MICHAEL DAVITT AND JOHN DAVITT JAGEURS
(1895-1916)

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In his 1904 book, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*, Michael Davitt devoted half a chapter to the activities of the Irish Land League in Australasia, and he had this to say about Australia in particular:

...neither in America nor Great Britain have the Irish race contributed as generously in their support of the Irish movement of the past quarter of a century, in proportion to numbers, as those who have encouraged the fight for land and liberty at home from these far-off regions ...

If this is correct, why would it have been be so? Why would Irish Australians have been proportionally greater givers than Irish Americans? Perhaps it would speak to the economic status of those who were able to immigrate to Australia rather than America. Perhaps, though, it also tells us something of the extent to which Irish migrants to Australia created a network that formed an everyday part of Irish-Australian life in the nineteenth century, fostering their Irishness and interest in Irish affairs.

This article considers the question with specific reference to one family in the Melbourne Irish community whose lives were personally touched by Michael Davitt. Davitt’s godson, John Davitt Jageurs, died during the First World War at the age of twenty-one. We are fortunate that an eloquent letter written by him survives, and hints at some of the issues confronting Irish Australians. This article will suggest that the Jageurs family typifies many of the values of the Irish-Australian community in the late nineteenth century, and demonstrates the interplay of those values with Davitt’s own.

The history of the Jageurs family in Ireland begins around 1800, when a German army officer, Jeremiah Jager, married Catherine Byrne of Stradbally, Queen’s Co. (now Co. Laois), and settled in Dublin. Their fourth son, Morgan, married Elizabeth Horan of Tullamore, King’s Co. (now Co. Offaly). Many members of the Jageurs and Horan families were stoncutters, including Morgan and Elizabeth’s son, Peter. In 1861 Peter married Mary Casey of nearby Philipstown (now Daingean), King’s Co.

A descendent of Peter’s sister asserted that in 1865 Peter and Mary Jageurs and their children were evicted from the estate of Lord Digby, who was one of the largest landlords in the county. This might explain...
their decision to immigrate to Australia in that year. Many from Tullamore had preceded them. For example, in 1862 the *Cork Examiner* reported that:

Tullamore has again to record a sweeping contingency to the tide of Emigration. On this (Saturday) morning nearly 200 entered the train for Cork and at 8.10 the shrill blast of the engine's whistle conveyed to many hearts the dismal tidings of separation from friends, home and country. Still all look on it as a necessity, the only balm to alleviate the sorrow of those left behind. I could reckon as usual hundreds, nay thousands around the station assembled as spectators at the scene. They go to Cork then by steamer to Queenstown where the ‘Maryborough’ is expected to receive them. The departures of other immigrants for Queensland from their native towns are described to have been painful in the extreme. Before leaving Cork many were seen to visit and take soil from the grave of Fr. Mathew.

The Jageurs family were also bound for Queensland. They first lived in Rockhampton, then moved to Brisbane and then to Sydney in 1868, where Peter worked on the rebuilding of St Mary’s Cathedral after it had burnt down in 1865. In 1870 the family moved on to Melbourne where they finally settled. Peter Jageurs established a successful family business in monumental masonry in Royal Parade, Parkville (now the site of St Carthage’s Catholic Church), although he continued also with architectural stonework, numbering the gates of the University of Melbourne amongst his many commissions.

Peter and Mary’s son, Morgan Jageurs, born in Ireland in 1862, became prominent in Irish-Australian affairs, and formed an association with Michael Davitt. Like Michael Davitt, Morgan Jageurs was a small boy when his family moved to another country as a result of eviction: Jageurs was three years old, Davitt four. However, Melbourne in the 1870s proved to be much kinder to Jageurs than the industrial realities that Davitt endured in Lancashire in the 1850s. Morgan attended St Brigid’s School, North Fitzroy, and was dux of the Christian Brothers’ Parade College, East Melbourne, after which he was apprenticed to several trades and attended the National Gallery Art School. He travelled through Europe extensively before joining his father in the family business, Jageurs and Son, specialising in ecclesiastical furnishings and monumental masonry.

Morgan Jageurs was an enthusiast for Irish culture. He founded an Irish Pipe Band, which was to form the guard of honour and play
traditional airs at his funeral many years later in 1932. He was a prominent member of the Catholic Young Men’s Society and, it would seem, almost every other Irish association or society. He served on the committees of many of them and, in Melbourne, became an important and well-connected figure in Irish-Australian circles. In 1881 he was involved in the formation of the Melbourne branch of the Irish Land League. When the Land League was superseded by the National League, Jageurs became treasurer of the local National League; and he went on to become president of Melbourne’s United Irish League.

