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Cover image:

Detail of a window in the northern wall of St James' Church, Glebe, dedicated by the then Parish Priest Father Hugh Callachor OSB to the memory of Rev Myles Athy OSB.

The image depicts St Benedict of Nursia experiencing a vision of heaven. He is being embraced by an angel. In the background (not seen in this photo) is the Madonna holding an infant Jesus.

Due to its opacity, black is uncommon in stained glass work, blue or grey often being substituted. Here the craftsmen have remained true to the traditional black of the Benedictine habit.¹

The window may have come from the studios of Falconer and Ashwin, Sydney. Several other windows in the same part of the church and thought to have been installed at the same time are considered to have come from that atelier. The date of installation is unknown, but is believed to have been in the early 1890's.²

Journal of a Voyage to Australia 1855-56 by Myles Athy, is reviewed by Michael Hogan on page 138.

Photo credit: Giovanni Portelli.

Endnotes

- 1 Guidance from Fr C Fowler OP.
- 2 Giedraityte, Danute *Stained and Painted Glass in the Sydney Area*, MA Thesis, Sydney University, 1982, Section A

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AN EARLY CATHOLIC HOUSEHOLD AT PYRMONT: THE FAMILY OF SYDNEY'S FIRST TOWN CLERK

Colin Fowler*

The story of the family of Charles Henry Chambers, resident in Pyrmont from 1843 to 1854, provides interesting insights into the development of Sydney's Catholic community. Charles, a graduate of the King's Inns in Dublin and a member of the Protestant Church of Ireland, arrived in Sydney from England with other free settlers aboard the barque *Britomart* on 8 March 1822. Within a few days of disembarking, he was admitted and sworn as an attorney and solicitor of the 'several Courts of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction in the Colony'.¹ Initially he took up a position in the Provost Marshal's department, but soon indicated his preference for private practice, placing an advertisement in the *Gazette* on January 1823: 'Mr Charles Henry Chambers, of Hunter Street, Attorney at Law, Solicitor, and Proctor, requests us to state, that he intends, henceforward, to pursue his professional practice, upon all occasions, wherein the Public may be pleased to favour him with employment.'² His career in Sydney was now underway.

Charles quickly established what would become a lifelong pattern of generous giving of time and money to worthy causes. His first recorded benefaction was interestingly towards the building of St Mary's Church at the eastern edge of Sydney town. The *Gazette* in June 1823 published a 'Supplementary Subscription List of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Hyde Park, under the Patronage of His Majesty's Colonial Government'. Fifth on the list of 39 subscribers was C H Chambers Esq. He donated two guineas towards the slow progress of the building whose foundation stone had been laid in 1821. At that inaugural event the list of benefactors had been significant, beginning with Governor Macquarie's subscription of £21. Exceeding His Excellency in generosity were three emancipated Irish convicts transported because of involvement in the 1798 rebellion: William Davis and his wife, £100; James Dempsey, a stonemason who became the

1 *Sydney Gazette*, 22 March 1822.

2 *Sydney Gazette*, 23 March 1823.

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church's builder, £30, and James Meehan, the government surveyor who chose the site of the church, £30. Following the Governor's example there were many members of the government and military administration and Protestant establishment who subscribed. The support of the building of St Mary's was an early example of an ecumenism that would become rarer as sectarianism came to dominate relations between the churches.

In May 1824 Chambers was among the first solicitors admitted to practice in the newly established Supreme Court of New South Wales by Chief Justice Francis Forbes.³ With the establishment of the Supreme Court, military control of law and justice in the colony had finally been eliminated. Six days after the admission, Charles welcomed his wife Lucinda to the Colony. The first of the Chambers children, Margaret Elizabeth, was born on 19 April 1825 and baptised on 16 May at St James Church of England by the Reverend Richard Hill. The choice of church for baptism could have been made at the insistence of the Protestant father and compliance of his Catholic wife, or because of a preference for an elegant church and gentlemanly clergyman. The newly completed and fashionable church of St James with its refined English minister was in contrast to the nearby roofless St Mary's and its irascible Irish priest John Joseph Therry.

That Lucinda was not at ease with the Anglican baptism was evidenced by Margaret Elizabeth's appearance in the baptismal register at St Mary's eighteen months later, 29 November 1826, together with her brother Lawrence David. The officiating priest was Father Therry. Lawrence's godparents were James Dempsey and Mary Dwyer, widow of Michael, the 'Wicklow Chief'. Both James and Mary would have been conveniently close at hand; Mary was housekeeper to Father Therry and James was supervisor of works at the still incomplete St Mary's.

Adding further to evidence of religious confusion in the Chambers household were the baptismal records of the last two children: Charles Henry junior, born in 1829, was baptised by Rev Richard Hill at St James; Henry John Joseph born on 7 June 1831 was baptised by John Joseph Therry at St Mary's on 29 June. However, the records of St James show that Henry John, without the additional name of Joseph, was baptised there on 16 January 1832. Religious uniformity would finally descend upon the Chambers household with Charles' conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1839.

3 Five years later solicitors and attorneys, who had not previously practised as barristers in England or Ireland, including Charles, were controversially excluded from practice at the bar (*Sydney Gazette*, 14 March 1829).

Over the years, Charles would develop strong bonds with several Irish emancipists and their families. In July 1827 he made representations to the Supreme Court in relation to the properties of John Connor who had died suddenly and intestate in June, leaving five children under the age of fifteen. Connor had appeared as a subscriber to St Mary's in July 1823 with an extraordinarily generous gift of £10, the same year in which Charles had subscribed his two guineas.

Connor's wife Catherine had been convicted of perjury in November 1826 and sentenced to transportation to Moreton Bay for two years. She had brought a case of rape against one of her husband's assigned convicts, deposing on oath 'that, she never allowed one Wm Connolly to take unbecoming liberties with her, and that on a certain day he violated her person'.⁴ On the evidence of Connolly's detailed account of his relationship with his master's wife, her deposition was judged to have been perjurious. Her husband's judgment against her had already been made public in October when he published notices in the *Gazette* and *Australian*: 'NOTICE. Whereas my Wife, CATHARINE CONNOR, having rendered herself unworthy of my Confidence, in a manner not necessary to publish, I hereby Caution all Persons against giving her Trust or Credit, as I will not be responsible for any Debts by her Constructed after this Notice. JOHN CONNOR. Race-ground, near Windsor, October 16, 1826.'⁵

Following his successful intervention with the Supreme Court regarding the Connor estate, Chambers turned his attention to the immediate welfare of the children. In a succession of letters to the Committee of the Parramatta Orphan School, and finally to the Governor himself, Charles sought to secure a future for the children. Eventually his perseverance was rewarded:

the eldest son became apprenticed to a carpenter; the eldest girl was placed in service; the youngest girl Scholastica was admitted to the Female Orphan School. By 1831 the mother, released from gaol, was 'at Mr Chambers residence, Sydney'.⁶

Charles had also established strong bonds with James Dempsey. Dempsey was transported on the same ship as John Connor, the *Atlas II*, which arrived at Port Jackson in October 1802. They were among a total consignment

4 *Sydney Gazette*, 25 November 1826.

5 *Sydney Gazette*, 18 October 1826.

6 Female Orphan School Admission Books 1819-1833, SLV Reel GM 24. I am grateful to Frances White who has allowed me to use the results of her research into the O'Connor/Connor family, her forebears.

of 190 Irish convicts, 76 classed as United Irishmen and 114 as political offenders. Dempsey was a stonemason and became a church builder, overseeing the construction of St. Mary's. He may be taken as a forerunner, perhaps even 'patron saint', of the many Irish immigrants who would take up quarrying in Pymont two generations later, and would undertake the building of their much more modest parish church, St Bede's, in 1867. The Dempsey family lived in Kent Street, which, until the creation of Sussex Street in 1810, was the 'westernmost street of the Military District', facing the Macarthurs' undeveloped Pymont Estate across Cockle Bay.⁷ Their home was the centre of Catholic life during the priestless years between Father O'Flynn's exile in 1818 and the arrival of Fathers Therry and Conolly in 1820. Following the destructive fire at St. Mary's in 1865, an old colonial, Columbus Fitzpatrick, who had been a boy-acolyte at the laying of the Cathedral foundation-stone in 1821, offered some consolation to Sydney Catholics in commenting that to their forebears 'Mr Dempsey's house was more than St Mary's to us three months ago'.⁸

James Dempsey referred fondly to the Chambers family in letters he wrote to Father Therry from England and Ireland during his stay there from 1828 to 1833. Charles had been appointed Dempsey's proctor during his absence. In his unsophisticated written English Dempsey instructed Therry regarding monies owed him: 'That debt that remains due to me by you, as you did not think well of paying it to me for I know not what reason, I hope you will pay or cause it to be paid to Chas H Chambers Esq for the use and benefit of my Grandson James Nicholas Dempsey as I consider him the same as an orphan from having a bad Father and a Dilatory Mother that I intend Mr Chambers to apply in giving him education and a good trade.'⁹

In a letter of 18 July 1830, Dempsey commented on the slow progress of St Mary's: 'I am happy to hear you are still going on with St Mary's Church tho slowly. But yet I hope your perseavrance will be crownd with sucksess

7 'PLAN OF THE NEW AND OLD NAMES OF STREETS. &c. IN THE TOWN OF SYDNEY; WITH Explanations AND References', *Sydney Gazette*, 6 October 1810.

8 *Freeman's Journal*, 2 September 1865.

9 James Dempsey (Swan Inn, Whitechapel) to Fr Therry (Sydney), 24 October 1828 (P Chandler, *James Dempsey and John Butler: Pioneers of Australian Catholicism 1802-1838*, Melbourne 2002, p 33)

this time.¹⁰ He then proceeded to berate Therry for his failure to bring to completion not only St Mary's, but also the churches at Parramatta and Campbell Town. His Irish brogue can be detected in the spelling: 'If a little more aconamy had being blended with your grate ability or if you would have taken advice of som Lay Persons of exsparence, not mainig Me, there might have being three Churches instid of one and all finished. But you have rely trid the people and I feair St. Mary's will remain long unfinished.' He concluded with greetings for his Sydney friends:

I hope my old aquaintens Mrs Dwyer injoys good helth and that she is hapy in her family and that all her Sones and Daughters are well and doing well – this would be my wishes ... I should never forget my dutyfull and kind respectx to the worthy Mr & Mrs Chambers. I hope them and their children are well.¹¹

A new Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, was welcomed to the Colony in December 1831. Just before Christmas a public meeting was called by the Sheriff to discuss a formal Address of Welcome to the new Governor. The proposer of the Address spoke in glowing terms of Sir Richard and his reputation as 'a man of liberal principles', in sharp contrast to his predecessor, Ralph Darling. He detailed General Bourke's administrative skills in the 'amelioration of the sufferings of his own country Ireland', and in bringing harmony to the troubled colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Controversially the Address contained forthright condemnation of the administration of the former Governor. The second paragraph began: 'After nearly six years of public endurance, arising partly from the visitations of providence, but more from an inveterate system of misgovernance ...'¹² Several at the meeting dissented from these criticisms of Darling. Among them was Charles Chambers. He thought it inappropriate that a meeting called to welcome the new Governor should descend into condemnation of his predecessor. He asked that the negative elements be removed. However, 'he agreed with all the other parts of the Address, and he did sincerely hope, that General Bourke, as a politician and philanthropist, would take care, as the Address suggested, to hear with his own ears, and from themselves, the complaints of the people; and thereby render his name immortal in the

10 James Dempsey (Athy) to Fr Therry (Sydney), 18 July 1830 (Chandler, *James Dempsey*, p 34).

11 Chandler, *James Dempsey*, p 34.

12 *Sydney Monitor*, 24 December 1831

annals of New South Wales, as the father of the Colonists, whose interests he had promoted, and whose property he had permanently promoted'.¹³ The overwhelming feeling of the meeting was that the Address should be approved as drafted, without any deletions. Chambers' sincere hope for Bourke's time in Australia was fulfilled, especially in the eyes of the Catholic community, for whom Richard Bourke became a hero.

On Anniversary Day, 26 January 1833, Charles attended a public meeting at the Court House to petition the King and House of Commons for a Legislative Assembly for the colony. Charles was the only one present to propose an alteration to the petition, and was hissed for his intervention, and lightly mocked by the chairman:

Mr Chambers wished to make an amendment in that part of the Address which related to the number of members being limited to fifty, and elected by the people;

he thought that 'duly elected by the people' should be omitted (hisses).

Mr Hutchinson was astonished at anyone coming to so numerous a meeting, and to be the only person to make objections; especially so great a man as Mr Chambers (laughter). Mr Chambers was surprised, that his making an objection, should be treated with derision.¹⁴

The Petition was then put and carried unanimously. His Most Gracious Majesty did not accede to the request. It was not until 1856 that the elective Legislative Assembly was created.

In 1838 Charles acted as solicitor for Father John Brady in libel cases brought against the editors of two Sydney newspapers.¹⁵ Following the Brady saga, Bishop Polding happily absented himself from the sectarian tensions of Sydney, heading to his favourite country districts. In October 1840 he visited the Maitland mission stations, one of which was at Glenarm, 'the seat of Mr C H Chambers', on the Williams River. Charles had received a crown grant of this land in 1836. He named his grant after one of the Glens of County Antrim, in his home province of Ulster. The *Chronicle* reported on Polding's visit:

His lordship proceeded to Glenarm, the seat of Mr C H Chambers,

13 Ibid.

14 *Sydney Monitor*, 28 January 1833.

15 See Colin Fowler, 'Anti-Catholic polemic at the origins of Australia's first Catholic newspaper', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, vol 37 (2) 2016, 147-160.

where the party arrived about ten o'clock at night, after travelling over ranges of mountains; and on the following morning, the 5th, his lordship performed divine service to about sixty persons, and afterwards laid out the site for the new church there; the land has been generously given by the lady of C H Chambers, Esq who has also subscribed liberally towards its erection. We understand that a few masters in this neighbourhood refused to allow their assigned servants to attend. We trust his Excellency will be requested to withdraw these men from masters who are so unfit to be entrusted with the reformation of such men. His lordship then proceeded to Dungog.¹⁶

In November 1842 Charles was elected the first Town Clerk by a majority of the aldermen and councillors of the newly established Sydney Municipal Council.¹⁷ He was awarded an annual salary of £400 with the right to continue in private practice as a solicitor. The appointment was not without challenge. The *Australian* expressed doubt about his suitability for the position, ridiculing his letter of application: 'Whatever may be the qualifications of Mr C, it is clear that he is quite alive to his own merits.'¹⁸ Not long after the appointment the *Australian* returned to its criticisms:

'[I]t has become absolutely necessary to comment strongly upon the gross incapacity manifested by the Town Clerk for the discharge of the very arduous duties imposed upon him by his office ... [H]e is an incapable person, whose legal memory and judgment are equally and painfully deficient.' The editor concluded: 'We accordingly prophesy, that his term of office will not be very protracted.'¹⁹

The prophecy was not long in being fulfilled, and not without a contributing element from one of the protagonists of the Brady libel case, the former editor of the *Colonist*, James McEachern. McEachern, a victim of the economic depression, found employment in the Sydney Council, in the office of the Town Clerk; he was soon dismissed by Charles. The case came before a meeting of the aldermen in July 1843, where Chambers was questioned about his action. And, of course, the *Australian* took up the matter with ill-concealed glee:

16 *Australasian Chronicle*, 15 October 1840.

17 To the surprise of many, the sparsely occupied Pymont peninsula was included within the borders of Sydney Municipality.

18 *Australian*, 9 November 1842.

19 *Australian*, 21 December 1842.

