Louis de Paor on the poems of Nuala Ni Dhomhnaill and Bryan Colebourne on Northern Ireland in some contemporary fiction. The seven historical papers on Ireland were: Rowena Finnane on late medieval law manuscripts, Barry Coldrey on discipline in Christian Brothers' schools, Peter Overlack on comparing Irish and German political romanticism, Donald Akenson on 'confessions of a biographical recidivist', Philip Bull on Sinn Féin's 'fatal disjunction' from the United Irish League, Catherine Manthunga on Ireland in the United Nations, and Joanne Wright on the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985. (Richard Davis on Smith O'Brien listed below could also be included here.)

Of the papers on Irish Australia, two were literary and fifteen historical. The literary papers were: Maureen Stugnell on Irish 'exiles' in some contemporary Australian drama and Vanessa Edwards on Jimmy Blacksmith as an Irish revolutionary. The historical papers included one general survey, namely Malcolm Campbell on the Irish in Australia and USA. There were ten on the period before 1900, and four on the twentieth century. About the earlier period, Ruan O'Donnell wrote on Michael Dwyer as Wicklow chief and Irish-Australian hero, Jennifer Harrison on Irish soldiers at Moreton Bay 1824-42, Richard Davis on William Smith O'Brien as an imperialist, Pauline

Rule on women immigrants in Geelong, Trevor McClaughlin on the orphan girls, Libby Connors on how they got on at Moreton Bay, Neil Byrne on Robert Dunne, first Catholic archbishop of Brisbane, Ray Harty on Fahy of Argentina and Therry of Australia, Craig Wilcox on Irish volunteer militia in Australia, and Jonathan Wooding on Irish-Australian monuments and the discourse of the Irish revival. The four chapters on the twentieth century were: Dorothy O'Donnell on the jig as a symbol of Irish identity, Gregory Byrnes on the Gaelic League in Australasia 1893-93, Clem Macintyre on St Patrick's Day in Adelaide 1900-18, and John Connor on Irish soldiers in the 1st AIF. The papers by Campbell and Harty were comparative, one with USA, and the other with Argentina.

The editors thanked many people including Mary Kooyman who was conference secretary, the host institutions, both Irish and Australian governments, the Queensland Irish Association, the Mount Isa Irish Association, Ansett Australia, the Mary Ryan bookshop, and Niall Brennan (for his after-dinner speech).

Hobart 1995 - exceptional growth

The ninth, the largest and last volume published at the time of writing, contains forty-four papers from what the organisers called the Eighth Irish-Australian Conference, held in Hobart in July 1995. As with the Brisbane volume Peter Moore at Crossing Press - aided this time by Anne-Maree Whitaker - did detailed textual editing and has given this volume good design and typography. In his Preface, Richard Davis again asserts the 'ecumenical and eclectic' tradition of these conferences. A second strong New Zealand presence led him also to suggest that they be included in the title of the series. He edited the historical papers while co-convenor Jennifer Livett edited the literary ones.

Twenty papers were on Ireland, twenty-one on Irish Australia and three on Irish New Zealand. Thirty five contributors were based in Australia, five in New Zealand, two in the Republic, one in Northern Ireland, one in England.

Of the papers on Ireland eleven were literary (one of which was about film) and nine were historical. The literary papers on Ireland were: Bryan Colebourne on anti-Irish bias in standard reference books, June Cullen on the relation between film funding and national identity, Cassandra Fusco on Brian Friel, Frances Devlin Glass on deconstructing heroism in O'Casey, Friel and the Australian aboriginal playwright Jack Davis, Lindsay Johnston on James Joyce's possible influence in architecture, Jennifer Livett on the use of newspaper sources in J. G. Farrell's *Troubles*, Hugo McCann on Seamus Heaney, Rebecca Pelan on writing and gender in contemporary Ireland, Paul Ryder on Flann O'Brien's *Third Policeman*, Peter Steele on hurt in contemporary Irish poetry, and John Winter on George Moore on Irishness.

The nine historical papers about Ireland were: Jennifer Harrison on Whiteboys, Oliver MacDonagh on O'Connell and Parnell, John Molony on Thomas Davis, Tony Denholm on Lord Ripon and Ireland 1848-1909, Senia Paseta on Catholic education of girls 1879-1909, Chris Eipper on visions of the Virgin Mary, Brian Walker on Unionist perceptions of Irish identity, Noel Quirke on Sean McBride and Noel Browne, and Catherine Manathunga on Conor Cruise O'Brien in the Congo.

All but one of the twenty-one papers on Irish Australia were historical: Frank Molloy on 'The exile of Erin' was the only one on the literature of Irish Australia. One of the historical papers was general, namely Gregory Byrnes

on Irish-language manuscripts in Australia. There were eleven on the pre-1900 period and eight on the post-1900 period.

Those on the pre-Federation period were: Ruan O'Donnell on United Irishmen in NSW, Tom Keneally on his wife's Whiteboy ancestor (and indeed Jennifer Harrison's paper on Whiteboys listed in the Irish section has some material on those transported on the *Brampton*), Maree Ring on Martin Cash, David Fitzpatrick on the Famine in letters to Australia, Trevor McClaughlin on vulnerable Irish women migrants, Robin Haines on pauper women settlers from workhouses, Pauline Rule on Irish women reconstructing families in colonial Victoria, Helen Doyle on the Irish landscape of Koroit, Peter MacFie on the Irish in Richmond (Tasmania), and George Brown on William Dowling, an Irish confederate in England and Tasmania.