He was a central figure in the establishment and development of Melbourne’s Celtic Home Rule Club, of which Dinny O’Hearn, in his history of the Celtic Club, wrote:

In the early 1880s the Irish community in Australia was generally more interested in the Land League side of Parnell’s activities than the Home Rule side, though they saw the two ventures as political stable-mates. Home Rule was, after all, a vision for the future – the Land League was formed to fight a vicious and oppressive situation that was current. Irish peasants and small tenant farmers were being forcibly evicted; those who had barely survived the famine were now being starved off their small holdings, their hovels burned and razed, they and their children turned onto the roads with no shelter and no food. The urgency of their plight and need for assistance stirred the feelings and conscience of the Irish in Australia, many of whom had friends and relatives undergoing eviction and forced starvation.

Most Irish migrants to Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century were economic migrants, and, in Ireland, economics usually meant land. Many of the men were in Australia because they had little prospect of gaining a farm and thus being able to marry. Some, like Morgan Jageurs, belonged to families who had held land, but been evicted. Many of them clearly maintained strong feelings on the land question after they settled in Australia, although, as O’Hearn suggests, their views on Home Rule may not have been so strong.

By the late 1880s, though, the Irish community in Australia had arguably shifted its focus. The Home Rule movement had assumed more importance, especially after Gladstone’s Liberal Party came out in support of it in 1886. During the year of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee, 1887, a group of Melbourne supporters of Irish Home Rule founded the Celtic Home Rule Club. An initial meeting by invitation was held in the Collins Street rooms of Dr Michael O’Sullivan. The founding meeting
of the club occurred on 26 September 1887 at the Imperial Hotel in Bourke Street, with Dr O’Sullivan in the chair, and embraced some seventy members. The second meeting of the club, a week later, elected the first committee, which included surgeons, physicians, solicitors, an estate agent, an accountant, a civil engineer, a justice of the peace, a policeman, and a monumental mason: Morgan Jageurs. These were men from the business and professional classes, who were respected in Melbourne society. As O’Hearn has it:

They did not envisage themselves or their Club as taking over the roles of other organizations or acting as a focus for political activity and fundraising in the nationalist cause. Rather, they sought to extend political influence and to provide a respectable and socially unassailable face of Irish nationalism in the colony.

In November 1887, the club’s committee passed its first political resolution. The Advocate reported that the club had acknowledged: ‘the desirability of making every effort possible on behalf of the evicted tenants of Ireland and agreed that the Committee should take steps to confer and consult with friends as to the best thing to be done’. This interesting resolution brought the Celtic Club into the sphere of the existing Irish National League branch in Melbourne, whose members and office-bearers overlapped substantially with those of the club. On 26 November 1887 an ‘Irish Eviction Meeting’ took place with the support of the Celtic Club’s committee. It was very well attended and raised some £400, to which a further £600 was added in the course of the next couple of weeks, the total of £1000 being sent to Ireland for the express purpose of benefitting evicted tenants.

In May 1888 the Celtic Club was formally opened in its first premises at 82 Collins Street, near the offices of the Argus, the newspaper that was to express many anti-Irish opinions during the early years of the club’s existence. At the time of the opening, the club boasted 196 members, including ‘20 clergymen of different faiths’.

In 1889 John Dillon, John Deasy and Thomas Esmonde made a tour of Australia to raise funds for the ‘Plan of Campaign’, which had been working since 1886 to enforce fair rents in Ireland. These three delegates spent 4 May 1889 at the Celtic Club, where they were suitably impressed by the club’s ability to ‘gather and focus’ Irish nationalism, and also by its commitment to Irish music and literature. Later in the same year the club contributed £1,000 to the C.S. Parnell Defence Fund, to assist with Parnell’s legal expenses before a government commission trying to prove he endorsed crime during the Land War of the early 1880s. However, when news of Parnell’s involvement with Katherine
O’Shea broke a year later, the Home Rule cause and the land campaign suffered a serious setback in Melbourne. Within the Celtic Club, pro-Parnellites and anti-Parnellites formed bitterly opposed factions. Early in 1891, three and a half years after its establishment, the Celtic Club was in a state of collapse. In March 1891 a new Celtic Club was formed at a meeting in St Patrick’s Hall chaired by Sir Bryan O’Loghlen, who had been premier of Victoria in 1881-3. Prominent amongst the supporters of this new club were Morgan Jageurs and Dr Nicholas O’Donnell, who were to remain key figures in the club, as well as in many other Melbourne Irish organizations, for at least the next twenty-five years. This new club attracted only 150-odd members, less than half the number of members of the old Celtic Home Rule Club, although it had adopted the rules and constitution of the original club. It acquired rooms at the corner of Swanston and Collins Streets, and its first annual meeting was held in July.