‘Pending the preliminary arrangements of the City Council, we advanced certain arguments in reference to Mr Chambers’ palpable incapacity for the onerous office of Town Clerk; and however truly our remarks have been borne out by that officer’s procedure since his appointment, we could hardly have deemed it possible that he would be guilty of the absurdities we find recorded in the report of Wednesday’s Meeting.’²⁰

Two weeks later, on 19 July, following a unanimous vote of no confidence in the Town Clerk’s department, Chambers presented a testy letter of resignation, citing as the sole cause of the dismissal Council’s rejection of his recommendations concerning the vital question of the basis of property valuation for the purposes of rate assessment:

Gentlemen, about six months ago I advised you in council how to value the buildings of the city, with a view to an assessment, but you ridiculed my suggestion. In the month of May last, I repeated my advice by letter, which you also ridiculed, but placed it on record in your minute book, and pursued your own course in the assessment. You now find you have committed an error, which you will scarcely remedy, and that my advice was right; and perceiving the difficulty you have got into, you would fain cast the odium upon me, and blame the Town Clerk’s incompetence, which I hear some members are doing, in violation of justice towards me ... I therefore resign the appointment.²¹

After the tabling of the letter, Alderman MacDermott commented that he was of the opinion that ‘the only error which they had made was in the appointment of the Town Clerk; and he thought the courtesy which had always been paid to that gentleman demanded that he should have addressed them in different language’.²² In April 1844 Chambers made a claim of £59 against the Council for legal work performed while Town Clerk. He was called to justify the claim. A good deal of quibbling ensued, but his former partner, William Thurlow, now an Alderman, seconded one of the more generous resolutions, which granted somewhat less than the claim.²³

20 *Australian*, 7 July 1843.

21 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1843.

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April 1844.

In August the Chief Commissioner of Insolvent Estates received claims against the estate of Charles Henry Chambers. The depressed state of colonial finances had now caught up with Charles. Soon the Chambers' landlord was seeking a solvent tenant for his Union Street house.²⁴ The Chambers household relocated to Pymont Street, opposite the site of the future Catholic church and school.²⁵

In the first half of 1844 there was regular reporting of the Dublin trial of Daniel O'Connell and his fellow 'traversers'. O'Connell had been arrested on 7 October 1843, the eve of a huge protest meeting at Clontarf just to the north of Dublin. He and his eight colleagues were accused of 'unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously contriving, intending, and devising to raise and create discontent and disaffection amongst the liege subjects of our said lady the Queen, and to excite the said liege subjects to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of this realm'.²⁶ The news in Sydney was always at least four months behind the events. The guilty verdict was delivered on 12 February 1844 and announced in Sydney in the *Australian* on Monday 24 June. A meeting of the Catholics of Sydney was called for 28 June at the City Theatre in Market Street to protest the process of the trial, specifically the exclusion of qualified Catholics from the Special Jury. Charles Chambers was present and made a long intervention as seconder of one of the resolutions moved at the meeting. In doing so he proudly displayed his Irish origins and his attachment to his adopted Catholic faith, in support of a fellow graduate of the King's Inns of Dublin. He began by establishing his loyalty to the British crown and constitution. Indeed the first resolution had been 'that the Catholics of Sydney do not yield to any portion of their fellow subjects in loyalty to the throne, and to the obedience to the obligation of an oath'. He spoke as a recent Catholic convert who had not experienced the discrimination enshrined in British law prior to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. As reported in the *Morning Chronicle* Charles movingly referred to his conversion:

[T]welve years after the passing of the emancipation act, a change came over the spirit of his dream, which some might approve of, and others condemn; for his own part, he had never regretted that change ... But he begged to say, that in any observations he would make on this subject, he did not mean to cast any imputations upon his brethren

24 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1844.

25 *Assessment Book* 1848.

26 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1844.

of different persuasions from him. All his relatives were Protestants, but they did not love him the less.

He declared, to the cheers of the meeting, that O'Connell was the 'greatest man that ever existed', and that he was fighting the battles 'not of his own sect alone, but of all Dissenters'. Even louder cheers followed when he highlighted the non-violent commitment of the Liberator: 'No such spectacle was ever beheld before, as a man with seven million of people at his command, fighting the peaceful battles of his country.' He concluded, putting aside any resentment about his time as Town Clerk, in thanking his Protestant friends 'who had once elected him to an important corporate office in this city, a compliment he gratefully remembered'.²⁷ One of those 'Protestant friends', James Wilshire, Mayor of Sydney, was chairing the meeting arrayed in robes of office.

The motion seconded by Charles' long speech was carried unanimously: 'That the omission of the names of sixty-three persons (including a large portion of Roman Catholics as well as liberal Protestants) from the special jury list, affords grounds for more than suspicion that fair dealing has not been practised, and calls for a full parliamentary investigation.'²⁸ Not all Sydney newspapers were sympathetic to the perceived injustice of the trial. The *Sydney Morning Herald* caricatured the Theatre Royal protest as a 'meeting of Botany Bay repealers'.²⁹

During all the financial ups and downs of those years Charles found time to attend and make interventions at key Catholic meetings. Evidence that his insolvency problems did not weigh heavily on his reputation in church circles was found in his appointment as councillor and bursar of the Australasian Holy Catholic Guild of St Mary and St Joseph. The Archbishop established the Guild in June 1845 as a Catholic version of the growing Oddfellow and Masonic lodges. The objects of the Guild were 'to furnish provision and medical attendance for the sustenance of members in sickness, and the means for the interment of members after their decease, and provision for the relief of their families'.³⁰

In October 1846 Charles' name appeared as one of the five trustees for the grant of 'one rood and ten perches, parish of Alexandria, city of

27 *Morning Chronicle*, 3 July 1844.

28 *Morning Chronicle*, 3 July 1844.

29 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1844.

30 Catholic Directory 1845.

Sydney, at Abercrombie Place ... as the sites for a Roman Catholic Church and clergyman's residence'.³¹ Being named one of the lay trustees was no light matter. Governor Bourke's Church Act of 1836 which committed government funds to the building of Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian Churches, required that there be lay trustees in addition to clergy. Bishop Polding, with the usual instinctive episcopal suspicion of lay involvement in church administration, required that an oath be taken by the lay appointees in order to avoid 'presbyterianism'. The church being built was St Benedict's; the foundation stone had been laid and blessed in July 1845. The mission area was vast, extending south to Botany Bay, west to Concord, and north to Johnstone's Bay, thus including the Pymont peninsula, until the establishment twenty-one years later of the separate St Bede mission. The Chambers family, as residents of Pymont, were parishioners of St Benedict's. Subscriptions for the building of the new church were called for and a collector was assigned to Pymont. A list of Pymont subscribers printed in the *Morning Chronicle* in July 1846, with subscriptions ranging from 13s to 2/4d, was made up mostly of Irish names.

In October 1851 Charles was among hundreds of worthy gentlemen of the Colony of New South Wales addressed by Queen Victoria: 'To Charles Henry Chambers, of Pymont ... Greeting: Know ye, that we have assigned you and each and every of you, jointly and severally, to be our Justices to keep our peace in our colony of New South Wales (including the City of Sydney) and its dependencies ...'³² Charles was now a magistrate and would regularly sit on the bench of the Water Police Court during 1852. His performance was not without controversy. In November the *Herald* published an editorial headed 'Magisterial Squabbles' in which it deplored 'unseemly squabbles' on the bench of the Water Police Court, instancing 'an indecent exposure of petulance and passion' during an altercation in open court between Messrs Chambers and Brenan at a hearing concerning two runaway seamen. Charles did not hesitate in taking up his pen to write a characteristically lengthy letter in refutation the *Herald's* article. Editors must have breathed a sigh of relief on reading that this would 'most probably' be the last time he would bother writing to correct the press. He concluded:

I ask no favour from the press, nor expect any. I merely desire to have

31 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 October 1846.

32 M Hogan, 'Before responsible government', in M Hogan, L Muir and H Golder, *The People's Choice: electoral politics in colonial New South Wales*, Sydney, 2007, pp 47-49.

justice done ... From the respectability of the gentlemen whom I see composing the press, I cannot believe that they have any other object in view in their reports than that of publishing the truth. With respect to the Water Police Magistrate and myself, I trust that, if any disputes or differences should arise between us, we shall always be able to settle them privately, or, at all events, in such a manner as becomes the dignity of our offices and the courtesy due to each other.³³

Charles' pen was not still for long, for just three weeks later he wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* concerning the major political issue of the day, the proposal for a new Constitution for the Colony. When the letter was published in January 1853 it needed five and a half columns of small print to accommodate it.³⁴ The letter was divided into 56 numbered paragraphs and concluded with the alarming words, 'to be continued'. The *Freeman's Journal* dedicated another five of its columns in February to a further 56 numbered paragraphs to conclude what had become Charles' pamphlet length article. Indeed by the end of February the work was being advertised in the *Herald*, *Empire* and *Freeman's Journal* as being available for purchase with the alarmist title: 'ANOTHER GREAT CRISIS - THE NEW CONSTITUTION.'³⁵

The basic argument of the pamphlet was that the Colony was not mature enough for any form of independence. Applying a 'homely simile', Charles stated: 'I consider this promising and quick growing country of Australia now to be ... *advancing only* to puberty, as yet in her *teens*, and at a considerable distance from the accomplishment of her majority.'³⁶ Charles had not changed his opinion since his interjection at the Anniversary Day meeting in 1833. He did not live to bemoan the Imperial Parliament's vote of approval and the royal assent to the Constitution Act New South Wales, minus the life members, given in 1855.

During 1853 Charles continued to serve as Magistrate at the Police Court, in which he was promoted in September to the position of the second Police Magistrate. In some weeks he sat on the bench from Monday to Thursday with as many as four other magistrates dealing with cases reflecting the troubled life of Sydney. Mondays always began with the Drunkards' List, with between thirty and forty offenders each week being

³³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November 1852.

³⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 January 1853.

³⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 February 1852.

³⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 January 1853.

fined or imprisoned. Other matters dealt with were theft, assault, obscene language, attempted suicide, pick-pocketing, indecent exposure, breach of contract, abusive language, desertion, breach of Hired Servants Act, breach of Master and Servant Act, inciting of a breach of the peace, horse stealing, threatening language, juvenile delinquency, vagrancy, neglect of children, bigamy, and libel, a matter in which Charles had much experience in the Brady case of 1839.

In September 1853 Lucinda sailed from Sydney to George Town in Tasmania, to her eldest daughter's home. The following January a weary and lonely Charles followed. In February 1854 the Chambers' residence in Pymont Street was presented for auction. In March Lucinda died; within a month Charles too had died.³⁷ In that same year their youngest child, Lucy, was moving towards a sparkling career in opera. Her Sydney music teacher, Mary Logan, had been impressed with Lucy's contralto voice and had recommended that she sail to Europe for further training. This she eventually was able to do in 1862. The highlight of her career was her appearance in 1865 at 'the great La Scala, in Milan, where she was engaged as prima donna contralto assoluta for two seasons, singing in *Il Trovatore*, *Un Ballo in Maschera*, and *Faust*.'³⁸ In 1870 she returned to Australia where she continued her singing career and then as a music teacher. In Melbourne, Helen Porter Mitchell, later renowned as Dame Nellie Melba, was one of her pupils.³⁹

In October 1893 the *Sydney Mail* contained a headline: 'Last Melbourne Town Hall appearance of Madame Lucy Chambers', and reminisced that 'a few fathers and mothers remembered her as a girl of 16 in Sydney, her native city; even at that age, her fine contralto voice and power of dramatic expression used to bring crowds to the windows of her friends' houses when she sang.'⁴⁰ Those Sydney friends were the neighbours of the Chambers household in Pymont.

In Sydney the advantages of life on the Pymont peninsula continued to be promoted. Within days of Charles' death, throughout April there appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* full column advertisements for the sale of houses targeted at 'Mechanics, Artizans and Labourers'. The size of the advertisements was reminiscent of those of the first subdivision

37 *Launceston Examiner*, 9 March 1854 & 4 April 1854.

38 *Argus*, 25 November 1884.

39 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 February 1931.

40 *Sydney Mail and NSW Advertiser*, 21 October 1893.

of the estate in 1841. Highlighted were the anticipated improvements 'in contemplation' for Pymont: sealing for the 'streets, lanes and byeways'; gas lighting and water pipes throughout the suburb; building of the Pymont swing bridge; a 'Grand Junction Railway Terminal' in the immediate vicinity; 'total extinction of all nuisances'.⁴¹

The much vaunted swing bridge was not opened until four years later, on St. Patrick's Day 1859. All the other improvements – road surfacing, gas-lighting, water pipes – would not emerge until the 1860s. A passenger railway connection was never provided for Pymont; an electric tramway commenced operation at the beginning of the twentieth century. As for the 'total extinction of all nuisances', that is still awaited!

⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17, 22, 29 April 1854.

HENRY CURRAN, BUSHRANGERS, AND A BOOROWA DREAM

James McDonald*

Goulburn journalist, Henry Curran, showed great promise. In 1873 he became editor of the *Burrowa Advocate*, but his paper failed within twelve months. In this article we consider what went wrong and, in the process, become familiar with the man and the challenges facing this young Catholic journalist and his troubled family in the colony during his short life.

(i) Apprenticeship and early years

Henry Joseph Curran was born in Gundaroo in 1843, when his father was working in the district as a shepherd for the Macleod family of Barnsdale.¹ His father deserted his mother and seven children in 1862. Henry's mother, Margaret Curran (nee Conba), struggled to clear her husband's debts and rear the children on her own in Queanbeyan.² But



Ann Lodge and Henry Curran with baby Ida, c. 1873

This badly foxed and faded image is the only surviving photograph of the Currans.

Henry had left home well before his parents were estranged. At the age of 13 in early 1857 he had been apprenticed as a printer in Goulburn for the

- 1 For the Macleod brothers, see E. Lea Scarlett, *Gundaroo*, Canberra, 1972, pp. 10-22. Cf. B. Maher, *In Praise of Pioneers: an Account of the Keeffe and Curran Families, Queanbeyan District*, Canberra, 1981, pp. 28, 30.
- 2 For Margaret Curran, see J. McDonald, 'Margaret Curran: Scrubbing Against the Grain' in two parts: *Quinbean*, vol. 10.1, 2017, pp. 6-14; with part two forthcoming.

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newly established *Goulburn Chronicle and Southern Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper published from 1855 to 1864.³

It was a five-year apprenticeship in which he was provided with board and lodging by his masters, William Vernon and Ludolf Mellin.⁴ He also received a weekly salary, which had risen to 15 shillings a week in his final year of 1861. This was a significant and valued opportunity for the son of a shepherd and dairymaid from the northern reaches of County Cork. We know nothing specifically about Henry's experiences at the *Chronicle*, but another apprentice,

Patrick Meehan, who had been indentured at the same time as Henry, charged Mellin with assault in 1859.⁵ The case was dismissed; however, the court released Meehan from his indentures,

which would suggest that Henry's master had not acted altogether fairly. It is possible that the young Henry also experienced severe treatment at the hands of Mellin.

The *Chronicle* was always going to be a high-risk venture. There was probably an insufficient population to sustain multiple papers in Goulburn, which was already serviced by the popular *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, first printed in 1848 and run mainly by the Riley



Apprenticeship certificate for thirteen-year-old Henry Joseph Curran, 25 April 1857

- 3 Indenture certificate (25 April 1857). For the newspaper, see I. Frazer, 'The History of the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* and the *Goulburn Herald*, 1848-1927' (unpublished thesis), Canberra, 1996, pp. 56-57; cf. R. Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience: a History of the New South Wales Provincial Press*, Canberra, 2000, pp. 99-100.
- 4 These two men appear to have first worked together as on the *Illustrated Sydney News*. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 1855, p. 3.
- 5 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 29 October 1859, p. 1.

family from 1857.⁶ Compared to the editorial perspective of the *Herald*, the *Chronicle* was more liberal with its strong focus on land reform and social welfare issues. Vernon and Mellin had originally approached local political activist and solicitor, Daniel Deniehy, to serve as the paper's co-editor, but he had declined.⁷ However, in 1860 they managed to recruit journalist, Alfred Ellis, who had been a sub-editor of the *Empire*, when Henry Parkes was the proprietor.⁸ Under Ellis's stewardship, the circulation of the *Chronicle* soon rose to equal that of the *Herald*. But after a few years, the *Chronicle* declined, firstly with the death of Vernon in 1862, after a long fight with facial cancer and then with the departure of Ellis in the following year also due to illness.

In 1864, the *Chronicle* was taken over by its senior rival, when the owners of the *Herald*, William Riley and John Chisholm, bought it out.⁹ A new paper emerged from this union called *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, with most of the staff and resources transferring.