Those on the later period were: Dorothy O'Donnell on *oirfidigh* (traditional musicians) in Australia, Deborah Edwards on families and parishes in Sydney 1860-90, Martin Shanahan on the personal wealth of the Irish in South Australia before 1914, Anne-Maree Whitaker on Irish independence war veterans in Australia, Jim Griffin on Mannix in the *ADB*, Val Noone on the Church and the pill with comparisons of Ireland and Australia, Chris McConville on Vintage Crop, and Philip Bull on Irish land reform and Australian native title. As the reader may have noticed with earlier lists, some of these could have been counted as being about Ireland.

Of the three papers about Irish New Zealand two were historical and one literary. They were: Lyndon Fraser on the networks of Catholic migration, Hugh Laracy on Irish Marist priests, and Hugh Maguire on Irish, Maori and Pakeha art as art of the edge.

For the organisational work, Richard Davis thanked the original secretary, Lyn Rainbird, as well her daughter, Andrea Gerrard and Marianne Davis. He also thanked both governments including Prime Minister Paul Keating and two ministers by name, the University of Tasmania, Ansett Airways, St John Fisher College, Dickenson's Convention Department, Fran Badel of the Tasmanian Parliament (for visit and dinner), Peter MacFie (who compered a tour of some Young Irelander sites), Di Mellows, and Jim Griffin (for his 'melologue' on Thomas Moore at the conference dinner). He remarked on the role of Dr Ray Bassett of Irish Foreign Affairs as 'a long-term friend of the conference'.

(The twenty-seven papers from the conference held at University College Galway in April 1997 are in the process of being published. The conference which was opened by the Australian Ambassador, Eddie Stevens, included a book launch - Jarlath Ronayne and Val Noone's *Australian Commemoration of the Great Irish Famine* - a walking tour of old Galway, excerpts from *Catalpa* by Donal O'Kelly, and a traditional music session with Eileen Loughnane and friends. The conference convenor was Tadhg Foley and the secretary was Fiona Bateman. Among those thanked were Irish and Australian Governments, UCG, Rebecca Pelan, and Dillon & Co (importers of Wolf Blass wines). Twenty-one of the papers were on Irish Australia, one on Ireland, and five comparative of both countries. Eight of the contributors were from Ireland, one from Germany and eighteen from Australia. The contributors were: Geoffrey Bolton, Fionnula Dillane, Peter Kuch, John O'Brien, John Crean, Jonathan Wooding, Annette Pedersen, Caroline Williams, Kathleen Simmons, Pauline Rule, Bob Reece (read by Ruán O'Donnell), Louis de Paor, Geraldine Byrne, Val Noone, Stephen Alomes, Larry Geary, Pauric Travers, Ross Fitzgerald, Clemens Fritz, Frank Molloy,

Brian Ó Conchubhair, Ruán O'Donnell, Alf Mac Lochlainn, William Taylor, Anne Cunningham, Paul Sherman, Annette Nelson.)

Broad categories of contents

Table one analyses the contents of the nine volumes under broad headings. Many chapters cover both Ireland and Australia but, in regard to their main emphasis, it is possible to say that of the 188 published papers some 62 are on Ireland and 118 on Irish-Australia. Some 36 papers, about 20 per cent have been literary, the others historical. In a bibliographical appendix, I have included a list of all papers under those broad category headings.

The table makes clear that the greatest number of papers have been on the history of Irish-Australia in the nineteenth century. Irish history was the focus of the first volume only. Irish literature has been a consistent feature of the conferences but Irish-Australian literature has had little attention. There has been one paper on North America and one that made a comparison with the Irish in Argentina. One writer, Malcolm Campbell, has made a comparison of Irish-Australian studies with North American Irish studies. Contributions about Irish New Zealand have begun in the last two volumes. With a handful of exceptions, authors have come from the universities.

	<i>Conference</i>	Ireland		Irish-Australia				NZ	Other
		Lit	Hist	Lit	Hist/gen	pre-1900	post 1900		
1	Canberra 1981	3	9	1		2	1		
2	Kilkenny 1983			4	3	13	5		
3	Canberra 1985	4	5		2	4	1		1 N/Am
4	Dublin 1987				2	7	2		
5	Galway 1988			1	1	3	2		
6	Canberra 1988	1	4	2		8	2		1 GB
7	Melbourne 1990	3	3	1	1	9	4		
8	Brisbane 1993	3	7	2	1	10	4	2	(1 Arg 1 US)
9	Hobart 1995	11	9	1	1	11	8	3	
	TOTALS	25	37	12	11	67	28	5	4

Table 1: Contents of nine volumes in broad categories

The conflict in Northern Ireland has had little explicit attention in conferences. David Harkness, Joanne Wright and Brian Walker are the exceptions on historical aspects while the following discussed representations of the conflict in literature: Vincent Buckley, Bryan Colebourne, Frances Devlin Glass, Hugo McCann, Rebecca Pelan and Peter Steele. However, most papers discussing Irish nationalism in Ireland or Australia have made points relevant to the Troubles. The panel at this conference on the North arranged and chaired by Graeme Duncan marks a new stage.

Revisionism and beyond

While the nine volumes do not include explicit papers on the revisionist debate among Irish historians and writers, they have been influenced by that development.⁶ Mentions of the revisionist approach to Irish history came from Richard Davis and Philip Bull in the Brisbane volume. Davis said that his argument that William Smith O'Brien was 'both a dedicated Irish nationalist *and* an advocate of British imperial expansion' is 'an instructive example ... in an age of Irish historical revisionism'. Thus, for him, 'the separation between Irish and British attitudes is far from absolute and may be combined in a single individual'. Bull located his study of the early years of Sinn Féin against the backdrop of what he saw as a trend against glorifying the violent origins of the Republic which he described as 'a largely sectarian state'.

Indeed, the volumes offer a range of voices on most issues. Some contributors speak of emigration from Ireland as voluntary movement for economic betterment, others see it as exile, and yet others see some of both. Some write of Irish settlers in Australia as assimilating to a British way of life, others emphasise the persistence in various ways of Irish ethnic identity, and again some see elements of both. Throughout there are papers challenging dominant nationalist views of Irish history while others are sympathetic to nationalist and republican approaches.