Chris McConville asserts that this new Celtic Club was formed by the pro-Parnell faction, yet this seems unlikely. One of the features of Parnell’s downfall had been his open rift with Michael Davitt. In late 1891 Davitt stood, unsuccessfully, for election in Waterford City, against the new pro-Parnellite leader, John Redmond. As we shall see, Jageurs and O’Donnell of the Celtic Club were both friends and supporters of Michael Davitt. Furthermore, when news of Parnell’s death in October 1891 reached Australia, the Celtic Club’s president, Daniel Tuomey, telegraphed Dublin that: ‘The Celtic Club of Victoria sincerely trusts that the fusion of both parties immediately takes place … and will support the majority of representation of the Irish people now led by Mr Justin McCarthy’. McCarthy led the anti-Parnellite section of the Home Rule Party from 1890 to 1896, and, moreover, was a close friend of Davitt’s. By voicing its support for McCarthy, while hoping for re-unification, the Celtic Club was in effect declaring its allegiance to the majority anti-Parnell side - the side with which Michael Davitt was aligned.

In 1895 Michael Davitt toured Australia. His book, *Life and Progress in Australasia*, reflects the comprehensiveness of his travels, and his observations on every facet of Australian life are so extensive that one could be forgiven for neglecting his political importance, which is barely alluded to in the book. His presence was of great significance to the Irish in Australia. The Davitt Museum, in his native town of Straide, Co. Mayo, today displays some of the many tributes he received from the Irish in every major city and town. Cardinal Patrick Moran of Sydney quickly came to appreciate the strength of sentiment for Davitt. Whilst bishop of Ossory, before his appointment to Sydney in 1884, Moran had witnessed the work of Davitt’s Land League at
close quarters, and had not been impressed. Always anxious to foster Irish harmony with the broader Australian community, Moran was reluctant to associate with Irish nationalists, but he soon realised that Davitt was too highly regarded by the Irish community for it to be politic to snub him. Davitt was fêted as a hero, and his lectures helped to dispel Irish-Australian disillusionment with Irish politics in the wake of the Parnell split. There is no record of Davitt visiting the Celtic Club in its rooms opposite the Town Hall, but he certainly spent some time with several of the club’s leading members, including Morgan Jageurs and Nicholas O’Donnell. Davitt was a guest in the Jageurs’ home, and he mentions O'Donnell by name in glowing terms in *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*:

Among these was Dr Nicholas O'Donnell, of Melbourne, at present the heart and soul of everything that is pro-Celtic that can advance the good or can promote the honour of a land he has never seen, but still has most ardently loved and most faithfully served in every way that can make for its happiness and freedom.

The Jageurs family honoured Davitt's visit to Melbourne in a very personal way, reflecting the family's regard for Davitt, and perhaps Davitt's esteem for them. Morgan Jageurs’ eldest son was christened on 9 June 1895. He was named John Davitt Jageurs, and Michael Davitt was his godfather. His godmother was Nicholas O’Donnell’s wife, Mary. Davitt’s feelings on the occasion must have been tinged with sadness, as his own young daughter, Kathleen, had died in Ireland during his voyage to Australia.

In later years Morgan Jageurs would recall that when he last met Michael Davitt, on a visit to Ireland in 1901, Davitt told him that there were plenty of parliamentarians to win Home Rule, but that what he dreaded was the reconstruction work that would have to be done afterwards. He thought that Ireland's only hope would be to invite overseas statesmen of Irish descent to re-erect the social fabric of the country.