(ii) Ben Hall and the sudden demise of the Lodge family

Curran married Ann Lodge at St Peter and Paul's Catholic Cathedral, Goulburn.¹⁰ Like the Currans, Ann's family had also arrived as 'bounty migrants'. Her father worked at Oxley's Kirkham Estate, but by 1846 had moved to neighbouring Menangle, where he farmed a small freehold in his own right. He had been encouraged to migrate by his elder brother, James Lodge, who had been convicted in 1817 of 'frame breaking' (Luddism) and was transported for 14 years to Australia, where he was to flourish in ways

6 R. T. Wyatt, *The History of Goulburn, N.S.W.*, Goulburn, 1941, pp. 231-3; S. Tazewell, *Grand Goulburn, First Inland City of Australia: a Random History*, Goulburn, 1991, pp. 93-4.

7 C. Pearl, *Brilliant Dan Deniehy: a Forgotten Genius*, Canberra, 1972, p. 49. For Deniehy's life, see G. P. Walsh, 'Deniehy, Daniel Henry (1828-1865)' in D. Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (hereafter, 'ADB'), vol. 4, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 44-6.

8 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1901, p. 7 (obituary).

9 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 2 April 1864, p. 1. Cf. Tazewell, *loc. cit.*

10 Marriage registration (1865/002086). Note that on her birth certificate, she is called 'Eliza'. She seems to have taken on the name Ann early on in her life, as she is called 'Ann Eliza' in all the documentation from the time of her marriage to her death.

unimaginable by his relatives remaining at home in the slums of Leicester and Bradford.

In 1862, the Lodges sold up at Menangle and moved to Goulburn where they purchased the ailing *John Barleycorn Inn*, which they hoped to renovate. The date of the marriage between Ann Lodge and Henry Curran (9 January 1865) is critical to note, because, very shortly after, the Lodge family became embroiled in the government's increasingly heavy-handed attempts to capture Ben Hall and his gang.¹¹ As a consequence of actions taken against the family by colonial authorities, the Lodges were financially ruined within a few months of the marriage.

Ann's brother, another publican, Thomas Lodge, appears to have been particularly targeted by police and tends to be adversely portrayed in most of the literature concerning the three bushrangers: Ben Hall, John Gilbert, and John Dunn. Thomas Lodge and his wife had run two hotels successfully at Breadalbane from 1853 to 1865 and were prominent in the development of the local Catholic community, even hosting a visit from Archbishop Polding in 1858.¹²

It may or may not have been true that Thomas Lodge was a bushranger's informant and, therefore, was justifiably targeted by Goulburn police and their Sydney masters in early 1865. But that story is a complicated one and cannot be assessed here adequately. What does need to be noted is that, despite the common view espoused widely in the secondary material, that Thomas Lodge actively aided and abetted Ben Hall, there is nothing of consequence to support this in the primary sources.¹³ In fact, there is a stronger case, in my opinion, to be made to suggest that a formal complaint, which Lodge made to Colonial Secretary Cowper in February 1865 about

11 Primarily, through the hasty recruitment of additional troopers and the draconian measures of *The Felons Apprehension Act* of April 1865; in effect, a declaration of 'outlawry' and remission of most legal rights.

12 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 March 1856, p. 3; *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 24 May 1856, p. 2; *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 3 July 1858, p. 2. For the Polding visit, see *Empire*, 13 March 1858, p. 5.

13 Recent examples of the sloppy repetition of these unsupported claims are J. L. Tracey, *Upper Lachlan Shire Community Heritage Study 2007-2008*, Sydney, 2010, p. 65; M. L. Croke, *Hotels, Inns and Shanties of the Upper Lachlan Shire*, Goulburn, 2010, pp. 162-3.

inappropriate police behaviour, had the effect of triggering the severe response against the Lodge family.¹⁴

What is also of particular relevance here is that Henry Curran may have inadvertently played a part in his brother-in-law's downfall. When the Hall gang diverted the Yass Mail with its crew and passengers to the Lodge's inn at Breadalbane and paid for lunch for all the passengers, Curran probably used Lodge as his informant in an article describing events. The passage is unusual in its detail and it would have been natural for him to confer with his fiancé's brother.¹⁵ Perhaps this candid article in the *Chronicle* in late 1864, backfired in that the police were made to look inept and their adversary, Ben Hall, was glamorised as a 'gentleman'. The truth of the matter, of course, is that this episode is a common one and the gang bailed up numerous coaches and inns over the years and generally treated the poorer captives with courtesy. There was no implication of the publican doing anything other than what the armed criminals demanded. Nevertheless, it must have enraged the local magistrate, Augustus Huthwaite, who may have seen collusion where there was none. Of course, this is not to say that Thomas Lodge was a saint, or that he would have been any different to his predominantly Catholic neighbours in not wanting to see the 'gentleman bushranger' caught by troopers who were all Protestants and outsiders.¹⁶ But their common background and liminality, certainly, does not equate to unlawful complicity.

The Inspector-general of Police, John McLerie, a prominent Freemason, was on a mission to quell bushranging and probably had a dim view of Lodge and the Catholic enclave at Breadalbane.¹⁷ His reputation rested on his efforts to quash Hall. Curran's article – reprinted widely throughout the

14 The letter is held in the Western Sydney Records Centre. It is also transcribed in full in a rare balanced treatment: E. F. Penzig, *Ben Hall: the Definitive Illustrated History*, Katoomba, 1996, pp. 333-4.

15 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 12 November 1864, p. 3.

16 A close early relationship with the local Catholic troopers (Brennan and M'Connel) is attested: e.g. *Empire*, 3 January 1855, p. 3; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 January 1855, p. 9. It contrasts with the hostile relationship with Huthwaite's Goulburn-based Protestant recruits.

17 H. King, 'McLerie, John (1809-1874)' in Pike (ed.), *ADB*, vol. 5, Melbourne, 1974, pp.188-9. For the bitter sectarianism in Breadalbane in the 1860s, see M. Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R.H. Matthews*, Sydney, pp. 158-9. I thank Myles Hannan for alerting me to this work.

colonies – had embarrassed him and Lodge’s letter was too controversial to allow himself to believe the allegations of misconduct.¹⁸ He annotated Lodge’s complaint with a disparaging remark, before passing it on to his master, Sir Charles Cowper. But even without prompting, Cowper would have been unlikely to take Lodge’s complaint seriously. The Cowper Government’s political base in Goulburn relied on the patronage of none other than the Chisholm brothers, whose connection to the district began with their father, James senior (1772-1837), a member of the NSW Corps. Second son, John Chisholm (1819-1899), as we have seen, was a co-owner of the *Goulburn Chronicle*. He had been an active supporter of Cowper in the 1856 election. In the 1860s, the patriarch of this family was the eldest brother, James Chisholm junior (1806-1888) who, in effect, was the ‘squire’ of Breadalbane. He was also a member of the NSW Legislative Council (1851-1856, 1865-1888) and in Cowper’s faction. James Chisholm had been annoyed by Thomas Lodge’s high bid in the land purchases of 1856 and may have harboured resentment.¹⁹ Moreover, the Lodges were Chartist and Catholic. It would be surprising if Cowper had not consulted the Chisholms in the matter of the 1865 court action against Thomas Lodge and we could hardly expect a glowing endorsement from the brothers under the circumstances.

In any case, even if I have overstated the likelihood of prejudice against Lodge, his complaint about drunken police at his hotel who had mistreated his family and guests (including the local teachers), was ignored. With 26 witnesses available, it must be asked why the police did not investigate the matter, unless, of course, there was something to hide. It is unsurprising, therefore, to see Lodge facing, what looks like a diversionary and trumped-

18 It is tempting to speculate that Curran’s article also angered the newspaper’s co-owner, John Chisholm, and might explain why Curran switched to the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*.

19 *Empire*, 9 October, 1856, p. 3. Cf. *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 19 December 1857, p. 2; Bennett’s ‘Plan of 99 portions of land at the Third Bredalbane (*sic*) Plain, Mutmutbilly, Dairy Flats etc. County of Argyle. 1856’ (NLA Ferguson Collection: F794). For the political connection between the Cowper and Chisholm families, see P. Moore, ‘Cowper, Charles (1834-1911)’ in Pike (ed.), *ADB*, vol. 3, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 479-80. For the career of the elder Charles Cowper, see J. M Ward, ‘Cowper, Sir Charles (1807-1875)’, *ibid.*, pp. 475-9. For the prominence of the Chisholms in the Goulburn district, see Wyatt, *The History of Goulburn*, 1941, pp. 33, 44, 115, 121-2, 159-60, 178, 221.

up charge of receiving a stolen saddle based on an allegation by a young felon and admitted accomplice of the gang, who may have had a grudge with the family.²⁰ The jury suspected that the informant had fabricated his testimony in return for a lighter sentence himself.²¹ Lodge was acquitted in Sydney, but even if his jury had erred, the worst that could be said against him was that he had received stolen goods. There is nothing at all in the primary material that supports the conclusion that he collaborated with bushrangers, yet this is what is commonly promulgated in the publications about Ben Hall.

Despite his acquittal, the Goulburn magistrates, be it James or John Chisholm, or their colleague, Captain Henry Zouch, were never going to renew a publican's licence for Thomas in 1865.²² The son's investment in 268 acres and a twelve-room stone inn at Breadalbane was well in excess of £500, some of it borrowed from his father, who had himself invested heavily in the refurbishment of the *John Barleycorn*.²³ Both Lodge families were now ruined. They left the district. Thomas struggled with alcohol in these years, but to his credit gave up drinking and went on to lead a productive and honourable life in the Mandurama community as a mail contractor, woolgrower, and violin teacher.

(iii) Henry Curran and Goulburn's literary societies

But now we must return to our main subject, Henry Curran.

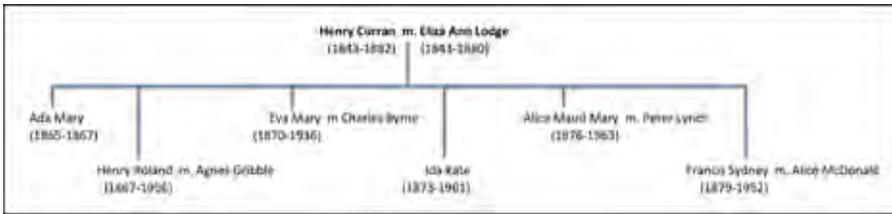
Family life commenced poorly for the Currans with their first child, Ada, dying of whooping cough, aged 20 months in 1867. Some solace would have been found in the birth of Henry junior just a few months later. Three

20 This is Thomas William Jones, born 1848, Mummel (near Goulburn), the son of William Jones (1809-1862) and Susan Ritchie (1830-1910). He married Anna Maria Smith on 12 July 1876 at Goulburn and returned to Lost River (near Crookwell). His father resided in Clinton Street near Henry's inn, *The John Barleycorn*, where he died in 1862 (*Goulburn Herald*, 8 November 1862, p. 3). Thomas Jones says in the trial that he knew the Lodge family. There may have been 'bad blood' or sectarian prejudice between the families motivating the son's actions; if not, there certainly would have been after the son's actions against Thomas Lodge as a paid police informer

21 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1865, pp. 5-6.

22 For the magistrates, see Wyatt, *The History of Goulburn*, 1941, p. 178.

23 *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 3 July 1858, p. 2; *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 16 September 1865, p. 4.



The family of Henry Curran and Ann Lodge

years after this, they were blessed with a third child, Eva. Happily, this babe also survived.²⁴

Curran is reported as being an active member of the Goulburn Literary Society. In 1867 (in his 24th year), he was elected as a committeeman, but he also read papers at meetings of the society, most of which had a religious theme. One, however, was titled ‘The Best Means to Be Adopted for the Suppression of Bushranging in New South Wales’, delivered 29 April 1867.²⁵ No doubt, it was a means of suggesting to his fellow townsfolk that there were better ways than the heavy-handed tactics of McLerie and Huthwaite.

The Goulburn Literary Society commenced in early 1865, with its first annual general meeting held on 12 February 1866.²⁶ It was a secular group, although many of the papers read at its meeting (a total of 22 in 1867) were on moral themes, such as temperance and social mores. It had a membership of about thirty men, met in the hall of the *Goulburn Mechanics’ Institute*, and raised funds for causes such as the new hospital.²⁷ Although its finances were sound, it appears to have struggled in its first years. At its third annual general meeting in February 1868, attendance numbers and administrative difficulties were discussed, during which, Curran is reported – perhaps by himself – as calling for better support amongst the members for the work of its committee.²⁸ Henry’s name is not read in reports relating to the Society after this.

24 See Ada’s birth and death registrations (1865/009001; 1867/005097); Henry junior’s birth registration (1867/009515); Eva’s birth registration (2005/182033).

25 Reported in *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 13 February 1867, p. 2; 1 May 1867, p. 2; 12 June 1867, p. 2. Cf. *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 13 February 1867, p. 2.

26 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 17 February 1866: 4.

27 E.g. *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 16 February 1870, p. 2.

28 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 12 February 1868, p. 2.

He next appears in the records relating to the Goulburn Catholic Literary Society (sometimes called 'Association'). An interesting aspect of this society is not just its Catholic focus and its purpose of raising funds for the school library, but that it included women at its meetings (although not as members) and it had more of a family focus in its functions.²⁹

(iv) The Boorowa dream

In 1873, it appears that Curran saw an opportunity to branch out on his own. He seems to have acted in concert with Fathers Patrick and John Dunne.

Three articles in the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* from mid-1873 record the move of the Currans to Boorowa (originally spelled, Burrowa).³⁰ The latest, probably written by one of Henry's work colleagues, provides some interesting information about his involvement in the civic life before the move.

PRESENTATION TO MR CURRAN – At the regular meeting of the Catholic Literary Society held last evening, the business set apart for that night (essays) was postponed in order to present the president of the society (Mr. H. J. Curran) with an address and testimonial prior to his departure from amongst us to manage the *Burrowa Advocate* newspaper. The Rev. Father Slattery read the address, which was a very flattering one and spoke in high terms of the ability displayed by Mr. Curran as a member of the society, and more especially as its president.³¹ The Rev. gentleman then presented the address and testimonial; and afterwards delivered a very eloquent address to the members, bearing particular stress upon the good qualities possessed by Mr. Curran, and encouraging him and the other members to persevere. Mr. Curran read

29 (*Freeman's Journal*, 8 March 1873, p. 2). Of course, it is likely that it was Henry himself who was the unnamed Goulburn correspondent. On the Society's serious religious purpose, see *Freeman's Journal*, 18 July 1868, p. 2; 12 July 1873, p. 6.

30 *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 29 July 1873, p. 2; 31 July 1873, p. 2; 7 August 1873, p. 2.

31 For Slattery, Vicar-general of Goulburn in 1900, see B. Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundation of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, Canberra, 1997, pp. 152, 238, 274, 355; B. Maher, *Sesquicentenary (1862-2012), Diocese of Goulburn (1862-1948), Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn (1948-2012): Collected Documents and Clergy Directory*, Canberra, 2012, p. 110.

an appropriate reply, and also offered some *ex tempore* remarks to the members. Some neat and appropriate addresses were also delivered by Messrs. T. Ryan, R. Davis and one or two others. Mr. Curran was also presented on Monday last with the sum of £2 from the Loyal Strangers' Friend Lodge of Oddfellows as a gift for meritorious conduct. Mr. Curran leaves Goulburn tomorrow morning.

From this article, we not only learn that Henry and his family relocated to Boorowa in early August 1873, but during his time in Goulburn he had not only risen to the office of President of the Goulburn Catholic Literary Association, but he had also been active in the International Order of Oddfellows. A much longer description of the presentation was reported in the *Penny Post's* rival, *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*.³² It contains the actual testimonial address by the society, which was read out by Rev. Slattery, along with a transcript of Curran's reply. It shows us that he was passionate about his civic work and had developed strong roots in the Goulburn community since joining the association in 1859 at the age of 15.

Although Henry Curran's departure to Boorowa in 1873 is well documented, his time in that town is not.³³ Nor have any copies of the paper he revived and edited – *The Burrowa Advocate* – survived. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the experiment failed, despite a propitious beginning.

The family tradition is that the local population did not support the paper due to 'disagreements'.³⁴ It is also unclear what the financial impact of the venture was on the Curran purse, as it can be assumed that Henry, as proprietor, was also the chief financier.

What is particularly intriguing about this episode of the Curran story is that the Fathers Dunne (Patrick and John) were involved; recruiting and installing Curran at Boorowa.³⁵ Patrick Dunne was a controversial, energetic, and well-loved leader of the Church in Ireland and in the

32 *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 9 August 1873, p. 4.