One strong voice in early volumes opposing the revisionist trend was that of the poet Vincent Buckley. In the first volume he commented on the way that many Irish poets of the preceding sixty or so years had avoided nationalism. His remarks about the poets indicated the basis of his criticism of the revisionist school:

in real political terms, these moves were little more than manoeuvrings before a superego which was, in effect, British. ... It is surprising that injustice on a national scale should have received so little of the magnanimous attention we might have expected.

For him, revisionists had adopted self-conscious British reference points.

The revisionist influence has not come only from Ireland. Brian Murphy has argued that two leading Australian-based scholars, Patrick O'Farrell and Oliver MacDonagh, have been central to the revisionist trend in Irish history.⁷ Talking about Roy Foster's treatment of the Gaelic League and of 1916, Murphy suggested:

In these works of O'Farrell, Lyons and MacDonagh we have the inspirational voices that have, to a high degree, fashioned Foster's *Modern Ireland*.

In his reply to Murphy, O'Farrell accepted the general linking of his work with Lyons, MacDonagh and Foster but took the criticism as an attack on 'my professional integrity and personal motivation'.⁸ Furthermore, in a recent

⁶ On the revisionist debates, see Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History: the debate on historical revisionism*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1994, and D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *The Making of Modern Irish History: revisionism and the revisionist controversy*, London, Routledge, 1996.

⁷ Brian Murphy, 'The canon of Irish cultural history: some questions concerning Roy Foster's *Modern Ireland*', pp. 222-233, in Brady *op. cit.*

⁸ Patrick O'Farrell, 'The canon of Irish cultural history: a reply to Brian Murphy', *Studies*, Winter 1993, pp. 487-98.

article, O'Farrell speaks of himself as other than the revisionists.⁹ I have not come across a reply from MacDonagh.

At first glance, one indication of a revisionist trend in these volumes comes from the absence of papers concerning the Famine. In the nine volumes there is but one title referring to the Famine, namely David Fitzpatrick in the Hobart volume on some Irish Famine letters to Australia. (In Melbourne 1990, Larry Geary discussed Australian responses to the food crisis of 1879-80.) Indeed the tenor of some of the historical papers suggests that academic Irish-Australian studies have accepted Patrick O'Farrell's arguments that 'the great disaster of the Irish Famine had largely passed Australia by'.¹⁰

However, on one important point, these volumes have given weight to the crucial role of the Famine in Irish Australian history. A number of papers have investigated the history of some 4000 orphan girls transported from Ireland to Australia by the British Government during that catastrophe. Contributors on this matter have included Malcolm Campbell, Judy Collingwood, Patrick Connole, Libby Connors, Robin Haines, Trevor McCloughlin, Sharon Morgan, Trevor Parkhill, Joseph Robins and Pauline Rule.

Some contributors to the most recent volume, that from Hobart, like some contemporary writers in Ireland, seem to have moved beyond revisionism.¹¹ The upsurge in writing and publishing about the Famine as well as the commemorations of its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary have probably been an influence on that. However, on issues such as migration, assimilation and the Famine, the arguments about revisionism still need attention. The above remarks are tentative and deserve fuller discussion elsewhere.

Voices at the edge

The number of papers on the orphan girls is, moreover, a measure of a growing attention within the series to women's voices. Women contributed some 23 per cent of papers given at the nine conferences, that is, forty-three of some 188 chapters in the series have women authors. Two recent volumes have women in the editorial team, Rebecca Pelan, Jennifer Livett and Anne-Marie Whitaker. One striking comment on women's issues came from Rebecca Pelan at Hobart. She argued:

one of the most disappointing aspects of the revisionist exercise has been the way it, too, has failed to include any real sense of gendered history within what began as a radical attempt to write a more objective version of Irish history. ... What I have tried to argue, then, is that the most useful and productive re-vis(ion)ing of women's roles and images in Ireland today is coming from the imaginative or creative work of women writers.

⁹ Patrick O'Farrell, 'Lost in transit: Australian reaction to the Irish and Scots famines, 1845-50', pp. 126-140 in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Meaning of the Famine: The Irish World Wide - History, Heritage, Identity, volume 6*, London, Leicester University Press, 1997.

¹⁰ Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, Sydney, New South Wales University Press, revised edition 1993, p. 85.

¹¹ Compare, Christine Kinealy, 'Beyond revisionism: reassessing the Great Irish Famine', *History Ireland*, vol. 3 no. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 28-34.

In that remark Pelan included writers in the North as well as those in the Republic. Her comments on the limits of the revisionist project may apply, with variations, to other issues.

In general, the series has neglected discussion of relations between Irish settlers in Australia and Aboriginal people. In the case of the bicentenary volumes this characteristic was at odds with much of the public discussion in Australia. I am not sure why this happened. However, there have been contributors who dealt with this crucial matter. One was Philip Bull in his paper at Hobart on 'Irish land reform and Australian native title'. Bull returns to this topic in a panel discussion at this conference alongside Kevin Lynch, Nonie Sharp, Ted Ryan and Tony Blackshield. In the course of his 1985 discussion in Canberra of the Irish and law in Australia, Justice Gerard Brennan remarked, perhaps foreshadowing some ideas in his later judgement in the Mabo case:

the laws of the aboriginal peoples were largely unknown by the colonial governments and have received little recognition by the Anglo-Australian legal system ...

He was speaking then about English law as 'imperial legislation, common law and equity'. At the Dublin conference, Jakelin Troy discussed cultural exchanges in her paper on Irish influences on pidgin. In Hobart, Frances Devlin Glass made comparisons of the work of Aboriginal playwright Jack Davis with that of Brian Friel and Sean O'Casey. Also at Hobart, comments on Maori-Pakeha-Irish relationships by Hugh Maguire are pregnant with possibilities for discussion of Irish-aboriginal issues in Australia.