Davitt probably did not have his Australian godson in mind, but it appears that John Davitt Jageurs grew up to be an exemplary young man of significant ability and promise, particularly gifted with his pen. Like his father, John graduated from a Christian Brothers’ school – St Joseph’s in North Melbourne – and then took up employment in the Victorian Lands and Immigration Department. Like his father, he had a sincere love for Ireland. Not content merely to observe the activities of his father and their friends, John Jageurs too worked tirelessly for Ireland’s ‘happiness and freedom’. He was a pioneer member of the
Young Ireland Society, of which he became secretary. It seems likely that, had he had the opportunity, John Jageurs would have matured into just such a statesman of Irish descent as Davitt had described.

John Jageurs, however, came into adulthood during the First World War. He was anxious to sign up, but he was below the age of consent. Morgan refused to give his son permission to enlist. So John did what any exemplary young man of significant ability would do: he took the problem up with his mother. His mother advised him to set out his case in a letter to his father, and on the Saturday afternoon of 20 February 1915, John Davitt Jageurs sat down and composed the following letter:

Dear Papa,

As you know the question that has occupied my mind for some months past, and is still sorely troubling it, is permission to join our Expeditionary Force. I write herewith to place a few facts before you and claim your consent. On two occasions before have I ventured to ask
you, but nothing has eventuated but worry to us both. I
cannot settle down while this war is on and while war
news is appearing in the Advocate. I do not like troubling
you over the question on account of the worry you are
having in the office, so have turned my attention to
Mama who has been converted and has suggested this
means of writing to you. I know it is a painful subject to
broach in any family, but war is the great obliteration of
family feelings. The country, the Empire, the Allies want
men to win the struggle and they must have them in
greater numbers than the Germans. Consequently the
impossible may happen if our manhood does not respond
to the nation’s call – Fathers and mothers give their sons,
and sons and fathers do their duty. What was Belgium’s
misfortune may be ours and what man with any sense of
pity, feeling and honour could refuse to stand by a plucky
little nation like it? This war is not of the Empire’s
seeking and our sword is unsheathed in the cause of
justice. I say Empire because England is only our
fountainhead or base, and if she goes under we also will
sink beneath the tide of German militarism. You, as a
staunch Irishman, objected before to me fighting for
England. It is not England alone, Papa, we are fighting
for, but for ourselves. Australia is sending its own
separate unit, Canada’s individual force has gone, and
young Ireland is prepared to send John Redmond’s
Brigade. On this latter force let me dwell a moment.
English Democracy has at last thrown off its servile
chains and with a free voice in its own government
helped Ireland to win Home Rule. Ireland swore an
Irishman’s oath to stand by New England and now,
sooner than anyone expected, practical carrying out of
that oath is required. Ireland did not hesitate and go
drawing down bloody history from the shelves of her
library to send as her answer to England, but immediately
called her nationhood to arms. The flower of Irish
manhood answered Redmond’s Call, who, himself has
given his son to the cause and publicly announced he will
serve himself when needed. Joe Devlin, too. In face of all
this, you remind me Papa, that two of your uncles broke
up their family by taking the King’s shilling. Probably
they did but look at the time they acted in and the
government they offered to serve. Dark and sorrowful
Ireland of the afterdays of ’98 and prior to ’48 cannot be
compared with Ireland of 1914-15. Ireland’s sun is no longer sleeping but has risen in a blaze of glory over Home Rule and to the echo of the bugles and trumpets of the 2nd Irish Brigade.

Again Papa, you respect the Germans because they have done a lot for Ireland, but have not the French done far more? Kuno Meyer deserved the answer he got from Moore the novelist (as per this week’s Advocate).

Another of your arguments is, Papa, that there are plenty more who should go before me. Perhaps there are, but do they want to or can they go? In their souls, the flame of Patriotism may still be dormant. From the selfish personal end of having a comfortable fat position they do not care to change it for the knapsack full of hardships that makes a soldier’s life. From the fact that they are medically unfit or under age like myself. For these reasons, and many others, many men are still pursuing their daily, civilian routine of uneventful life and buying the papers and reading the war news with no deeper thought than a pinprick. It is the serious minded volunteer who is wanted, not the white livered or brainless conscript. Certainly many of our little army have volunteered, either out of the necessity of unemployment or out of an adventurous spirit. With these and the wasters, to a certain extent, I will have to mix and unjustly bear the censure passed on wasters who have only transferred themselves from Hotel corners to Broadmeadows. But fortunately Captain Bean points out these only form a little over 1% (taking the average from the 1st Contingent). Many a man of good public school education, religious upbringing, ample wealth, of a secure position in public life, is passed unnoticed every day in the street clad in the all covering Khaki, but a thousand eyes are turned on a few drunken sots whose reception when they return to camp will not be enviable. A soldier’s life is no picnic, but one of healthy outdoor physical fatigue. It brings forth a certain amount of individuality, earnestness, and good to the surface which otherwise would remain buried while life was frittered away. Without doubt we would meet temptations and many fall by the way, but could you but trust me, Papa, to behave like an ex-student of the Christian Brothers.
should and repay the trust you may place in me. I am a teetotaller and alcohol has no pleasure for me. So one of the chief temptations is disposed of. Perhaps equally as bad is the moral side of the question. Could I not always bear in mind that quotation of Joubert’s that “Morals show us how to live”.