33 Henry Curran's tenure as proprietor of the short-lived *Burrowa Advocate* is overlooked by H. V. Lloyd, *Boorowa: Over 160 Years of White Settlement*, Panania, 1990, when she discusses the newspapers at pp. 141-6, 303; although, she does provide valuable information on the *Advocate's* first unsuccessful period under John Costello (which ceased in July 1873).

34 Notes made by Brian Maher and correspondence to him from Janet Booth (8 March 1993).

35 Lloyd, *Boorowa*, 1990, p. 142.

Australian colonies.³⁶ After his arrival in 1850, he preached at Pentridge Gaol in Coburg, delivered the first Mass at the Ballarat goldfields, assisted the rebels of the Eureka Stockade, and even established a dozen schools in the Geelong district, before clashing with the conservative church hierarchies and finding himself sent back overseas. In his home county of Offaly, he opened a seminary designed to prepare Irish priests for missionary duties in Australia and cooperated with Bishop James Quinn of Queensland in an ambitious Catholic migration scheme in the 1860s that was so successful that the colony became referred to as 'Quinnland'.³⁷ In 1868, Patrick Dunne arrived in Goulburn, where he was tasked with the foundation of St Patrick's College and the new cathedral, before being transferred to the Gundagai-Jugiong Diocese. He was not afraid to take on obstructionists within the Church and even used the newspapers to provoke matters. This was a man who must have known Curran very well during their common years at Goulburn (1868-1873). It was Patrick Dunne's nephew, Rev. John Dunne, who was to be Henry's benefactor and partner at Boorowa.

Young priest, John Dunne, arrived in the colony from Ireland in 1871 and, soon after, was appointed to Goulburn Diocese on a recommendation of his uncle to Archbishop Polding.³⁸ He was given the pastorate at Boorowa in 1872, where he remained until 1880, eventually rising to become Bishop of Wilcannia. While at Boorowa, Dunne established three churches at Frogmore, Hovell's Creek and Murringo and worked hard throughout his parish to 'steady the ship' (as Brian Maher puts it) after scandals involving his predecessors: Joseph Laffan (fraud and an affair with a female parishioner) and Patrick Riordan (alcohol abuse).³⁹ Hence, it was a critical time for the new broom of the Dunnes and it seems logical to conclude that the local

36 For his career, see T. J. Linane, 'Dunne, Patrick (1818-1900)' in Pike (ed.), *ADB*, vol. 4, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 117-18; Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross*, 1997: 37, 150-1, 155, 214-17, 237-41, 248-9, 254-9, 274; Maher, *Sesquicentenary*, 2012: 72.

37 For Quinn, see H. J. Gibbney, 'Quinn, James (1819-1881)' in Pike (ed.), *ADB*, vol. 5, Melbourne, 1974, pp.465-6.

38 For his career, see Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross*, 1997, pp. 3, 252, 257, 270, 273, 298-300, 336; Maher, *Sesquicentenary*, 2012, p. 72; B. Maher, *A Slice of Tipperary: a Story of Boorowa, NSW Catholic Community*, Canberra, 2016, p. 14.

39 Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross*, 1997, pp. 149-50; Maher, *A Slice of Tipperary*, 2016, pp. 14; 27-31.

press was to be used to pursue their agenda.

The *Burrowa Advocate* under Curran seems to have got off to a promising start. In the *Queanbeyan Age* we find an enthusiastic report of the first edition, which has been transcribed below.⁴⁰

journalism – We are in receipt of No. 1 of the Burrowa Advocate, revived with a much improved appearance, both in point of literary and mechanical merit, under the management of our old townsman, Mr. H. J. Curran. The enterprising proprietor has our best wishes for the success of his undertaking.

Nevertheless, the paper failed. We do not know why, but the family tradition of a schism in the community leading to the rejection of the paper by the local community, suggests that either Curran fell out with John Dunne as a ‘partner’, or he suffered from his association with the Reverends Dunne and their plans to reform this critical parish. The latter would seem the most likely explanation, particularly as Curran went on to work in the Catholic presses of Sydney, where Patrick Dunne was also well connected.

After Curran’s departure and the demise of the *Advocate*, Boorowa readers were serviced by a new paper, *Burrowa News*, which went on to become one of the oldest continually published regional papers in NSW.⁴¹ It is a pity that the town did not get behind the *Advocate* in the same way it supported the *News*. In any case, it would appear that the handover to the new paper was genial, with the list of former subscribers of the *Advocate* freely accessed by its successor.⁴²

(v) The tragic aftermath: Sydney in the late 1870s

By March 1876 we hear of the Currans in Sydney. Family tradition claims that Henry worked for a Catholic newspaper, which suggests that he was either employed on the *Freeman’s Journal* or *The Express*, forerunners of *The Catholic Weekly*. It could be concluded that it was the former, as there is evidence to suggest that Henry had already contributed articles to the *Freeman’s Journal* as its Goulburn correspondent. Moreover, this publication still has its offices in Surry Hills close by to where the Currans

40 *Queanbeyan Age*, 4 September 1873, p. 3.

41 First published by George Eason. See Lloyd, *Boorowa*, 1990, p. 142.

42 *Burrowa News*, 13 June 1874, p. 2.

eventually settled.⁴³

Tragically, Ann and Henry were not to enjoy the long lives wished upon them by their friends in Goulburn at Henry's testimonial in 1873. After just a few years in Sydney, we find them both dead. Ann passed away in December 1880 at home from peritonitis, aged only 37.⁴⁴ Henry followed her only 15 months later in March 1882 at Sydney Hospital, suffering from protracted abdominal pain and congestion of the liver.⁴⁵ He was 38 years of age.

During his father's long illness, fifteen year-old Henry junior did what he could to support the family on a meagre income earned from factory work, but it was not enough to keep destitution at bay. Circumstances were so bad that toddler Francis had to be placed in the Sydney Benevolent Asylum. It must have been a terrible decision for the family and their dying father to see during the last nine or so months of his life.

When Henry senior did pass away, his older brother, Patrick intervened. Eva and Alice were placed in the care of their uncle Thomas Lodge – whom we have met – at Mandurama. Patrick, himself, took Ida as well as the toddler, Francis, whom he rescued from the orphanage.⁴⁶ An apprenticeship was found for Henry junior with his uncle, George Curran, the blacksmith at Ginninderra.⁴⁷

This harrowing end to the family of Henry Curran must have come as terrible news for their friends and relatives, not only because of the sudden

43 Birth registrations for Alice (2005/182034) and Francis (1879/002808).

Their first abode was 120 Little Gipps Street (*NSW Police Gazette*, vol. 51, 17 December 1879, p. 1), concerning a robbery committed by three youths against Henry junior (then aged 11).

44 Death registration (1880/002488); cf. death notice in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1880, p. 1.

45 Death registration (1882/000492). Liver disease is not always alcohol-related, but cannot be dismissed as a possible factor in his early demise.

46 Admission and discharge records, Sydney Benevolent Asylum (27 January 1881; 27 October 1882); T. Treasure, *Mandurama and Its Neighbours*, Mandurama, 1992, pp. 44, 132.

47 For Henry Roland Curran, see J. McDonald, 'When Ginninderra Grew the Golden Fleece', *Canberra Historical Journal*, no. 75, 2015, pp. 15-23; 'Hammer and Tong: the Five Blacksmiths of Ginninderra', *ADB*, forthcoming.

deaths of the parents, but on account of the vulnerability of the children. Prospects had once shone so brightly when they had been prominent in the life of Goulburn's Catholic community.

SAIGON, CHOLON AND JULIAN TENISON WOODS

Roderick O'Brien*

"I visited the port of Saigon in the course of my travels, on my way from Hong Kong to the Malay Kingdom of Pahang."

1. Introduction

Australian scientist, educator, and priest Julian Edmund Tenison Woods spent the years from 1883 to 1886 in scientific research in south-east Asia and east Asia. While he does not date his visit to Saigon, internal evidence places it in the latter part of 1885. When he returned to Australia, already a sick man, he engaged in a flurry of writing scientific and related publications. This included his work *Geographical Notes on Malaysia and Asia*, published in 1887.² His writing continued even on his sickbed, until he could write no longer, and he died on 7 October 1889, only 56 years old. It is his *Geographical Notes* which contain a little more than eight pages on his visit to Saigon. My purpose is to present that brief writing to modern readers, and to provide a commentary and context about the man and his visit.

Woods has been the subject of numerous biographies, both in book length and as articles. A few of these have referenced his scientific work³, or his travels.⁴ More general biographies may include a section about his scientific work.⁵ Others focus on his role as a religious founder,⁶ or as a pioneer educator,⁷ or his spirituality.⁸

Woods was an Englishman, born in London in 1832. As a teenager, he showed keen interest in religious life, and successively joined two religious orders: the Passionists and the Marists. Ill-health brought both these endeavours to an end. While with the Marists, he taught English at the naval college in Toulon. A child's interest in natural history, developed during a stay in Jersey, seems to have grown while in France into a systematic interest in natural science and geology.⁹ Woods travelled to Australia (first to Tasmania and then to South Australia) arriving in 1855. After brief studies at Sevenhill Jesuit College near Clare, he was ordained a diocesan priest on 4 January 1857, and assigned to the large parish of Penola, in south-eastern South Australia. He had already begun his scientific work while at Sevenhill, where he was fortunate that among his teachers was Jesuit Fr John Hinteroecker, who had for some years taught natural history

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at Linz, and was already a published scholar.¹⁰ Woods continued in Penola, publishing reports of his observations.¹¹ In 1862, he published his first book *Geological Observations in South Australia*.¹² Shortly after, he began using the hyphenated form of his name, Tenison-Woods, to distinguish himself from other scientists named Woods who were also publishing in Australia at this time. Tenison was his mother's maiden name.

From 1857, Woods had a fascinating career as an adventurous priest, a pioneer educator, and a religious founder. The most noted of these foundations was the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, with the young Australian educator Mary MacKillop. The Catholic Church's recent canonisation (declaration of sainthood) of Mary MacKillop has highlighted this aspect of Woods' varied life. But he always sought to give an hour each day to science, and published regularly. In the course of his life, he wrote more than 200 scientific papers on subjects as diverse as geology and palaeontology, marine biology, botany, and exploration.¹³

From time to time he accepted paid assignments from colonial governments to report on the geology of areas of Australia. Then in 1883, a new opportunity came his way. Sir Frederick Weld, Governor of the Straits Settlements, had been a friend of Woods when Governor of Tasmania. Weld invited Woods to take part in a geological study of the Malay Peninsula. Woods took up this opportunity, sailing to Singapore by way of Java, and observing some of the great eruptions of Krakatoa. Once this work was complete, he accepted a further commission to study coal deposits in south-east Asia. Travelling on Royal Navy research vessels, he managed to visit many places, even going beyond south-east Asia and making two visits to Japan in 1885 and 1886. It was on one of these voyages, from Hong Kong to Singapore (on his way from Japan to Pahang) that he visited Saigon. I am sure that readers will find his description illuminating. From his scientific work, Woods was a trained observer, and his commentary, written in English for Australian readers, is not a mere echo of French perspectives.

In the lengthy quotations which follow, I have included some interpolations in square brackets, and some footnotes, which may assist the reader. These include the Vietnamese forms of place and personal names¹⁴, and Chinese characters for words from that language.

2. Arrival

“The entrance to Saigon [Sài-Gòn] is by the Cocoa-nut Bay and then up one of the many branches of the river Me-Kong [Mê-Kông], which flows through the delta of Cochin China. The time of my visit was unfortunate,

for the Tonquinese war was going on, and cholera was causing great ravages amongst the people. The establishment of the French Messageries¹⁵ is at an angle of the river just at the entrance of the town of Saigon. All along the sides of the river crowds of sampans and canoes remind one of Hong Kong, though not nearly so numerous. There is a certain floating population here as in all China. There are families living continually on the water, eating, cooking and sleeping in a space incredibly small, while the infants are cradled in a swinging cot like an aerial plant, with no trouble in rocking. At night there is the usual sparkling of light and tinkling of sounds from the flotilla with its living freight.”

“There is nothing to be seen in coming up the river, except the low banks at either side, until one comes in sight of Saigon. This is only indicated by the two tall square towers of the cathedral and a forest of masts and steam-funnels above the wide brown dead level plains. We did not pass many boats except a few fishermen in vessels rigged like the feluccas of the Mediterranean. A few low attap or palm-leaf houses may have been indications of villages.”

3. The People

In the Malay Peninsula, Woods had sufficient time to form an impression of the Malay people. He liked them, and felt that he could trust his life to them. But in Saigon, his visit was brief and his observations external.

“The people looked like Malays, and, except that they are slighter in stature and have smaller features, reminded me of the Javanese. They are not like Chinese, and they do not wear the queue....The general aspect of the people is prepossessing, with a more amiable manner than the Chinese, combined with much modesty and decorum.”

4. The Town and the Botanic Gardens

In the nineteenth century, botanic gardens and herbariums were not merely places for scenic walks. They were scientific in purpose, concerned with the developing sciences of botany and horticulture, and they also were also economic in purpose, concerned with the identification and acclimatisation of plants which could be used for economic purposes. While such gardens existed around the world, there was a particular concentration in south and south-east Asia. In his researches in the Malay Peninsula, Woods worked with another priest-scientist, Fr Benedetto Scortechini, who made a large

collection of plants. Scortechini's collection was lodged in the Calcutta Herbarium, after his untimely death there.¹⁶

“The wharf of the Messageries is prettily shrouded at the termination with clusters of mango, tamarind and cassia trees. There is about half-a-mile from this through swampy plains into the town, but one can enter it in a shorter way by crossing the elbow of the river in a boat. The town itself is thoroughly French, and, but for the motley suits of the inhabitants and the luxuriant trees which fringe the pathways, one could well imagine oneself on the outskirts of Marseilles, or some French town on the Mediterranean. The streets are wide and regular, with unceasing groves of tamarind trees. The cafes are numerous, with a homely array of benches and tables extending into the streets, round which there are always crowds of soldiers and officers gathered. Whatever business is done is almost confined to the Chinese, who have most of the large shops and stores in their hands. Apart from the military, there cannot be much European population, but there are a few shops of magasins of the usual French type. However, a walk through the town of Saigon does not take very long, and whatever there is to be seen is soon disposed of.”

“About two miles out of town are the Botanic Gardens, which, though only in their beginning, are as good as anything that can be seen in the East; but one cannot walk far without coming upon some of the unreclaimed portions, and this for the present mars the effect. The zoological collection is very good, with two of the largest tigers I have seen anywhere. In a country where the plumage of the birds is in perfect harmony with the luxuriant foliage and the flowers, a large aviary well kept and tastefully arranged is a beautiful sight worthy of the famed splendour of the East.”

In his walks, Woods also noted a number of memorials, one to Bishop D'Adran, and others to French officers killed in the local wars.

5. The Cathedral, and Religious Mission

“At a short distance from the gardens, in a rather dreary-looking plain and surrounded by large military barracks, is the cathedral.¹⁷ It is a stately and imposing-looking building, even though it is stuccoed and coloured with yellow limewash.”

“One cannot help being struck with the facts that this cathedral represents. The stately pile dedicated to St Francis Xavier,¹⁸ the patron of missions,

stands on a spot where a few years ago the brave missionary had to hide amongst a few fishermen's huts, and baptized his converts at the imminent peril of his life and theirs. There have not been wanting in Saigon many illustrious apostles, who laid down their lives in testimony of the truths they preached. And now the seed has produced its fruit, and the religion of martyrs is the dominant one at Saigon. Unhappily there has been a conquest by the French flag as well as by the cross. The case may have been one where the force of circumstances produces events which not one could control; still all friends of the true interests of Christianity must wish that the territorial conquest and the work of the missionary had been kept entirely apart."

In the Malay Peninsula, Woods had been impressed by the zeal and asceticism of the French clergy whom he met there. In a letter to a friend in Australia he wrote: "The French missionary clergy are the most disinterested and self-denying men living in the very poorest attap houses on a mere pittance..."¹⁹ But Woods was also a realistic observer of the colonial scene, and neither his own role as a missionary priest nor his friendship with French missionaries blinded him to the problems which arose when missionary endeavour became entangled with colonial expansion.