Considering the class composition of Irish Australia for most of the two hundred years, and remembering the central role of the Irish in the Australian labour movement, the percentage of conference papers on labour history is low. Some nine contributors have written about or touched on the topic: Alomes, Farrell, Griffin & Browne, Grimes, Mac Aonghusa, Noone, O'Brien, Quirke and Rickard.

In the conferences, there has been only occasional interest in the Irish language. While English is the first language of most of those attending and addressing Irish-Australian conferences, there are a number of reasons why those interested in Irish-Australian studies need to consider this question of language. There is a general one of maintaining and adapting that which is ancient and that with which we have links. In addition, as James McCloskey of Santa Cruz in California recently pointed out, the debate about the future of the language can be better understood in a global context. He wrote

Far from being driven by an insular or inward-turning impulse, the effort is worth making because it is our part of a much broader effort - a global struggle to preserve a kind of diversity which human society has enjoyed for millennia, but which is being lost in our time.¹²

Like the aboriginal people - to some degree, at least - Irish Australians are custodians of one threatened strand of diversity. McCloskey's arguments deserve fuller discussion elsewhere but the main point about preserving global biodiversity is clear enough.

In another recent essay, Gearóid Denvir of University College Galway also put the language question at the forefront of the debate about Irish

¹² James McCloskey, 'A global silencing', *Poetry Ireland Review*, 52 (Spring/Earrach 1997), pp. 41-6.

culture. In addition to drawing on the theoretical work of Edward Said, Denvir quoted from an African writer, Ngũgũ Wa Thiong'o who sees the language question at the centre of the colonial problem:

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves ... It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves: for instance, with other people's languages rather than their own.¹³

There are similarities here with elements of Vincent Buckley's views. Denvir concluded:

[The opposing analysis] forgets that an actual Irish-speaking Ireland still exists to this day, that Ireland is a bilingual country both *de facto* and *de jure*, and that it is the expressed will of a majority of people on the island in survey after survey that this should remain the case. For those who are within that tradition, Gaelic Ireland is not an invented construct but a lived reality.

In the light of these points, let us note the following about the conference series, some already mentioned.

One volume is bi-lingual, that of the Galway conference of January 1988. The contributions in Irish there appear without translation. Indeed one of the contributors to that conference, Tomás de Bhaldraithe, who wrote about the Connerys, is a leading Irish linguist and the compiler of a frequently used English-Irish Dictionary. Three papers by Greg Byrnes draw on Irish-language sources, one in each of the Melbourne, Brisbane and Hobart volumes, the last being a survey of some Irish manuscripts in Australia. In the Hobart volume Bryan Colebourne drew on Dymphna Longergan's MA thesis at Flinders University to suggest that the use of Irish words in English has been neglected by lexicographers. Louis de Paor devoted a striking paper in Brisbane to commentary on the poetry of Nuala Ni Dhomhnaill.

Ethnic studies and globalisation

These nine conferences and their published proceedings are part of a general increase in Australia over the past couple of decades of interest in Irish heritage. From a different perspective, Donald Akenson has written that 'although the group of historians working on the history of the Irish in Australia is not large, the quality of their work is extremely high'.¹⁴ Nessian Danaher has spoken of a pattern of growth in Irish studies in the United States of America, Canada and Britain as well as Australia.¹⁵

Further evidence of this development can be found in two valuable bibliographies of Irish Australia: one is in James Jupp's 1988 work, *Australia's People*, and another is in the 1993 revised edition of O'Farrell's *The Irish in Australia*. Signs can be seen not only in academic studies but also in

¹³ Gearóid Denvir, 'Decolonizing the mind: language and literature in Ireland', *New Hibernia Review/Iris Éireannach Nua*, vol. 1 no. 1 (Earrach/Spring 1997), pp. 44-68.

¹⁴ Donald Akenson, 'Australia: coming attractions', in his *The Irish Diaspora: a Primer*, Toronto, P. D. Meany, 1993, pp. 91-122 in which he praises four scholars in particular: Patrick O'Farrell, David Fitzpatrick, Eric Richards and Richard Reid.

¹⁵ Nessian Danaher, 'Irish studies: a historical survey across the Irish diaspora', pp. 226-256, in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish in the New Communities*, (volume 2 of *The Irish World Wide: history, heritage, identity*), Leicester University Press, 1992. Danaher is writing mainly about schools and relies on O'Farrell.

genealogical research, music, dance, spirituality, theatre, novels, poetry and film. Some of those writing about Irish matters have been contributors to these volumes, the most famous of whom have been Patrick O'Farrell and Oliver MacDonagh. But a number of writers on Irish Australia seem to be outside the circle of those participating in the conferences. One such is Patsy Adam-Smith whose 1986 book about the Young Irish transported to Tasmania, *Heart of Exile: Ireland 1848*, has been widely reviewed and read. Books by contributors also often pass without mention. A regular journal with book reviews would enhance the state of Irish-Australian studies.

While these conferences have been based in universities, many of those attending have come from outside academic life. This 1998 conference, indeed, has involved the wider community more than the previous Melbourne one. With the current crisis in funding for the Arts in Australian universities, there do not seem to be many opportunities for young Australians to make a university career from the study and teaching of Irish Australian history and literature. Now is a suitable time to strengthen links between the conference and the community. For instance, if this conference had been scheduled to include a weekend it may have drawn in a bigger non-university audience. There is also scope to widen the appeal of the conference by inclusion of other topics such as mythology, archaeology and contemporary Ireland. Nonetheless since the strength of this series is in history and literature it may be a mistake to change a winning combination.