Now turning to a more personal side of the question let me point out that I lose nothing financially by my volunteering, but rather does Mama benefit. My position in the Government, first of all, is kept for me and my rises go on automatically each year I am away. For Mama’s and your sake alone I propose going in the Army Service Corps. 1] Because I am mixing with a better sort of companions (The “dirt” congregate in the Infantry.) 2] I do not stand the same risk of being shot as most of the other branches of the Service. Of course there are dangers arising from aeroplane attacks and successful enflanking movements (very rare) by the enemy. 3] I have a fine opportunity of getting a position as an Army Service clerk at 10/- a day if I can only get your permission to volunteer before the complement of the next contingent is disclosed, which may be any day now. £3/10/- plus clothes, plus keep is far better than 35/- minus clothes and keep and pocket money and Mama would find it a big help in our present straits. A shilling a day is deferred, a certain amount goes to me, and the balance between £2 and £3 goes to Mama. Money is payable to next of kin every Government payday. Added to this there is a bright prospect of promotion, as chances occur nearly every day at war, which a keen soldier should be ready to grasp. 4] It will give ample scope for any journalistic talent I may have in me. 5] If I succeed at the game there is a possibility of a transfer to a more lucrative position in the Defence Department or Federal Service.

Your last argument of the other night, Papa, that I bear a German name, I consider very paltry. The King has a German name and is far more of a German than I am and look who is fighting for him. I am, as you well know, of true Irish blood descent, German only in name and Irish Australian to the backbone. Shakespeare himself says
‘What’s in a name?’ I do not know, or have not even heard of one German among the myriads of my relatives.

So, Papa, in conclusion, I wish you would reconsider your decision. I am well minded of the great amount of worry you are having, but still without being churlish or unsympathetic, as a son should be the opposite, I want you to let me go, and our prayers that your troubles cease and you be long spared for us are sure to be answered favourably by God. If you only let me go, Papa, God will amply reward you and Mama for the sacrifice you are making and let me hope I will be spared to repay you it a hundred fold.

Your fond son,
John Davitt

John Davitt Jageurs fought with ‘A’ Company, 24th Battalion, 6th Infantry Brigade at Gallipoli, where he was blown up by a shell at Lone Pine. He recuperated in Malta and England, from where he made a short visit to his father’s Irish hometown of Tullamore. Although he undoubtedly sought out and met some of his relatives, he also spent time with the nationalist associations there. Refusing to be repatriated or to accept a clerical position, he rejoined his battalion in Egypt and travelled with them to France, where he was killed at Pozières on 29 July 1916, a few weeks after his 21st birthday. One of John’s comrades wrote to his mother that: ‘… he was killed in action. I was beside him at the time when both dear Jack and Lieutenant Kerr passed away; they were both in the same company and battalion as myself’. An Australian officer wrote to the Advocate that:

I must refer to the death of Corporal Jageurs, son of the great Irishman, Mr. Morgan Jageurs. He was killed alongside of his officer beating off an attack of the enemy. He was always admired by officers and men as a fine soldier, and I further knew him as a staunch, devout, and exemplary Catholic.