6. Cholon and its people

"Every one who visits Saigon goes to see Cholen [Chợ Lớn], which is five or six kilometres distant. Boats go every half-hour, and the passage is a most picturesque one. There is also a railway of modest pretensions, which passes along the roadside, leaving to the left the pretty village of Choquan [Chợ Quán], and in five kilometres one arrives at Cholen. The entrance is in front of the public offices of the paymaster, the prefecture, the telegraph office, barracks for the French garrison, and many pagodas, amongst which is the pagoda of the warrior gods. On the principal altar is an idol with a white beard having in his hands a bow and arrows. This is probably Kouang-Ti, the Chinese Mars." [Guan Yu, Wade-Giles Romanisation Kuan Ti [Quan vũ]. 关羽]

"The town of Cholen has a population of 10,500 Chinese, 32,000 Anamites, besides a floating population of 8,000, which gives a total of about 50,000 souls. It may be mentioned here that although Cholen is the head-quarters of the Chinese, they are pretty well scattered also throughout Cambodia. The first extensive arrival of Chinese took place about 1680, in the west of

Cochin China, and was from Canton. A part was established at Bien-hoa [Biên-hòa], and a part at Mitho [Mỹ-tho]. This immigration was followed by many others coming from Fokien [Fujian] and other Chinese provinces. The superiority of their civilization and their wonderful aptitude and talents for trade, their spirit of association, their community of religion and customs, and of writing with the Anamites gave to the Chinese a great footing in the country. After the war between the rebels of Tay-Son [Tây-Sơn] and King Gial-Ong [Gia-long], they quitted their first establishments and came to dwell in Cholen about 1778. Although in 1721 the chief of the Tay-Son rebels had massacred more than 10,000 Chinese, and pillaged their stores, yet they continued to progress. Notwithstanding nine months of frightful famine in 1802, notwithstanding the prohibition to export any produce from the country, the perseverance of the Chinese surmounted every obstacle, and in 1830 Cholen was already a market of great importance, which the Chinese had named Taingon [Đê ngan] [堤岸 in Cantonese Tai Ngon, Mandarin Di An: embankment], and the Anamites Sai-gon. The only name now in use for the town is Cholen, Cho meaning market and lon, great. The Chinese are principally aggregated together in honggs or corporations. The chiefs of these congregations are responsible for their members in Java.”

“The Chinese generally marry Anamite women. They have very pretty children, and the mixed race forms a very intelligent class among the natives, which is named Minh-huong [Minh-hương]. These half-castes are generally well off.”

“The town is divided into five quarters, each having a Chinese chief, a Minh-huong chief, and an Anamite chief. ... The town has quite a European aspect: the streets are large; there is a canal with wide quays on each side. Amidst these quays are crocodile parks where these saurians are preserved and fattened for eating. The houses and shops are well built, and the whole place has an astonishing air of industry and prosperity, which reminded me of Penang or some of the best Chinese towns in Java.”

“About a quarter of an hour’s walk from Cholen, on the road to Mitho [Mỹ-tho], is the garden of Cay-mai [Cây-mai]. In a delicious situation on an artificial mound, the Cay-mai tree grows, whose sweet-smelling flowers were offered to the Emperor to flavour his tea. It was death to touch them in former times. [Ochna integerrima] From this point the view extends over the ricefields which line the commercial canal, over the Plain of Tombs,

the mines of Ki-hoa [Kỳ-hòa], the fields and the woods of Go-Vap [Gò-váp] as far as the mountains of Tai-Minh [Tây-ninh], a distance of nearly 100 miles.”

7. Woods’ Conclusion

“I conclude this short notice of Cochin China by saying that the people seem contented and happy, and the country progressing. The only persons who seemed woefully out of sorts were the French themselves. One soon becomes convinced that this colony has become painfully oppressive to the French nation. First of all, Cochin China is far from France; the climate is difficult to bear for any length of time; the French do not want to emigrate; the land is in the hands of natives, who are cultivators; the industrial uses of products are in the hands of Chinese, who have all the capital. The poor Frenchman shrugs his shoulders and says that this is not a country to organise or colonise. The mission of civilisation has hitherto unfortunately demanded much gunpowder and bayonet; and besides the military, the colony only gives support to about 400 unhappy French people, who one and all continually bewail their exile.”

More than a century has passed since Woods wrote his notes of travel, and we can assume that he did not stay in Saigon and Cholon for a long time. He had taught in France, so would have been able to communicate with the French in Cochin China. But he did not know any local languages. Woods had great powers of observation, and surviving drawings of molluscs and other natural phenomena are a tribute to his precision. No doubt his best work was in his technical fields, rather than as a social observer. We cannot know how much of his writing comes from his own direct observation or research: at the conclusion of his report, Woods acknowledges the work of French writer Charles Lemire²⁰ as “a most useful guide, and it is to its pages many of the foregoing statements are due”.

Completing his work in Asia, Woods returned to Australia. He completed a geological survey in the Northern Territory, and then made his way to Sydney. Honours came his way, even as he struggled through sickness to complete his writing. In 1888 he won the Clarke medal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, for distinguished contribution to natural science. But his health was failing, and he died in October 1889.

Endnotes

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- 10 anon. “St Ignatius Church, Norwood”, *The Register* (Adelaide) Saturday 31 May 1924, page 4 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/57390574> accessed 16 November 2014.
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- 12 Woods, Julian Edmund. 1862. *Geological Observations in South Australia: principally in the district south-east of Adelaide*. London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green.
- 13 Press: 2004. *Julian Tenison Woods: Father Founder*, St Paul’s Publications, Strathfield, appendix.
- 14 I am grateful to Fr Trịnh Văn Phát for his help.
- 15 The shipping firm *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes*.
- 16 Patrick Tynan: *Pioneer priest and botanist: the life story of Father Benedetto Scortechini (1845-1886)*, (1989) Church Archivists’ Society, Toowoomba.
- 17 Basilica of Our Lady of The Immaculate Conception *Vương cung thánh đường Chính tòa Đức Mẹ Vô nhiễm Nguyên tội*, constructed between 1863 and 1880.
- 18 The Cathedral is dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. St Francis Xavier church in Cholon was erected after Woods’ visit.
- 19 Player (ed): 1983. *The Archer Letters*. North Goulburn, Sisters of St Joseph
- 20 Charles Lemire: 1884. *Cochinchine française et royaume de Cambodge, avec les itinéraires de Paris en Indo-Chine*. Challamel aîné, Paris.

NSW CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE BOER WAR: FOR AND AGAINST

Colin Fowler*

On 21 October 1999, the NSW Legislative Assembly suspended standing and sessional orders to note the centenary of a debate, held from 17 to 19 October 1899, on the motion: 'This House is of the opinion that New South Wales should equip and despatch a military force for service with the Imperial Army in South Africa.' Following those three days of rancorous debate in 1899, a fulsomely amended motion was passed, ayes 78 noes 10, to send a contingent of troops to the Transvaal:

That this House desires to express its continued and unbounded loyalty to her gracious Majesty the Queen, and while regretting the necessity for the war now in progress in South Africa, desires to express its sympathy with her Majesty's Government in the difficulties that have arisen through their endeavours to secure the social and political rights of free men for all British subjects whose lawful occupations have made them residents of Boer territory, and is of opinion that New South Wales should equip and despatch a military force for service with the Imperial army in South Africa.¹

1 Hansard, NSWLA, 19/10/1899 (<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/hansard/pages/home.aspx?tab=Browse&s=1> [accessed 18/5/2017]). An earlier debate on the war had taken place on 16 October, when the senior debating club at Riverview College staged a major exchange on the topic 'That the present war with the Transvaal is, on the British side, a war of unjust aggression'. One speaker for the motion compared British behaviour in the Transvaal with the treatment of Ireland. Riverview debating allowed for interventions from the floor, and they were not lacking on this occasion with one old-boy boisterously supporting imperial policy. The Irish Jesuit rector 'brought affairs to a close for the night with some honeyed words'. The debate continued over two more nights, concluding with a vote of 31-20 for the negative, for the British (See Errol Lea-Scarlett, *Riverview: aspects of the story of Saint Ignatius College and its peninsula, 1836-1988*, Sydney 1989, 172-173).

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The first contingent was given a tumultuous farewell when it sailed from Sydney on 28 October.

During the 1999 centenary debate, the Labor Member for Liverpool, Paul Lynch, spoke of the opposition to the South African war both within the Parliament and in the community. He then ventured to quote from someone who was 'hardly a friend of the Left and is hardly known as a raving revolutionary', Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran, who had publicly stated: 'This is a raid by capitalists on a self-governing country', and 'that one of the special purposes for which their volunteers had gone to South Africa was to assist in annexing certain goldfields that had become very attractive to their British friends.'²

Some of the quoted words of Moran's first public criticism of the war and the sending of troops were spoken at the opening of a fund-raising Centenary Fair in the parish of Pymont on 6 November 1899. The local pastor elicited laughter in his address of welcome: 'The Rev Father McIntyre said that they had been ambitious in their title by calling their fair the "Century Fair", but as they were some centuries in debt (laughter) the title was appropriate enough, especially as they desired to raise some "centuries" by the effort (Laughter).' The Cardinal, in his response, took up the theme of naming the event, stating that 'he feared he must begin by dissenting from the pastor of this district', and suggesting that, 'taking into view the present state of feeling in the colony, they should have called it the "Fighting Fair" (Laughter)'. The 'state of feeling' was the jingoistic patriotism which had accompanied the departure of the Colony's contingent for South Africa at the end of October. The Cardinal flippantly linked his opinion of the Boer War with the aims of the Century Fair: 'One of the special purposes for which their volunteers had gone to South Africa was to annex certain goldfields that had become very dear to their British friends, so, he supposed the purpose of this bazaar or fair was to annex as much gold as possible ... (Laughter).' He went on to state, concerning the Australian contingent, that 'if any of the brave men had asked his opinion he would have advised them to stay at home (Applause)'.³

His Eminence nuanced his attitude in an interview with the jingoistic *Daily Telegraph*.⁴ The reporter confronted him with the very different

2 Hansard, NSWLA, 21/10/1999 (<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/hansard/pages/home.aspx?tab=Browse&s=1> [accessed 18/5/2017]).

3 *Catholic Press*, 11 November 1899.

4 *Daily Telegraph*, 27 December 1899.

attitude to the war expressed by his fellow cardinal, Herbert Vaughan of Westminster, brother of Moran's predecessor in Sydney, Roger Bede Vaughan. A few days before Christmas Cardinal Vaughan had sent a letter to his clergy instructing them that, in addition to offering prayers for the dead soldiers in the war, 'we should now offer public and united supplications for our Army, officers and men, and for speedy success to the British arms.'⁵ Asked directly whether his sympathies were with the British, Moran avoided a personal commitment by citing the presence of several Irish cousins in the British army in South Africa, one a VC recipient. The interviewer pressed further and Moran responded that he did 'not care to say a single word regarding the origin of the war' and that he would 'give expression to no wish whatever' regarding the outcome of the conflict. He concluded by wishing that all the volunteers would come back safely, and that he expected to be able to send a chaplain with the second contingent. Moran's responses were somewhat more cautious than his bold utterances at Pymont.

Sydney's Catholic newspapers, the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Catholic Press*, were critical of the war, the *Press* boldly so, the *Freeman's* more restrainedly. The difference in tone had been evident in reporting Sydney's farewell to the first contingent. The *Freeman's* editor wrote:

Whatever diversity of opinion may exist in this country upon the merits of the present war, or upon the advisability of sending Australian military assistance to the scene of strife, it cannot be denied that very large numbers of our fellow-citizens recognize a duty to the Empire fittingly discharged in the despatch of Australian volunteers ... God-speed and a safe return to the men who, rightly or wrongly, deem the moment seasonable to offer themselves as hostages for Australia's loyalty to the British flag.⁶

The *Press* displayed a decidedly different tone: 'Australia is reeling like a drunken man. England has accepted our offer to help in her war of aggression, and a few hundred misguided individuals are leaving our shores to shoot down a small band of farmers who are struggling to defend their homes and their country which they have fought for and won against tremendous odds. Hence the hysterical emotion of the community.'⁷

5 Vaughan letter of 20 December 1899 printed in *Freeman's Journal*, 10 February 1900.

6 *Freeman's Journal*, 4 November 1900.

7 *Catholic Press*, 4 November 1900.

At the end of August the *Press* had announced that it would be beginning a 'series of sketches of Irish poets and prose writers by the Rev Father Bunbury'.⁸ Joseph Bunbury was a graduate of the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1892. Later that year he arrived in Sydney and served as curate in various parishes; in 1895 he was called upon to produce the first number of the *Catholic Press*. From the beginning the paper was forthright in its espousal of Irish nationalist causes. After the arrival of the full-time lay editor, Bunbury continued as a regular contributing journalist. He began the new weekly series in September 1899 entitled, 'In an Irish Library'. By November the subjects of the articles were less about poets than Irish revolutionaries, beginning with three on John Mitchel. In the second of these Bunbury drew parallels between the grievances of the Irish and the Boers. The article carried an unambiguous subheading:

John Mitchell [sic]

No. II

The Days of Darkness

WHY IRISHMEN SYMPATHISE WITH THE BOERS⁹

He was scathing in his comments on the war and the Australian contingent:

Instead of spending millions in slaughtering a handful of honest Dutch farmers in the Transvaal, would it not show a far greater love of humanity and liberty were we to devote them towards the furtherance of a vigorous campaign against the influenza. Such a war would have on its side certainly the blessing of the 'god of battles', and of every intelligent humane man, but as it would require no 'parades' nor 'embarkations', no special correspondents nor big drums, nor flags, nor shouts, shrieks, huzzas, nor wild bouts of drink; there is no probability of its being entered upon.

He turned to sarcasm in the third article on Mitchel, comparing the Boer history to that of Ireland:

In the light of the present state of affairs in Africa, it is amusing to look back a few years over Irish history and to fill oneself with admiration at the benign manner in which England governed that country. No wonder they are indignant at the stupidity and ignorance of the Boers.

⁸ *Catholic Press*, 26 August 1899.

⁹ *Catholic Press*, 2 December 1899.

Had these Dutch farmers been progressive enough and civilized enough to adopt the British style of government in Ireland, and had they hanged or transported everyone that even whispered a word of protest against their authority, and kept in pay a large army of spies and informers, and given 'don't hesitate to shoot' instructions to the police, England would naturally have extended to them the right hand of fellowship, and John Bull would have recognised in the Boer an esteemed, and affectionate brother.¹⁰

In subsequent articles Bunbury criticised fellow priests who argued in the press for support of the imperial troops in South Africa: 'Have not Irishmen, and even an aged Irish priest in Australia, been found to be, after Chamberlain and Rhodes, the warmest supporters of the present disgraceful war of greed and cupidity in Africa? They allege that the Boers are ignorant, and block the triumphant chariot wheels of British civilisation.'¹¹

The 'aged priest' referred to was the feisty octogenarian Patrick Dunne, former Vicar-General of the Goulburn Diocese and retired parish priest of Albury.¹² He was a regular letter writer to colonial newspapers, arguing vigorously in favour of support of the British against the Boers, beginning with a letter to his local newspaper, the *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*:

I am surprised that some of the Irishmen and Catholics in Australia allow themselves to be led astray by some of our Catholic newspapers, who ought to know better. Why sympathise with a semi-barbarous, corrupt and bigoted government such as the Transvaal? ... Irishmen and Catholics complain of the bigotry of Orangemen, yet they set them the example by expressing their sympathy with the Boers and against a Government under whose protection they live and enjoy all the political and religious freedom they can reasonably desire.¹³

The secular and Protestant press were delighted in finding an Irish priest articulating the criticisms that they were making against the Catholic

10 *Catholic Press*, 9 December 1899.

11 *Catholic Press*, 23 December 1899.

12 See T J Linane, 'Dunne, Patrick (1818–1900)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dunne-patrick-3455/text5277>, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 12 June 2017.