The growth of interest in Irish heritage is part of a general and complex growth of ethnic awareness in Australia. The two decades of the production of the nine volumes are years of increased integration of Australia into the global economic system under both Liberal and Labor governments. As I have suggested elsewhere, this upsurge of interest in ethnic identity is a form of resistance to globalisation.¹⁶

The nine volumes make clear that the past two decades have been an era of remarkable growth in Irish Australian studies. This paper is a contribution to a review of that progress.

Appendix: Classified list of papers in volumes 1-9.

Ireland

Ireland/literary

Buckley, Vincent, 'Poetry and the avoidance of nationalism', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 258-279.

Buckley, Vincent, 'W. B. Yeats: political poetry or poems to the editor', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 33-48.

Colebourne, Bryan, "'To retrieve the underlay"; Northern Ireland in some contemporary fiction', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies*:

7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994, pp. 120-131.

Colebourne, Bryan, 'Anti-Irish bias: some cases in standard reference books', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 373-385.

Cullen, June, "'Funding an identity crisis"? Government, national cinema and the film industry in Ireland', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 437-448.

De Paor, Louis, 'A feminine voice: the poems of Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-*

¹⁶ Val Noone, 'The relevance of the Famine to Australians today', in Jarlath Ronayne and Val Noone (eds), *Australian Commemoration of the Great Irish Famine*, Melbourne, Victoria University of Technology, 1996, pp. 37-48.

- Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 93-110.
- Dunne, Tom, 'Murder as metaphor: Griffin's portrayal of Ireland in the year of Catholic emancipation', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 64-80.
- Fusco, Cassandra, 'Brian Friel: translations, interpretations, interpolations', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 212-223.
- Gibbs, A. M., 'Bernard Shaw's other island', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 122-136.
- Glass, Frances Devlin, 'Deconstructing history and heroism: the theatre languages of O'Casey, Friel and Davis', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 113-123.
- Johnston, Lindsay, 'Was James Joyce the father of (the architecture) of deconstruction?', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 259-266.
- Kuch, Peter, 'Manuscripts, metonymy and method: the writing of Irish literary history', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 155-167.
- Livett, Jennifer, 'Newspapers, war and games: history in J. G. Farrell's *Troubles*', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 102-112.
- Lyden, Anne, 'Wild Irish civility: Morgan & Edgeworth's novelisation of Ireland', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 78-92.
- Lyons, F. S. L., 'Yeats and the Anglo-Irish twilight', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 212-238.
- McCann, Hugo, 'Governing the tongue: a celebration of the poetry of Seamus Heaney', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 200-211.
- Partlon, Anne, 'Sparks from the ember: images of identity in Daniel Corkery, Sean O Faolain and Frank O'Connor', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 149-159.
- Pelan, Rebecca, 'Selling yourself abroad: Enda O'Brien's stage-Irishness', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 160-173.
- Pelan, Rebecca, 'Writing, gender and ideology in contemporary Ireland', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 327-336.
- Porter, Sam, 'The cultural politics of nativism in the short stories of Daniel Corkery', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 174-184.
- Ryder, Paul L., 'Cycles, bicycles and boxes: morphology and cosmic irony in Flann O'Brien's *Third Policeman*', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 281-291.
- Steele, Peter, 'Hurt into poetry in contemporary Ireland', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 246-258.
- Steele, Peter, 'Telling it slant: Swift and the *Journal of Stella*', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 248-257.
- Topliss, Iain, 'Maria Edgeworth: the novelist and the Union', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 270-284.
- Winter, John, 'George Moore: the condition of Irishness and the condition of Englishness', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 189-199.

ireland/historical

- Akenson, Donald, 'Irish lives: confessions of a biographical recidivist', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 139-150.
- Beckett, J. C., 'Burke, Ireland and the Empire', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 1-13.
- Bolton, G. C., 'The Anglo-Irish and the historians, 1830-1980', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 239-257.
- Boylan, Thomas A., and Foley, Timothy, 'W. E. Hearn's Irish writings: a pattern

- established', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 1-16.
- Brasted, H. V., 'Irish nationalism and the British Empire in the late nineteenth century', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 83-103.
- Bull, Philip, 'A fatal disjunction: Sinn Féin and the United Irish League, 1898-1903', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 37-51.
- Bull, Philip, 'William O'Brien: problems reappraising his political career', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 49-63.
- Coldrey, Barry, 'Socialisation into revolution: the educational dimension - the Christian Brothers and Irish revolutionary nationalism', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 65-76.
- Coldrey, Barry, "'A most unenviable reputation": the Christian Brothers and school discipline over two centuries', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 252-268.
- Davis, Richard, 'William Smith O'Brien as an imperialist', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 228-243.
- Denholm Tony, 'Lord Ripon and the cause of Ireland 1848-1909', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 304-313.
- Eipper, Chris, 'The voice of the Virgin: Irish visionaries and their testimony', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 267-280.
- Finnane, Rowena, 'Antiquarianism and authority: reinterpreting the late medieval Irish law manuscripts', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 15-24.
- Fitzpatrick, David, 'The overflow of the deluge: Anglo-Irish relationships, 1914-1922', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 81-94.
- Foley, Timothy, and Boylan, Thomas A., 'W. E. Hearn's Irish writings: a pattern established', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 1-16.
- Griffiths, A. R. G., 'Finland, Norway and the Easter Rising', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 149-160.
- Harkness, David, 'The crisis in Ireland', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 127-136.
- Harrison, Jennifer, 'Whiteboys, Wellesley and the Brampton Men', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 81-89.
- Inglis, Ken, 'Father Mathew's statue: the making of a monument in Cork', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 119-136.
- Johnston, E. M., 'Problems common to both Protestant and Catholic churches in eighteenth-century Ireland', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 14-39.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, 'O'Connell and Parnell', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 1-16.
- Malcolm, Elizabeth, 'Popular recreation in nineteenth-century Ireland', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 40-55.
- Manathunga, Catherine, 'Conor Cruise O'Brien in the Congo', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 386-397.
- Mandle, W. F., 'Sir Antony MacDonnell and Crime Branch Special', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 175-194.
- Mandle, W. F., 'The Gaelic Athletic Association and popular culture, 1884-1924', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 104-121.
- Manathunga, Catherine, 'Ireland's role at the United Nations: seeking international order through middle power status in international organisations, 1955-1969', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 52-63.
- Molony, John N., 'Thomas Davis: Irish romantic idealist', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-*

- Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 52-63.
- Overlack, Peter, 'The past recaptured and lost: Irish and German political romanticism compared', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 279-299.
- Paseta, Senia, 'Catholic girls will not be left behind: women's higher education in Ireland 1879-1909', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 314-326.
- Quirke, Noel, 'Sean MacBride and Noel Browne: background to a political marriage of convenience and a bitter divorce', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 449-460.
- Quirke, Noel, 'The Irish refusal to join NATO in 1949: the American reaction', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990*, 1991, pp. 185-200.
- Rafroidi, Patrick, 'Imagination and revolution: the Cuchulain myth', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 137-148.
- Stewart, A. T. Q., "'The harp new-strung': nationalism, culture and the United Irishmen', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 258-269.
- Travers, Pauric, "'The dream gone bust': Irish responses to emigration 1922-60', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 318-342.
- Travers, Pauric, 'The priest in politics: the case of conscription', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 161-181.
- Walker, Brian, 'Irish identity', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 37-51.
- Wooding, Jonathan, 'The overseas contacts of pre-Viking Ireland: chronologies and implications', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990*, 1991, pp. 243-257.
- Wright, Joanne, 'The Anglo-Irish agreement: an inadequate attempt at conflict resolution', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 64-77.
- Irish Australia**
- Irish-Australia/literary**
- Buckley, Vincent, 'The Irish presence in the Australian novel', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 34-45.
- Butterss, Philip, "'Convicted by the laws of England's hostile crown": popular convict verse', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 7-24.
- Crennan, Michael, O'Hearn, Dinny, and Wallace-Crabbe, Chris, 'Vincent Buckley', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990*, 1991, pp. 275-284.
- Edwards, Vanessa, 'Jimmie Blacksmith: an Irish revolutionary', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 132-138.
- Kiernan, Colm, 'Henry Handel Richardson and Ireland', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 46-57.
- Molloy, Frank, 'An Irish consciousness in some Australian novels', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 217-230.
- Molloy, Frank, "'The Exile of Erin": Irish experience and colonial reactions', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 90-101.
- O'Hearn, Denis, 'Freedom from Mother Church: the Stephen hero image in Australian literature', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 24-33.
- O'Hearn, Dinny, see Crennan above.
- Reece, Bob, 'Francis Mac Namara: Cork's convict poet', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 43-80.
- Rutherford, Anna, 'Three memoirs: a personal response', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 58-71.
- Strugnell, Maureen, 'It's a long way from home: Irish exiles in Australian drama', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 111-119.

- Wallace-Crabbe, Chris, see Crennan above.
- Windsor, Gerard, 'Grafting Ireland on to Australia: some literary attempts', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 194-211.
- Irish-Australia/historical: a) General**
- Bolton, Geoffrey, 'The Irish in Australian historiography', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 5-19.
- Bourke, Helen, McCaughey, Davis, McConville, Chris, and O'Farrell, Patrick, 'Patrick O'Farrell on the Irish in Australia', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 258-274.
- Byrnes, Gregory, 'Irish manuscripts in Australia: a partial shelf-list', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 432-436.
- Campbell, Malcolm, 'Exploring comparative history: the Irish in Australia and the United States', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 342-353.
- Duffy, Michael, 'The Irish in Australian politics', address to conference lunch, MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf, 1989*, p. 1-6.
- Kiernan, Colm, 'Australia and Ireland 1788-1988', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 1-4.
- McCaughey, Davis, see Bourke above.
- McConville, Chris, see Bourke above.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, 'A history of the Australian bi-centennial history project', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 243-266.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, 'The Irish in Australia: a general view', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 155-174.
- Nowlan, Kevin B., 'Historical overview', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 13-24.
- O'Farrell, Patrick, 'Writing the history of Irish-Australia', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 217-228.
- O'Farrell, Patrick, see Bourke above.
- Reece, Bob, 'Writing about the Irish in Australia', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 226-242.
- Ryan, Susan, 'A unique contribution', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 20-23.
- Irish-Australia/historical: b) pre-1900**
- Barrett, Bernard, 'The mystery of a long-lost Irish village', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 204-214.
- Boylan, Thomas A. and Foley, Timothy P., "'Tempering the rawness": W. E. Hearn, Irish political economist and intellectual life in Australia', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 91-121.
- Brennan, Gerard, 'The Irish and law in Australia', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 18-32.
- Brown, George D., 'Brutus or Washington? An Irish confederate in England and Tasmania', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 506-510.
- Byrne, Neil, 'Writing Robert Dunne: Brisbane's first Catholic archbishop', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 197-206.
- Campbell, Malcolm, 'Irish women in nineteenth century Australia: a more hidden Ireland?', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 25-38.
- Campbell, Malcolm, 'The Irish in south west New South Wales: the validity of a regional approach', 5cn, pp. 25-42.
- Campbell, Ruth, 'Irish lawyers in Victoria, 1838-1860', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 39-50.
- Collingwood, Judy, 'Irish workhouse children in Australia', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 46-61.
- Condon, Kevin, 'All Hallows College, Dublin', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 227-240.
- Connole, Patrick, 'Caroline Chisholm: the Irish chapter', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 241-251.
- Connors, Libby, 'The politics of ethnicity: Irish orphan girls at Moreton Bay',

- Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 167-181.
- Costello, Con, 'The convicts: transportation from Ireland', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 112-120.
- Davis, Richard, 'William Smith O'Brien as an imperialist', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 228-243.
- De Bhaldraithe, Tomás, 'Na Connerys', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 25-42.
- Doyle, Eugene, 'Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's Land Act 1862: Victoria through Irish eyes', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 145-155.
- Doyle, Helen, 'The Irish landscape of Koroit, Victoria', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 224-233.
- Finnane, Mark, 'The Irish and crime in the late nineteenth century: a statistical inquiry', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 77-98.
- Fitzpatrick, David, 'Irish emigration to nineteenth-century Australia', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 138-144.
- Fitzpatrick, David, 'The Failure: the Irish Famine in letters to Australia', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 64-80.
- Foley, Timothy P., and Boylan, Thomas A., "'Tempering the rawness": W. E. Hearn, Irish political economist and intellectual life in Australia', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 91-121.
- Forth, Gordon, 'The Anglo-Irish in Australia: Old World origins and colonial experiences', 6mel, pp. 51-62.
- Geary, Larry, 'The Australasian response to the Irish crisis, 1879-80', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 99-126.
- Haines, Robin, 'Workhouse to gangplank: mobilising Irish pauper women and girls bound for Australia in mid-nineteenth century', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 166-178.
- Harrison, Jennifer, 'Governors, gaolers and guards: the Irish soldiers at Moreton Bay 1824-42', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 300-310.
- Harty, Ray, 'Fahy of Argentina and Therry of Australia: two nineteenth century expatriate Irish chieftains', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 269-278.
- Hayes, Brendan, 'Archbishop Carr: teacher and controversialist', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 80-91.
- Henderson, Brum, 'Ned Kelly', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 195-201.
- Jeffares, A. Norman, 'Torrens: an Irishman in South Australia', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 170-181.
- Johnston, Edith Mary, 'Violence transported: aspects of Irish peasant society', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 137-154.
- Judge, Joe, 'The Burke and Wills expedition to the north of Australia', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 202-203.
- Keneally, Tom, 'A Whiteboy and a "summer famine" thief', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 17-36.
- Kiernan, Colm, 'Charles Gavan Duffy and "The Art of Living"', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 137-154.
- Mac Giolla Choille, Breandán, 'Australian gold in Dublin Castle', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 88-97.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, 'Emigration from Ireland to Australia: an overview', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 121-137.
- MacDonagh, Oliver, 'Irish culture and nationalism translated: St Patrick's day, 1888, in Australia', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 69-82.
- MacFie, Peter, 'Silent impact: the Irish inheritance in Richmond, Tasmania', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds),

- Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 486-498.
- MacGinley, M. E. R., 'The Irish in Queensland: an overview', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 103-119.
- Martin, F. X., "'A great battle": Bishop James A. Goold of Melbourne (1848-1864) and the State Aid for religion controversy', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 195-216.
- McClaughlin, Trevor, 'Exploited and abused: Irish orphan girls', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 161-166.
- McClaughlin, Trevor, 'Vulnerable Irish women in mid-to-late nineteenth century Australia', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 157-165.
- McConville, Chris, 'The Irish townscape of nineteenth century Melbourne', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 92-102.
- McLachlan, Noel, 'Irish organs and reversible nationalism: the *Irish-Australian* and *Irish Australia*, 1894-5', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 185-216.
- Moore, Peter, 'Half-burnt turf: selling emigration from Ireland to South Australia, 1836-1845', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 103-119.
- Morgan, Patrick, 'The Irish in Gippsland', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 120-135.
- Morgan, Sharon, 'Irishwomen in Port Phillip and Victoria, 1840-1860', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 231-249.
- Murphy, Michael, 'The Irish in Australian mining history', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach*, 1989, pp. 81-90.
- O'Donnell, Ruán, "'Desperate and diabolical": Defenders and United Irishmen in early NSW', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 360-372.
- O'Donnell, Ruan, 'Michael Dwyer: Wicklow chief and Irish-Australian hero', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 206-217.
- Pagliari, Tony, 'Irish events of the 1840s and the Victorian career of R. D. Ireland', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 267-283.
- Parkhill, Trevor, 'Convicts, orphans, settlers: patterns of emigration from Ulster 1790-1860', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 6-28.
- Parnaby, J. E., 'Charles Gavan Duffy in Australia', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 56-68.
- Pawsey, Elizabeth, 'Aliens in a British and Protestant land: early culture clashes in Victoria', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 72-87.
- Petrow, Stefan, 'Judas in Tasmania: John Donnellan Balfe 1850-80', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 474-485.
- Reid Richard, 'Emigration from Ireland to New South Wales in the mid-nineteenth century', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 304-317.
- Richards, Eric, 'The importance of being Irish in colonial South Australia', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 62-102.
- Ring, Maree, 'Martin Cash: his life in the colonies', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 499-505.
- Robins, Joseph, 'The emigration of Irish workhouse children to Australia in the nineteenth century', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 29-45.
- Robinson, Portia, 'From Colleen to Matilda: Irish women convicts in Australia, 1788-1828', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 96-111.
- Robinson, Portia, 'The desolate boys: juvenile crime and punishment, Ireland and New South Wales', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 229-247.
- Rule, Pauline, "'Very lonesome ... in a foreign land": female reconstruction of Irish families in colonial Victoria',

- Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 179-188.
- Rule, Pauline, 'Honora and her sisters: success and sorrow among Irish immigrant women in colonial Victoria', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 151-160.
- Rule, Pauline, 'Irish immigration to Geelong: a microstudy of success and failure', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 201-216.
- Smith, F. B., 'Stalwarts of the garrison: some Irish academics in Australia', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia, 1991*, p. 120-147.
- Tranter, Janice, 'The Irish base of an Australian religious sisterhood: the Sisters of St Joseph', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 228-242.
- Troy, Jakelin, "'Der mary this is fine cuntry is there is in the wourld": Irish-English and Irish in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Australia', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia, 1991*, pp. 148-180s.
- Wilcox, Craig, 'Irish volunteer and militia corps in Australia', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 311-318.
- Wooding, Jonathan, 'Irish-Australian monuments and the discourse of the Celtic Revival', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 1-14.
- Irish-Australia/historical: c) post-1900**
- Alomes, Stephen, 'Culture, ethnicity and class in Australia's Dominion period, 1900-39', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988, 1986*, pp. 182-194.
- Browne, Geoffrey, see Griffin below.
- Bull, Philip, 'Irish land reform and Australian native title', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 292-303.
- Byrnes, G. M., 'Dr Michael Sheehan in Australia, 1922-1937', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 17-24.
- Byrnes, Gregory, 'The Gaelic League in Australasia, 1893-1993', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 243-251.
- Connor, John, 'Irish soldiers in the 1st AIF', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 319-324.
- Edwards, Deborah, 'The Catholic family and Sydney's suburban parishes 1860-90', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 349-359.
- Farrell, Frank, 'J. H. Scullin, the Irish Question and the Australian Labor Party', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988, 1986*, pp. 156-169.
- Griffin, James and Browne, Geoffrey, 'Some light in shady places? Thoughts towards a biography of John Wren, entrepreneur and sportsman', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf 1990, 1991*, pp. 63-79.
- Griffin, James, 'Daniel Mannix and the cult of personality', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia, 1986*, pp. 95-118.
- Griffin, James, 'Revisionism or reality? Daniel Mannix in ADB 10', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf, 1995, 1996*, pp. 133-145.
- Grimes, Seamus, 'Irish immigrants to Sydney in the twentieth century: adaptation to a new environment', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988, 1986*, pp. 215-226.
- Grimes, Seamus, 'Postwar Irish immigrants in Australia: the Sydney experience', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach, 1989*, pp. 137-159.
- Keogh, Dermot, 'Mannix, de Valera and Irish nationalism', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia, 1991*, pp. 196-225.
- Mac Aonghusa, Proinsias, 'Eaglaisigh Caitliceacha agus polaitíocht an lucht oibre sna Caogadaí san Astráil', Grimes & Ó Tuathaigh (eds), *The Irish-Australian Connection: An Caidreamh Gael-Astrálach, 1989*, pp. 121-136.
- Macintyre, Clement, 'The Adelaide Irish and the politics of St Patrick's Day 1900-1918', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf, 1993, 1994*, pp. 182-196.
- McConville, Chris, 'Vintage Crop and the rediscovery of Ireland', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-*

- Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 421-431.
- Murphy, Brian, 'Ireland, Australia and the Commonwealth', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, p. 278-303.
- Noone, Val, 'From Easter 1916 to Tet 1968: Melbourne, Ireland and Vietnam', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 136-148.
- Noone, Val, 'The Church and the pill: Irish and Australian debates of the 1960s', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 461-473.
- O'Brien, John, 'Australia and the repeal of the External Relations Act, 1948', Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland, 1788-1988*, 1986, pp. 267-277.
- O'Brien, John, 'Australian, Britain, Ireland and the Ottawa Conference (The Empire at Work)', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 250-266.
- O'Donnell, Dorothy, 'Irish jig: symbol of national identity', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 25-36.
- O'Donnell, Dorothy, 'Oirfidigh in Australia: revival or rebirth of traditional Irish musicians?', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 124-132.
- O'Farrell, Patrick, 'The Irish Republican Brotherhood in Australia: the 1918 internments', MacDonagh, Mandle & Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism 1750-1950*, 1983, pp. 182-193.
- Quirke, Noel, 'Australia's role in Ireland's declaration of a republic and withdrawal from the Commonwealth 1948-9', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 284-303.
- Rickard, John, 'H. B. Higgins: "one of the wild and irreconcilable Irishmen"', O'Brien & Travers, *The Irish Emigrant Experience in Australia*, 1991, pp. 181-195.
- Shanahan, Martin, 'The personal wealth of the Irish in South Australia before World War I', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 337-348.
- Smith, Graeme, 'Irish music and social institutions in Melbourne, 1950-1970', Bull, McConville & McLachlan (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 6th Irish-Aust Conf* 1990, 1991, pp. 217-227.
- Whitaker, Anne-Maree, 'Irish war of independence veterans in Australia', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 413-420.

New Zealand

- Fraser, Lyndon, 'The network structure of Catholic Irish migration to nineteenth century Canterbury, New Zealand', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 234-245.
- Fraser, Lyndon, 'To Tara via Holyhead: the Irish Catholic experience in nineteenth century Christchurch', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 325-341.
- Laracy, Hugh, '*Les Pères Maristes* and New Zealand: the Irish connection', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 146-156.
- Maguire, Hugh, 'Art of the edge: Ireland and New Zealand looking in', Davis, Livett, Whitaker & Moore (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 8th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1995, 1996, pp. 398-412.
- Sweetman, Rory, '"Bishop in the dock": the sedition trial of James Liston', Pelan, Finnane & Quirke (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 7th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1993, 1994, pp. 218-228.

North America

- Akenson, Donald, 'Data: what is known about the Irish in North America?', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Ireland and Irish-Australia*, 1986, pp. 1-17.

Great Britain

- McCalman, Iain, '"Erin go bragh": the Irish in British popular radicalism c. 1790-1840', MacDonagh & Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies: 5th Irish-Aust Conf*, 1989, pp. 168-184.