When news of John's death was received, the Irish Pipers’ Association postponed a concert which they were due to hold, and before the meeting which received the news disbanded, the Pipe-Major played a dirge, and speeches were made in honour of the young soldier expressing sympathy for his family.
On 10 February 1917, Morgan Jageurs wrote to the Irish-born High Court Judge, Henry Bournes Higgins, concerning a resolution on Irish Home Rule that was being put to the Australian Parliament. The letter included the following statement:

It is almost needless for me to add how sorry we all were to read of the death of your gallant son. Having lost my elder boy at Pozieres I can feel for you. The sons of several members of the League have fallen while quite a number have been wounded. One of Dr O'Donnell's sons was sent back from Gallipoli suffering from shell shock and is now on Home Service. 38

Henry Bournes Higgins’ son, Captain Mervyn Higgins of the Australian Light Horse, a 29-year-old barrister and Oxford graduate, had been killed in action in Egypt in December 1916. 39 Nicholas O'Donnell’s son, Private Leo O'Donnell of the 28th Battalion, had parted from John Jageurs in Egypt before returning to Australia. 40

Of the thousands of memorial monuments designed and manufactured by Jageurs and Son over some fifty years, perhaps none is more poignant than the municipal war memorial near the family home in Parkville, Melbourne. It is difficult to imagine Morgan Jageurs’ emotions on producing such a monument, on which the name of ‘Corporal John D. Jageurs’ is listed amongst the fallen.

Michael Davitt’s legacy has a significant Australian dimension. He was a hero and an inspiration to the generation of Irish-Australians who were called upon to send their sons to the battlefields of the First World War, and who had to reconcile their Irish nationalism with their commitment to their new home in Australia. The values which Davitt espoused, and which he inspired in Australians of Irish birth and descent, of concern for the oppressed and opposition to injustice, can be clearly discerned in the impassioned letter of his Australian godson, who was ‘Irish Australian to the backbone’. Although the cause for which he fought was not one that Davitt survived to comment on, it is striking that John Davitt Jageurs, with the poignant naivety of youth, approached his involvement in the war with the same commitment, concern and enthusiasm as had Michael Davitt his lifelong contribution to the struggle for human rights.
REFERENCES


2 The research on which this paper is based is part of a larger project relating to John’s father, Morgan Jageurs. I am grateful to Tony Earls, my partner in this project, for allowing me to use our research here, and for his helpful comments on this paper. We both wish to record our sincere thanks to Kerry Blanc, a Jageurs’ descendant, for her generosity in giving us access to her collection of family papers and allowing extracts from them to be published.

3 Recorded in family tree manuscript dated 1900 (typescript copy, private collection of Kerry Blanc).

4 County Offaly Civil Death Records list Jeremiah Jagger, of Stradbally, as dying in 1869 aged thirty eight, occupation stonemason; and Peter (d. 1874) and Robert (d. 1878) Jagers of Tinkers Row, also known as Quarry View, which seems to have been inhabited primarily by stonemasons, due to its proximity to a quarry. Tullamore Civil Birth Records list six children born to Daniel Jagers, profession stonemason (Daniel was Morgan and Elizabeth’s son); Daniel and his son Thomas are shown in the 1901 Census of Ireland enumerator records as stonemasons, living in Quarry View. The mark of the company ‘Horan and Son’ is clearly visible on many of the more elaborate monuments in Tullamore cemetery, dating from the late nineteenth century onwards (observed during author’s fieldwork in June 2005).

5 Tullamore Roman Catholic Marriage Records, 7 September 1861.


7 ‘The late Mr M.P. Jageurs’, *Melbourne Tribune*, 5 May 1932.


12 Morgan Jageurs, diary and letters to wife (private collection of Kerry Blanc).

13 ‘Death of Mr Morgan P. Jageurs’, *Advocate*, 5 May 1932.

14 *Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 7 June 1932, would later comment that ‘it will not be easy to fill the place occupied by Mr Jageurs amongst the Irish in Australia’.

15 Dinny O’Hearn, *Erin Go Bragh – Advance Australia Fair: A Hundred Years of Growing 1887-1987*, Melbourne, 1990, pp. 9-10. O’Hearn’s description probably reflects feelings within the Celtic Club at the time and later. For recent accounts by historians of reactions in Australia to the land struggle and

For a survey of who the Irish were who came to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century, and why they came, see: David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Cork, 1994, pp. 6-19.

16 Advocate, 12 November 1887.
18 Advocate, 12 November 1887.
21 Advocate, 11 May 1888.
23 Ibid., p. 25.
24 Ibid.
26 Advocate, 24 October 1891.
29 Irish News and Belfast Morning News, 7 June 1932.
30 Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism*, p. 630.
33 ‘Corporal John Davitt Jageurs’, Advocate, 16 September 1916.
34 Unprovenanced newspaper clipping (private collection of Kerry Blanc).
35 Advocate, 14 October 1916.
36 Advocate, 16 September 1916.
39 ‘Corporal John Davitt Jageurs’, Advocate, 16 September 1916.