13 *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 17 November 1899.

supporters of the Boers.¹⁴ Dunne's letter was reprinted in metropolitan and provincial newspapers throughout Australia. He directed his criticisms particularly against the claim of the *Catholic Press* that the war was unjust. Writing to the *Freeman's Journal*, he set himself to refute 'the calumny which was published in your contemporary, the *Catholic Press*, a few months ago, that the action of the British Government going to war with the Boers was "unjust and therefore immoral, and that ninety per cent of the Irish in Australia sympathized with the Boers against England".' He wrote that 'this paper, which poses to be the "organ of the Catholics of Australia", and its directors being Catholic clergymen and laymen, gave our enemies the opportunity of branding the Irish in Australia as a disloyal body.'¹⁵ He extended his criticism to the 'irreconcilables' among the Irish politicians and implicitly to their clerical supporters: 'My impression is that the course which Mr Davitt and the other political leaders in Ireland are following in reference to the war in South Africa will throw back the chance of Home Rule or a Catholic University for the next 10 years ... I am, therefore, of opinion that it is impolitic for Irishmen and Catholics, either at home or in the colonies, to be proclaiming their sympathy with the Boers.'¹⁶

The voice of Patrick Dunne fell silent in July 1900 when he died at Albury at the age of 81. In his last letter to the *Freeman's Journal* in March he had contrasted the editorial attitudes of the two Sydney Catholic newspapers:

This is the last letter with which I will trouble you on the war ... The Freeman has acted fairly in opening its columns to a fair discussion of the subject, but has abstained from pronouncing judgment in favour of the Boers ... but I was dissatisfied with the Catholic Press for adopting and encouraging such strong anti-English opinions without sufficient grounds, thereby giving our enemies an opportunity of accusing the Irish-Australian Catholics of disloyalty.¹⁷

In the New Year, Bunbury savagely criticised a second priest's public stand on the war. He awkwardly interrupted the flow of his article on the Fenian, John Boyle O'Reilly, by recounting the postman's delivery one morning

14 'Here was the voice regional editors had been looking for: an Irish Catholic priest and an Irish Nationalist defending empire' (John McQuilton, *Australia's Communities and the Boer War*, 2016, 35).

15 *Freeman's Journal*, 27 January 1900.

16 *Catholic Press*, 10 February 1900.

17 *Freeman's Journal*, 31 March 1900.

of two newspapers from the Northern Rivers district of NSW ‘containing a report of a lecture a few weeks ago delivered on the South African war by Father Fagan of Coraki’, in the diocese of Grafton. To Fagan’s claim that whenever the British flag has been hoisted, order, law and comparative prosperity have followed, Bunbury replied:

The British flag has been hoisted for the moderately respectable period of seven centuries in Ireland, and our Irish cousins in America, anyhow, as well as the Irish people at home, have been able to discover no traces of the ‘security, order, law and comparative prosperity’ that Father Fagan asserts must ever follow in the footsteps of the conquering Britisher. If almost a continual famine, during even the present century, be ‘comparative prosperity’, the Irish have been enjoying that luxury in abundance, and if the most tyrannous coercion acts and packed juries have anything to do with ‘security, law and order’ then Ireland should be the most secure, law-abiding and orderly country in the world.¹⁸

John Robert Fagan was English, born of Irish parents. He entered the English Province of the Jesuits in 1880 at the age of 19. After novitiate at Roehampton, he went to France for his juniorate; he undertook philosophy studies in South Africa; his theological studies were undertaken in Belgium. Ordained in August 1892, for four years he ministered in the Jesuit Zambesi Mission. He left the Society in 1895 and, after work in the Westminster Archdiocese, he sailed to Australia in 1896 and joined the newly formed Grafton Diocese. This articulate and engaging priest became the much-quoted darling of the *Richmond River Herald and Northern Districts Advertiser*. While he was stationed at Coraki, a local trooper volunteered for active service in South Africa in October 1899. Fagan made his first public foray into Boer War controversy at the volunteer’s farewell. Speaking from his personal experience of the Boers, he begged to differ from a previous speaker who had said, like Cardinal Moran, that gold was the cause of the war: ‘They [the British] were fighting for reforms to which they were justly entitled; but the stiff-necked Boers were not likely to yield until the last extremity was reached.’ He spoke in support of the colonial contingent as a necessary expression of Australia’s solidarity with the Empire. He condemned ‘the rant and cant delivered in the NSW Parliament by a few members in regard to the unrighteousness of the war’, which showed they knew little about the situation. He, however, had lived in South Africa for

¹⁸ *Catholic Press*, 6 January 1900.

years and knew the Boer character thoroughly; he preferred ‘to follow statesmen like Salisbury, Rosebery, Chamberlain, etc, in preference to Holman’.¹⁹ William Holman was the Labor member for Grenfell, one the ten who voted against the sending of troops. In the heat of the Assembly debate, to the disgust of most members, Holman had blurted out, ‘I believe from the bottom of my heart that this is the most iniquitous, most immoral war ever waged with any race. I hope that England may be defeated’.²⁰

From November to February in the New Year, Fagan received invitations throughout the northern districts to address large gatherings of loyal citizens. His lectures were widely reprinted in newspapers across the colony of New South Wales and beyond. During his presentation at Ballina he addressed Irish opposition to the war:

Concerning those Irishmen who were disaffected towards England, they knew that Ireland had grievances against England, some of which were well grounded. He was born in England, but came from a family which he believed had suffered more from English misrule than any family in this district, but time, travel, and study had modified his views. Irishmen should be just. Here in Australia they lived under a flag which made no difference between creed or colour. If he had to choose between British and Boer, then give him the flag that upheld the life and property of its subjects, made no distinction between any race, and was a guarantee of peace, prosperity, and of no oppression.

Perhaps he had Joseph Bunbury and Tighe Ryan of the *Catholic Press* in mind when, in his lecture at Casino, he categorised opponents of the war, beginning with ‘people ... who are opposed to England always and in all things, and consequently also in the present crisis’: ‘I verily believe that if the Connaught Rangers, or the Grenadier Guards (if they had lived in those days) had charged up the hill of Calvary to rescue Our Lord from the hands of His enemies, these same people would still be found to criticise England’s conduct, even on that occasion. There is no reasoning with such people.’²¹

19 *Richmond River Herald and Northern Districts Advertiser*, 27 October 1899.

20 Bede Nairn, ‘Holman, William Arthur (1871–1934)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/holman-william-arthur-6713/text11589>, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 19 May 2017.

21 From the *Coraki Herald* in the *Kiama Independent and Shoalhaven Advertiser*, 15 February 1900.

Fagan's lecture circuit came to an abrupt end in February 1900, when the tide of the war had turned decidedly in favour of the British. Sydney's *Sunday Times* listed him and Patrick Dunne among those Catholics, at home and abroad, who emphatically expressed their empire loyalty against the 'few irreconcilables who ... persistently but vainly endeavour to persuade the public that they are the mouthpieces of Irishmen and Catholics':

[W]e have only to turn to the emphatic utterances of such men as Cardinal Vaughan, Bishop Gaughran of Kimberley, Bishop Turner of Dumfries and Galloway, or coming nearer home, of Cardinal Moran, Father Dunne of Albury, Father Fagan of the North Coast District, Mr R E O'Connor, Mr L F Heydon, the Hon E W O'Sullivan, and other representative Irishmen and Catholics to prove the utter falsity of such pretensions.²²

Despite regular bouts of sickness, Fagan lived to the age of 91, dying in the Brisbane Archdiocese in 1951. His tombstone records him as a member of the Society of Jesus: 'Rev Fr P Joannes Robertus Fagan, SJ'.²³

In May 1903 the Sydney *Evening News* carried the eye-catching headline:

A PRIEST'S SUICIDE.
RELIEVED OF HIS POSITION
ON THE GROUND OF HIS ECCENTRICITY ²⁴

The priest was Joseph Bunbury. The report reminded readers that in 1902 Bunbury had made controversial 'remarks at a Hibernian gathering on the question of Imperialism', a dinner at which Cardinal Moran presided. In fact, he had advocated a republican form of government for both Ireland and Australia, and had been publicly rebuked at the dinner by the Catholic Minister of Public Works and former editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, Edward O'Sullivan.²⁵

As a result of his controversial public interventions, including his pro-Boer writings, he had been re-assigned away from Sydney. Both Cardinal Moran and his coadjutor Michael Kelly were strongly opposed to any voices advocating a form of Irish self-government separate from the British

22 *Sunday Times*, 25 February 1900.

23 See Michael Head, 'A strange affair in a Jesuit plot', *Jesuit Life*, 41-46.

24 *Evening News*, 22 May 1903.

25 *Catholic Press* and *Freeman's Journal*, 1 March 1902.

Empire. Indeed, following the departure of Moran for Europe soon after the Hibernian banquet, it was Kelly who assigned Bunbury from suburban Sydney to Appin and then to Camden.

At the coroner's inquest Dean O'Haran, Cardinal Moran's private secretary, gave evidence that Bunbury had been 'relieved of his position as a priest on the ground of his eccentricity', and had been living for three weeks at the Lloyd Hotel, George Street North, where he was found dead.²⁶ The inference was that he was distressed at the re-assignments and was planning to abandon the mission, and that he had finally despaired. The tragedy received widespread reporting throughout Australia. *The Freeman's Journal* respectfully reflected on the pressures placed on a talented but vulnerable young Irish priest:

The tragic close of the Rev Joseph Bunbury's life on Thursday in last week caused a painful shock to the Catholic community, to whom both in city and country he was well known. He came to the Archdiocese of Sydney a young priest of brilliant parts, bringing to his work unbounded enthusiasm and the Celtic temperament – two qualities which in a priest promised a future of much service in the cause of religion. He saw great possibilities for Catholicity in this country, and perhaps he allowed his zeal for the quickening of Catholic progress in some respects to outpace his discretion. A nature such as his – and the remark is made in no censorious way – was probably impatient of that safe policy of 'festina lente' [hasten slowly] which has done so much for the Church in Australia; for at the back of his mind there were forces which brooked no delay. But these forces were lodged in a body never very robust, and mainly nerves, and the mental balance once lost, the evolution from eccentricity to the mania which produced last week's tragedy may easily be accounted for. But in remembrance of the brilliant early promise of Father Bunbury's life the manner of its close may be allowed to drop into oblivion; and very general, very sincere, will be the charitable aspiration – 'May he rest in peace!'²⁷

There was no editorial comment on Joseph Bunbury's death in the *Catholic Press*. It was in a letter from a priest-colleague, challenging the inquest's finding of suicide, that his journalistic career with the *Press* was remembered. Father Patrick O'Shea who had arrived in Sydney with

26 *Evening News*, 22 May 1903.

27 *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1903.

Bunbury in 1892 wrote of his friend: ‘The deceased priest, if I may be permitted to say so, was a journalist by instinct, his power as a leader-writer and caustic paragraphist being acknowledged by experienced pressmen to be up to a very high standard.’²⁸

The *Freeman’s Journal* had its own favourite priest-journalist, the Franciscan Patrick Fidelis Kavanagh, author of the acclaimed *Popular History of the Insurrection of 1798*, first published in 1870.²⁹ He ministered in Sydney from 1880 to 1885, based at the Waverley Friary. He had arrived in Australia with a reputation as a ‘rebel’, as he recounted in 1899: ‘In the beginning of the year 1880 I left Cork for the Australian mission. Doctor Vaughan was then Archbishop of Sydney, and my first visit was paid to him. He received me with great kindness, and during our conversation said: “I have heard that you are an Irish rebel, but do not think worse of you for that, for if I were an Irishman I might be a rebel, too”.’³⁰

Perhaps it was his rebellious reputation that led to his being sent to Australia, and also his being sent back to Ireland in 1885 at the beginning of the Moran regime. He became even more rebellious at the time of the Boer war: ‘He was the first person who from a public platform in Ireland denounced the enlistment of his fellow-countrymen in the British army on the grounds that unjust war was contrary to the law of God.’³¹ After his return to Ireland, Kavanagh was a regular contributor to Sydney’s *Freeman’s Journal* as its Irish correspondent, often introduced as ‘formerly of Waverley’. In 1896 the *Freeman’s* had printed Kavanagh’s earliest expression of support for the Boers, a poem entitled, ‘The Jameson Ride, a priest’s parody’:

O, long life and success to the straight-shooting Boers,
And may their fame never die while this world endures.
May all British marauders still shake in their shoes
When their rifles ring out o’er their veldts and karoos.³²

28 *Catholic Press*, 11 June 1903.

29 Anna Kinsella, ‘1798 claimed for Catholics: Father Kavanagh, Fenians and the Centenary celebrations’, in Daire Keogh & Nicholas Furlong (eds), *The Mighty Wave: the 1798 Rebellion in Wexford*, Dublin 1998, 139-155.

30 P F Kavanagh, ‘People I have met’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 April 1899.

31 *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 November 1906.

32 *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 April 1896.

In the week leading up to the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer war on 11 October 1899, the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* reported that Kavanagh, 'the brilliant historian of the Irish insurrection one hundred years ago', had denounced Irishmen who were 'marching under the standard of the Great Pirate, the oppressor of weak nations, to devastate the lands and trample upon the liberties of the brave Boers'.³³ On the following Sunday, Irish recruits were condemned on large green posters plastered throughout Dublin: 'Enlisting in the English Army is Treason to Ireland'.³⁴ Kavanagh's green posters and handbills were still being distributed on the New Year. In February 1900, an Irish Unionist member of the Imperial Parliament asked the Attorney-General for Ireland whether he was aware of 'a green handbill circulated in Dublin addressed to Irish Roman Catholics, and headed "England's Robber War," in which it is stated, on the authority of the Rev Father Kavanagh, that every man who engages in such war if he dies in it must suffer the loss of his soul', and asked what was being done about the offence. The Unionist Attorney-General replied: 'The police have been instructed to seize and destroy the circulars when found. The matter is being carefully watched, but up to the present the Government have not considered it necessary to take further action.' The interjection of the nationalist Irish member, John Redmond, 'Is it not perfectly notorious in Dublin that the circular was got out by the Orange party?', received cheers from Irish Parliamentary Party members.³⁵

Kavanagh's attitude to the war was summarised in his letter published in the Sydney *Freeman's* on 24 February 1900:

The all-engrossing subject here (in Ireland) is the Boer war. The great majority of our people are enthusiastically in favour of the Boers. This feeling arises not only from hatred (I wish I could use another word – but truth will not permit me) of the power that has so long trampled on our rights and mocked at our just demands, but also from a conviction that the Boers' cause is the just one. My humble opinion is that the war is, on the part of England, a shockingly unjust one.³⁶

33 *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), 3 October 1899.

34 See Donal P McCracken, *Forgotten Protest: Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War*, Belfast 2003, 45.

35 Commons Sitting of Thursday, 15 February 1900 (House of Commons Hansard). Related News

36 *Freeman's Journal*, 24 February 1900.

The editor of the *Freeman's* did not publish Kavanagh's every utterance; there seemed to be a reluctance to reproduce some of his more extreme anti-English commentary, especially the condemnation of Irish enlistment in the British army.³⁷ It was left to the short-lived *Australian Nation* to publish what must be considered Kavanagh's most provocative article. The editor, Conlon O'Halloran, president of the Sydney branch of the United Irish League, in introducing Kavanagh's article, referred to Great Britain as 'the plague of races and the anathema or gorgon of liberty'. He also inserted attention-grabbing capitalised subtitles throughout the article:

ENGLAND'S IRISH HIRELINGS
TO ENLIST IN THE WAR AGAINST THE BOERS IS TO DESERVE
THE CURSES OF FREEMEN
AN IRISH PRIEST'S SOLEMN WARNING
ENGLAND FAWNS UPON THE STRONG AND OPPRESSES THE
WEAK
ENGLAND WAGING A WAR OF MURDER, BECAUSE IT IS UNJUST
IT IS A SIN TO ENLIST IN AN UNJUST WAR ³⁸

In an article headlined 'Romanist Loyalty!' the *Methodist* newspaper drew attention to Kavanagh's article. It sounded an alarm for all loyal Protestants: 'If Irish Romanists are fed with disloyal sentiment in Popish newspapers as they are now being fed the time will come, and not many years hence, when we or our sons will have to fight for our lives and liberties.'³⁹ The context of the article was a controversial libel case.

In the Illawarra region, south of Sydney, a parish priest and his curate had gone to court to assert their Empire loyalty. Both Irish and both members

37 C N Connolly states that the *Freeman's Journal* was 'never disloyal in its opposition to the war' (C N Connolly, 'Class, birthplace, loyalty: Australian attitudes to the Boer War', *Historical Studies*, 71(1978), 224).

38 *Australian Nation*, 2 June 1900. Patrick Fidelis Kavanagh died in 1918 at the age of 80. The old irreconcilable collapsed after having left his sick-bed in Wexford to vote in the crucial election of 18 December 1918, which resulted in the Sinn Fein party winning a resounding majority of the Irish seats in the Westminster Parliament. The elected members refused to take their seats in London and instead chose to sit in Dublin as the parliament of the Irish Republic.

39 *The Methodist*, 16 June 1900.

of the Nowra Civilian Rifle Club, each considered himself to have been libelled in a local newspaper in February 1900, each claiming to be the 'gentleman of the cloth' mentioned in a letter to the editor of the *Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*. The editorial heading for the letter, signed 'Pan-Britannic', was 'Rebels in our Midst'. The letter went straight to the theme: 'It behoves Nowra to ask herself how she stands at the present time from a patriotic point of view.' The author claimed that treason was being mouthed in Nowra and he proceeded to unfold the evidence, citing a recent seditious comment by a Nowra clergyman: 'It is true that a gentleman of the cloth at a recent sports gathering wished it were British me[n] and not insensate targets he was aiming at.' He added a dismissive comment on the anonymous clergyman's shooting skills: 'In his present state of not hitting the mark aimed at, they would probably be safe enough.' This slighting remark could have been taken as proof that it was the Parish Priest who made the alleged seditious comment, because in the 24 January edition of the *Shoalhaven Telegraph* the scores in quarterly handicap prize shooting were published: the curate received a respectable total of 39, while the pastor was second last with just 20.⁴⁰

That a Roman Catholic priest was being quoted was indicated by the suggestion that the seditious clergyman should imitate the patriotic example of Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster.⁴¹ The descriptors 'Irish', 'Roman Catholic', 'clergyman', 'shooter' pointed to one of Nowra's priests, and both chose to sue for libel. James Gunning, pastor, and James Dalton, curate, brought separate cases of libel against the newspaper's editor to be heard sequentially in the Supreme Court in Sydney on 7 June 1900. Each was claiming £1000 in damages as a result of the publication of the offending letter. The prosecution brought forward as witnesses four local Nowra citizens, two Catholic and two Protestant, to attest that, from their reading of the letter, they had understood Father Gunning and/or Father Dalton to be the target/s of the accusation of sedition. The defence questioned Father Gunning, attempting to establish some sort of conspiracy between the two priests for financial gain. The main thrust of the defence argument was that the letter was an innocent exercise in jocularly, and that the phrase 'British me' was not a printer's mistake for 'British men'. In summing up, Mr Justice Cohen dismissed any notion of jocularly and stressed the seriousness of the letter and its allegations. His words gave confidence to

⁴⁰ *Shoalhaven Telegraph*, 24 January 1900.

⁴¹ *Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*, 3 February 1900.

the plaintiff and his many clerical supporters in court that the jury would find in his favour. However, the jurymen, who had been much entertained by the defence barrister's banter, returned a verdict for the defendant after just a few minutes.⁴² A disbelieving *Freeman's* journalist reported that the shocked judge, on hearing the verdict, asked the jury foreman: 'For the defendant?' A supporter of Father Gunning was quoted in the *Journal*: 'What a pity that his name isn't John Bull or Sandy Macpherson, and that he isn't a Protestant parson instead of an Irish priest. What thumping damages he'd have got!'⁴³ The judge then proceeded to open the curate's case. However, an adjournment was sought, James Dalton having suddenly become indisposed. The next day his case was withdrawn.⁴⁴

In December 1900 'loyal Protestants' shifted focus from the disloyalty of Catholics to the public scandal arising from Cardinal Moran's private secretary, Monsignor Denis O'Haran, cited as co-respondent in a divorce case. Bitter Protestant-Catholic feuding was whipped up during the three months of the Coningham case involving two trials and ending with the jury finding against the plaintiff.⁴⁵

In the meantime the South African war had moved beyond battles into a 'scorched earth' phase, with the British burning homesteads, destroying crops, slaughtering livestock and interning civilians in makeshift camps, where thousands perished of disease and starvation. The reporting of these atrocities by the correspondents of the *Catholic Press*, chaplain Patrick

42 *Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*, 9 June 1900.

43 *Freeman's Journal*, 16 June 1900.

44 Both priests, out of pocket for legal expenses, were back in Nowra to receive their allocated handicaps for the 'fourth quarterly shooting' to be held in July; parish priest and curate received the same handicap. Both were transferred from Nowra in the New Year (*Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*, 23 June 1900).

45 On the Coningham case see: Zero, *The Secret History of the Coningham Case*, Sydney 1901; Herbert M Moran, *Viewless Winds*, London 1939, 321ff; Edmund Campion, *Rockchoppers. Growing up Catholic in Australia*, Ringwood 1982, 79-82; P Ayres, *Prince of the Church. Patrick Francis Moran, 1830-1911*, Sydney 2007, 205-228; A E Cunningham, *The Price of a Wife? The priest and the divorce trial*, Sydney 2013; ; C F Fowler, *150 Years on Pymont Peninsula*, Adelaide 2017, 265-281.

Timoney⁴⁶ and nurse Agnes MacReady (pen-name: 'Arah-Luen')⁴⁷ and others, gradually led to a shift away from the uncritical jingoistic support of the Imperial venture.

Dr 'Paddy' Moran, who in 1900, as a first year medical student, had joined an anti-war league, in his 1939 memoir recalled his Church's attitude to the war: 'Nearly all the Irish clergy were still sitting on the unfertilised eggs of stale grievances, but they hatched nothing.'⁴⁸

The war ended with the surrender of the Boers in May 1902.

46 See Elizabeth Johnston, 'Francis Timoney the Bushman's priest', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, 16(1994-95), 39-53.

47 See Jeannine Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters. Boer War to Vietnam*, Sydney 2014, 9-19.

48 Herbert M Moran, *Viewless Winds*, London 1939, 28.

THE SISTERS OF ST JOSEPH: RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

David Hilliard*

The Congregation of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, founded at Penola in South Australia in 1866, is one of the largest congregations of women religious in Australia. The institute was founded by Mary MacKillop and Father Julian Tenison Woods to provide an elementary education for the children of poor Catholics in rural areas. Its original Rule, written by Woods in 1867, included the twin principles of absolute poverty and central government. The institute was not to own property (though this requirement was later modified) and was to be governed by a Sister Guardian (later, Superior General), whereas other congregations of women lived in convents and were subject to their local bishop. Mary MacKillop insisted that central government was essential for Australian conditions, both to maintain the unity and spirit of the institute and its method of education and to support sisters who lived in isolated communities.¹

The principle of central government, resisted by bishops who wanted to control the work of religious orders within their dioceses, led to the early fracturing of the institute into two streams. In Bathurst, Bishop Matthew Quinn insisted that the Josephites form a diocesan congregation with the bishop as its ecclesiastical superior; this separation occurred in 1876. Julian Tenison Woods rewrote the original Rule to fit the requirements of a diocesan institute. The Bathurst Congregation later made foundations in other Australian dioceses (Maitland, Goulburn, Hobart and elsewhere), which later formed independent religious congregations, and in New Zealand where they became the Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth.

In 1888 Rome approved the Institute of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart as a centrally governed congregation with its mother house in Sydney. Its members wore brown habits and were therefore known as Brown Josephites, whereas members of the various diocesan institutes wore black habits and were known as Black Josephites. The former (later called the Central Josephites) looked to Mary MacKillop as their founder while the Diocesan Sisters revered Woods as their 'Father Founder', though they knew very little about him. The various Josephite congregations, working in separate dioceses and each of them over time developing a distinct ethos, had

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very little contact with each other. Between the Central and the Diocesan Josephites there was a good deal of mutual suspicion as each branch saw itself alone as faithful to the original Rule.

This estrangement began to dissolve in the 1960s. In 1967 the Diocesan Josephites in Australia and New Zealand formed a federation and during the 1970s the Central and Federation Sisters began to collaborate in joint ventures. An historians' group, which eventually embraced historians from all branches, was initiated in 1995. Following the beatification of Mary MacKillop in 1995 the moves for unification speeded up. In 2008 the Conference of Josephite Leaders was formed, bringing together leaders from both Central and Federation congregations. From 2012 all but one of the diocesan congregations merged with the Central Josephites. In 2017 there are two groups under the Combined Josephite Leadership: the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, with its congregational administration in North Sydney, and the Sisters of St Joseph Lochinvar, based in the Hunter Valley.

The co-founder of the institute, Mother Mary MacKillop, was beatified by the Pope in Sydney in 1995 and canonised in Rome in 2010 as St Mary of the Cross MacKillop. These events stimulated an extensive literature on Mary MacKillop and her family and an edition of some of her letters. At the same time, the Josephites began to encourage research on their history. This reflected the growing interest among historians in the history of Catholic religious sisters, the example of other women's congregations in Australia which since the early 1980s had published numerous books on their history, and a realisation that, with declining numbers, it was important to record the contribution of the institute both to the Catholic Church and to the wider Australian society. Initially this research was undertaken by Josephites with university degrees in history; several important studies were undertaken as doctoral theses. More recent works have been written by lay Catholics and by others who have no particular religious belief. Between 1989 and the present over forty books have been published on Mary MacKillop and the history of the Josephites in Australia, in addition to scholarly articles and booklets and pamphlets for popular readership.

The first biographies of Mary MacKillop were by an anonymous Sister of St Joseph (1916) and by a Jesuit priest George O'Neill (1931). The first modern accounts of the life of Mary MacKillop and the beginnings of the Sisters of St Joseph were by Osmund Thorpe and William Modystack.² Thorpe was a priest of the Passionist order while Modystack was a parish priest in Adelaide. Thorpe's biography, first published in 1957, was the

more scholarly work. Both books provided reliable accounts of Mary's life for ordinary readers, based upon some archival material but without much social or religious context. They went through several editions and introduced many people to the life of the co-founder of the Sisters of St Joseph, providing the background to the cause for her canonisation.

Alongside these was a pioneering study of Father Julian Tenison Woods by Sister Margaret Press of the Perthville (Bathurst) Congregation of Josephites. This project arose out of the call of the Second Vatican Council for religious orders to renew their life by recovering the particular vision ('charism') of their founders and adapting it to the modern world. Woods was a gifted but controversial figure who evoked intense devotion from some and hostility from others wherever he went. During his life he was instrumental in founding three religious congregations: two branches of Josephites and the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. Press's biography, first published in 1979 and reissued in 1994, provides a nuanced portrait of this complex man.³ She also edited Mary MacKillop's biography of Julian Tenison Woods; in 1903 Cardinal Moran had refused to allow its publication.⁴ In 1989 the *Australasian Catholic Record* devoted a special issue to Julian Tenison Woods to mark the centenary of his death.⁵

As an academic study, Sister Marie Foale's *The Josephite Story*, dealing with the founding and early years of the institute, was an important contribution to the literature.⁶ Foale's book, drawn from her University of Adelaide doctoral thesis, was based on a very large body of archival material. It was notable as the first work to place the emergence of the institute within its South Australian context and to explore in a balanced way the reasons for the problems and tensions within the infant community and its conflicts with bishops and clergy.

The first 'authorised' biography of Mary MacKillop was written by Father Paul Gardiner SJ, *Mary MacKillop: An Extraordinary Australian*.⁷ From 1984 Gardiner was Postulator of the Cause for her canonisation, a post which involved extensive research in Rome and around Australia and New Zealand. From this material he prepared the *Positio Super Virtutibus* that was presented to the panel in Rome which approved Mary MacKillop being declared 'Venerable' in 1992. The unabridged text of the *Positio*, with additional material, was published in two volumes in 2015. Gardiner's work was enormously important but by its nature it was not a critical biography. More accessible for many readers is Lesley O'Brien, *Mary MacKillop Unveiled*, a concise biography of Mary MacKillop with fresh insights.⁸ Gardiner (who died in 2017) is himself the subject of a biography by Margaret

Muller.⁹ In addition, several works have been written on members of Mary MacKillop's family: Sister Bernadette O'Sullivan on Mary's mother Flora MacKillop, and Sister Judith Geddes on Mary's sisters and brothers.¹⁰ Sister Margaret Paton and Sister Pauline Wicks have both written books exploring the spirituality of Mary MacKillop.¹¹ Teresa McDonald, who in 1872 led the first Josephite foundation in New South Wales, at Bathurst, is the subject of a sensitive biography by Marie Crowley.¹²

Complementing these biographies is a collection of a thousand letters from and to Mary MacKillop, selected from a much larger body of letters held in the Josephite Archives in North Sydney and edited by Sister Sheila McCreanor. Between 2004 and 2016 she has published six books of letters, with extracts from some other primary documents, on subjects and periods in Mary MacKillop's life that are of special interest to present-day Josephites. In these letters we hear the voice of Mary MacKillop in various situations and moods: affectionate letters to her mother, encouragement, advice and admonitions to the sisters, negotiations with priests and bishops, and accounts of her visit to Rome in 1873 and her travels around the Australian and New Zealand colonies.¹³

There are now substantial histories of the Sisters of St Joseph in every state. The first of these regional studies was by Sister Kathleen Burford, *Unfurrowed Fields* on the Central Josephites in New South Wales, Sister Joan Ryan, *A Seed is Sown* on their early decades in Victoria, Sister Marie Foale, *The Josephites Go West* on Western Australia up to 1920, and Marie Crowley, *Women of the Vale* on the Perthville Congregation.¹⁴ These were followed by Jill Barnard, *Holding on to Hope* on Victoria, Sister Margaret McKenna, *With Grateful Hearts!* on Queensland, Sister Josephine Brady, *St Joseph's Island* on the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Tasmania, Sister Mary Cresp, *In Her Footsteps* on Western Australia from 1920 to 1989, Marie Crowley, *Except in Obedience* on the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Victoria (Ballarat diocese), Sister Marie Foale, *Never See a Need* on South Australia, and Robyn Dunlop, *Planted in Congenial Soil* on the Lochinvar Congregation from 1883 to 1917.¹⁵ A second volume is in preparation. Sadly, Sister Anne Player died before her work on the history of the Goulburn Congregation was completed. Her work is being continued by Sister Laraine Crowe and a book will be published. Sister Bernadette O'Sullivan's account of Mary MacKillop in New South Wales from 1880 to 1909 will appear in 2018. Research is also being carried out on the members of a small congregation of Josephites in the Western Australian Goldfields and on new ministries undertaken by the Josephites since the 1960s in New

Guinea, Peru and among the Aboriginal people in North-West Australia.¹⁶ Other projects are being planned, including a history of the motor missions which provided religious instruction for children in rural areas where there were no Catholic schools.

From these books a number of common themes emerge. One is the geographical dispersion of the various branches of the Josephites. In the mid-twentieth century when their total number peaked at around three thousand, they worked in all but three of Australia's twenty-seven dioceses and ran parish schools in hundreds of communities around Australia, mostly in working-class suburbs and country towns. In rural areas, where the sisters usually lived in modest houses, they became closely associated with the communities they served. They were the friendly face of the Catholic Church. Secondly, although the Josephites were an indigenous foundation, almost every Josephite congregation drew a substantial number of recruits from Ireland.¹⁷ From 1927 to 1974 the Central Josephites operated a juniorate at Newmarket in County Cork from where over three hundred young women joined the institute. Thirdly, there was the social composition of the Josephites. Because they required no dowry the majority of sisters came from working-class or lower-middle-class families. They related well to ordinary Catholics. Fourthly, their piety, like that of working-class Catholics, was not based upon liturgical observances but on the repetition of simple prayers and the recitation of the rosary. This did not start to change until the late 1950s. Fifthly, until the 1960s when state aid to non-government schools began to transform their lives, they were poor. Poverty was a daily reality and their communal life was austere. Sixthly, there was the wide range of their work. Although founded to teach in schools, the Central Josephites, in responding to needy people around them, almost immediately became involved in social welfare: care of women prisoners, the aged poor, unmarried mothers, orphans and other ministries. The Diocesan Josephites, by contrast, were teachers and only conducted schools, both primary and secondary. Finally, there were tensions with bishops. This was not uncommon in women's congregations but it was a particular issue for the Diocesan Josephites. In each of these congregations, some bishops were benevolent and were remembered with affection but others were oppressive and intervened with a heavy hand in internal matters.

The history of the charitable institutions and social welfare work of the Josephites was pioneered by Marie Foale in two works on South Australia: *Providence* and *Think of the Ravens*.¹⁸ Kathleen Burford's *Unfurrowed Fields* includes a survey of the Josephites' extensive 'Social Apostolate'

in New South Wales, and Margaret Press wrote a history of St Margaret's Hospital in Sydney.¹⁹ Jill Barnard and Jill Twigg, *From Humble Beginnings* is a history of the various child, youth and family agencies founded and operated by the Josephites in Victoria. These merged in 1997 with other agencies to become MacKillop Family Services, operating in three states.²⁰ Barnard's *From Humble Beginnings* surveys the welfare works of the Victorian Josephites alongside their work in education.

The beatification and canonisation of Mary MacKillop led to several works that explored the wider significance of these events. These include Sheila McCreanor, *Mary MacKillop and the Print Media*, which explores the cultural representation of Mary MacKillop in newspapers and journals, and two collections of scholarly essays edited by Alan Cadwallader and Josephine Laffin.²¹

For those who wish to learn more about the life of Mary MacKillop and the history of the Sisters of St Joseph there is a museum and bookshop at Mary MacKillop Place, Mount Street, North Sydney. In Melbourne there is the Mary MacKillop Heritage Centre in East Melbourne and at Penola in South Australia there is an interpretive centre alongside the Woods–MacKillop Schoolhouse. The Mary MacKillop Museum in Adelaide is being redeveloped.

These books on the history of the Sisters of St Joseph shed light on substantial slices of the history of the Catholic Church in Australia, especially on the roles of women, Catholic schooling and charitable institutions, and the life and work of the church in local communities. They deserve to be more widely known.

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B A SANTAMARIA: HIS CONTRIBUTION TO AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

Bernadette (Santamaria) Tobin*

A new biography of Bob Santamaria, ‘Santamaria: a Most Unusual Man’ by Gerard Henderson, was launched by Tony Abbott, then Australia’s Prime Minister, in September last year. Abbott said:

‘B.A.Santamaria has been dead for 17 years, held no public office, and claimed to have failed in all his principal endeavours... Why is a long-dead ‘failure’ still fascinating? Why did our nation’s leaders regularly seek his counsel...? If his life was a failure, it was a magnificent failure that changed and improved our country and hundreds, if not thousands, of its leaders... He [was] the extra-parliamentary conservative conscience of both [Australian political] parties, upbraiding Labor for its socialism and the Coalition for its heartlessness – and why not, as political parties, no less than individuals, are often improved when someone they respect calls them to account...’¹

Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria, called ‘Bob’ by his school friends, was born a hundred years ago in Melbourne, Australia, the first of the six children of Giuseppe Santamaria and Maria Terzita Costa. Giuseppe and Maria had separately migrated to Australia from the Aeolian island of Salina, Giuseppe from Rinella and Maria from Leni. They married in Melbourne in 1914. Giuseppe had previously tried his luck in the United States but had not liked the poverty and the criminality there. In Melbourne he set up a small fruit shop which ultimately became a grocery business also licensed to sell wine. Bob remembers his father’s determination to be ‘his own boss’. Bob went to the local Catholic primary school, to St Kevin’s Christian Brothers’ Secondary College, and then on a scholarship to the University of Melbourne where he studied History and Law.

Bob Santamaria said that five things influenced him most profoundly when he was growing up. First, his family and its strength as a social unit. Second, the fact that his family was Italian and thus that he felt a strong link

1 Tony Abbott. The magnificent ‘failure’ who improved our country and its leaders’, *The Australian*, 31 July 2015

* Bernadette Tobin AO is a daughter of B A Santamaria and Director of the Plunkett Centre for Ethics. This is the text of a speech delivered on the island of Salina on 6th September 2015: ‘L’emigrazione eoliana in America e in Australia: differenze e similarità in una valutazione diacronica’. Museo Civico Sezione Archeologica, Lingua. A shorter version of this article appeared in *Quadrant*, July/Aug 2016.

to Italy. Third, his school, an Irish working class Christian Brothers' school. Fourth, the local parish church of St Ambrose. And last but not least, his beloved football team Carlton.

He remembered his mother's concern at his speaking Italian loudly in public. 'What's the problem', he asked. 'We *are* Italian!' Prejudice against Italians did not concern him, except when he heard his mother being called the disparaging term 'dago'. 'That', he said later on in life, 'I couldn't forgive.'

He felt a deep personal bond with the other Aeolian families in Melbourne: the Santospirito family, the Bongiorno family, the Dimattina family, the Tesoriero family, the Fonti family, the Casamento family. He said:

'It was the Aeolian families that gave me the things that were most significant of all: the sense of family which is more important to the peasant than it is to the nobleman; the necessity of religious belief, without which life is meaningless; the importance of accumulating some modest property of one's own in order to achieve a degree of independence which always eludes the wage-earner dependent on a boss.'²

In 1922, when his mother suffered depression after a stillborn child, the family returned to Salina and lived there for nearly a year. 1922 was a momentous year in Italian history. Bob recalled that 'red bandanas' were the waterfront fashion when they departed from Naples for Salina; on their return via Naples twelve months later the red had turned to black. He was to live far away, but his life was never remote from the political cycles of Italy and Europe.

Bob Santamaria was greatly influenced by the Depression of the thirties. He saw the unemployed fathers of his friends reduced to absolute poverty, with nothing to live on. '*I deeply resented the [social] system that had reduced them to that.*'³

The targeting of individual priests, monks and nuns during the Spanish Civil War moved him emotionally. Many thousands were killed in the

2 B Niall, *Mannix*, Text Publishing Co, Melbourne, 2015, p 276. I am indebted to Brenda Niall. Her biography of Daniel Mannix happens also to capture well the person of Bob Santamaria.

3 'B A Santamaria: a life'. Interview by Geraldine Doogue, ABC TV, 9th December 1993

first few months of that war.⁴ He also reasoned to the view, which he later found was shared by George Orwell, that if the Republican side won, it would ultimately have been eradicated by the Spanish Communists. So he supported the intellectually unfashionable side, even as he wondered about the enormous amount of social injustice which had led to the Civil War itself.

In the early thirties, Bob Santamaria was invited to join a group of young Catholic intellectuals who met regularly to discuss Catholic social teaching, and in particular the significance of the great encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891. They called themselves the 'Campion Society', after the English Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who was martyred for his faith during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I of England.

From his earliest days Bob was interested in a combination of ideas and organizational action. Within a very short time the Campion Society sought the permission of the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne to publish a paper, to be called the *Catholic Worker*. 'You don't need my permission', said Archbishop Mannix. 'We might make mistakes,' said young Bob. The Archbishop replied: 'The man who makes no mistakes makes nothing.'

Begun in 1936, the *Catholic Worker* was an immediate success. Three thousand copies of the first edition were printed – the entire contents of which were written by Bob Santamaria. It sold out, and an extra eight thousand had to be reprinted. By 1941, its circulation had risen to 70,000. In the *Catholic Worker*, Santamaria wrote against the evils of both Communism and Capitalism. He argued that Communism was a Godless philosophy which was hostile to freedom and democracy, and that Capitalism was an unbridled system in which ordinary people were wage slave victims. He argued that the government should do more than it was then doing to reduce social inequality, although reform of society should begin with individuals themselves.

In 1937 the Campion Society sought more formal and organized support from the Australian church in its work of Catholic Action. Thus did the Australian bishops, under the leadership of Dr Mannix of Melbourne, set up the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action. Bob Santamaria was appointed Deputy Director. From then until his death, Bob Santamaria gave his life to the dissemination of Christian political and social ideas and their translation into organizational action.

4 H Raguer, *Gunpowder and Incense: the Catholic Church and the Spanish Civil War*, Routledge, 2007 (English Translation) p126

However, over the subsequent years, two ‘splits’, one in a political party, the other in the Church, shaped his public life.

In 1941 Bob Santamaria was asked by an influential member of the leadership of the Australian Labor Party to help some trade unions leaders who had lost their positions in the party to communist activists. The trade unions then controlled the Labor Party, so those who controlled the trades unions controlled one of the parties in Australia’s two-party system. Australian communists routinely rigged union ballots, practised systematic violence as a political tool, and supported the Soviet (and later the Chinese) governments when these governments oversaw the violent deaths of tens of millions. However, the wartime alliance with Russia, combined with general apathy, meant that many Australians were slow to understand or to admit that the Soviet experiment with Communism was ‘*a cruel failure, a betrayal of the people it claimed to serve*’.⁵ Bob Santamaria and those he recruited to the ‘industrial groups’ gradually turned that tide.

In 1953, the Labor leader, Dr Evatt, expressed his admiration for the industrial groups which had greatly diminished Communist power in the trade unions.⁶ However, the following year, the Labor Party narrowly lost the election. In a bid to retain his threatened leadership, Dr Evatt turned on the Industrial groups and on the leaders of Catholic Action, denounced them as part of a recently-discovered conspiracy, and had dozens of them expelled from the Party. Most of them went on to form their own political party, the Democratic Labor Party. Thus occurred the ‘Split’ in the Australian Labor Party, a Split which kept it out of office for nearly twenty years, a Split blamed by many on Bob Santamaria.

The Split spread from the political realm to the Catholic Church itself. In 1956 the bishops of New South Wales saw the Split in the Labor Party as a threat to their preferred model of Catholic leadership. They favoured the Italian model whereby the Church threw its support behind a largely ‘Catholic’ party in power. For half a century Labor had been the party of Catholics, if not strictly a Catholic party. The hierarchy in New South Wales had a comfortable relationship with the Labor Party. Theirs was the most populous state, the most Catholic and the most committed to Labor. No splinter parties for them!

And so, these bishops came over to the Vatican to ensure that, if Catholic Action did not support Labor, then it would not support anyone. They

5 Niall, *Mannix*, op cit, pp 290-1

6 Personal letter from Dr HV Evatt to Archbishop Duhig, 1st March 1953

sought a ruling on whether the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action was 'Catholic Action' or not. In 1957 the Vatican ruled that it was not. 'Rome blunders again!', said Dr Mannix.⁷ The bishops closed down ANSCA. So Bob Santamaria set up his own independent body, the National Civic Council.

These events shaped the next fifty years of Bob Santamaria's active political engagement. Every week for thirty years, he wrote a column which was published in the national newspaper *The Australian*. He broadcast a weekly political commentary, *Point of View*, the longest running television program in Australia. He established organizations in the professions, the Universities and in South East Asia. He launched two weekly magazines, *News Weekly* and *AD2000*. Each year he would visit Vietnam, the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong. Indeed he set up a 'Pacific Community', a loose grouping of Asian nations which has since been imitated by governments throughout the region. All this work continued very nearly until his death of a brain tumour at the age of 82. It is to these activities that Tony Abbot was referring when he spoke of Bob Santamaria as the '*extra-parliamentary conservative conscience of both [of the Australian political] parties*'.

Bob Santamaria's life was a life of controversy. He was admired and reviled during his lifetime. And has been since.

His bedrock ideas came from traditional Catholicism and conservative morality, anti-communism and anti-capitalism. Early on he argued that the atheistic and materialistic values of Marxism were the greatest threat to social harmony and justice; later on he thought that nihilism, the lack of commitment to any social values at all, was equally destructive.

Let me return to what Tony Abbott said when he launched Gerard Henderson's biography.

Santamaria was a pessimist who never gave up. His life exemplifies the difference you can make, even when you don't succeed. It demonstrates that a good cause is worth failing for ... It is impossible to grasp Australian politics without some appreciation of Santamaria.

Though Bob Santamaria would have thought himself unworthy of attention, let alone admiration, he would have been delighted by the recognition of his Aeolian heritage. As he said to the television journalist Geraldine Doogue:⁸

[W]hile there is no doubt as to where the centre of my loyalties has been and is today, which is Australia, that close link with an Italian

7 Niall, *Mannix*, op cit, p 335

8 Interview. 'B A Santamaria: a life'; op cit.

background and Italian culture is one of the most important things in my life.'

He had a lively Catholic faith, he prayed regularly and he went to Mass every day for many years.

He loved Neapolitan songs and Italian opera. Indeed, he seemed to think he *could* sing all four parts of the quartet in *Rigoletto* - simultaneously !

His children, Cristina, Mary Helen, Joseph, Anne, Bobby, Paul and I, all thank you from the bottom of our hearts for your recognition of one of your own: our much-loved father, Bob Santamaria.

THE PARALLEL CAREERS OF ARTHUR CALWELL AND ARCHBISHOP SIMONDS

Patrick Morgan*

Introduction

Calwell and Simonds' careers had much in common, being sharers in each other's fate. Both born in the 1890s, their careers ran curiously in parallel, each with early brilliance, with many obstacles in the interim, to finish in the same year, 1967, basically unfulfilled, sad even tragic figures at the end. They were also opposites in some ways, one Melbourne, the other Sydney, one in politics, the other in the church. From 1900 NSW had an electorally successful ALP with high Catholic involvement, but a Catholic Church lagging under Archbishop Kelly. In contrast in Victoria the ALP branch under radical socialist control was anti-Catholic and unelectable, whereas the independently minded Catholic Church under Archbishops Carr and Mannix was thriving.

Early Calwell

By 1920 at the age of 24 Calwell was secretary of the Irish Ireland League of Victoria, secretary of the Melbourne branch of the ALP and president of the State Service Clerical Association, a precocious rise displaying many talents. He was educated at St Joseph's CBC, North Melbourne, and was to become the most prominent of an influential cohort, encouraged by Mannix, of politicians and senior clergy educated at that college. He reciprocated by admiring Mannix, to whom he was close, almost inordinately. But Calwell also experienced many setbacks which dogged his long career. At six he almost died from diphtheria, an ailment which left him with a distinctive throaty voice. His mother died in 1910 when he was sixteen. In 1921 he married Margaret Murphy, but his wife died a short time later, another great personal tragedy. He later married Elizabeth Marren, the social editor of the Catholic paper *The Tribune*.

Another setback of longer duration awaited him. His flourishing career in the Labor movement led him to expect by the mid 1920s that he would soon inherit the Federal seat of Melbourne, held by the aged Dr William Maloney whose career in two parliaments had already stretched for almost

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35 years¹. Maloney was a political light-weight who wasn't cabinet material. But Maloney hung on to his seat, never resigning until summoned by 'the Angel of Death' in 1940, aged 86. The longevity of Maloney held up Calwell's career for two decades (1920-1940), just as Mannix's longevity was to hold up Simonds' career for two decades (1943-1963). This long wait stalled Calwell's political career, frustrating his ambitions. Calwell didn't try to ease Maloney out, an early sign of a certain inability to seize the moment. Calwell eventually assumed the Melbourne seat in 1940, too recent a member to be in Curtin's first cabinet in 1941. Impatient and frustrated, Calwell became an irritant on minor issues to Curtin, who ridiculed him as 'the hero of a hundred sham fights'. Calwell revealed here a tendency to impulsive, ill-considered outbursts on minor issues which damaged himself more than his targets; on the other hand he failed to act when major issues loomed.

Early Simonds

Simonds had an equally outstanding early career. Born in 1890 (six years before Calwell) Justin Simonds was ordained in 1912. During Cardinal Moran's funeral in 1911, Simonds, participating as an acolyte, accidentally slipped into the open grave; as he was hauled out the Master of Ceremonies admonished him, saying: 'That grave's only for the Cardinal!' This turned out to be not just a warning but a prophecy. By 1921 he was Professor of Sacred Scripture at Springwood Seminary and Dean of Manly Seminary in Sydney. From 1928 to 1930 he studied at Louvain Catholic University in Belgium, gaining a doctorate on the Church fathers in only two years. While there he became an enthusiast for the Catholic Action ideals of the JOCist (YCW) movement, of which Louvain was a stronghold, interests he furthered while Rector at Springwood on his return. By the time he was appointed Archbishop of Hobart in 1937, Simonds was considered Australia's leading clerical expert on Catholic Action matters. At his inauguration in Hobart Simonds showed he was ahead of the pack in seeing the totalitarian ideologies of Fascism and Communism not as left and right opposites, but as similar, in that they divinized the state as all powerful. Simonds' public statements, in contrast to Calwell's, were always calm, well considered, and issued only when necessary. They were temperamental opposites.

Catholic Action and the Movement

When the Catholic Action organization was set up in early 1938 in Melbourne by the Catholic bishops, its employees Maher and Santamaria

worked under the supervision of Simonds, the Episcopal Vicar in charge of Catholic Action, who was at the time far more knowledgeable on these matters than Maher or the 23-year-old Santamaria. In the month Catholic Action was being founded in January 1938, Simonds went into print, in *The Advocate* stating that its aim was 'beneficent social action...outside and above political parties', the key distinction, on which the whole Movement episode founded. This statement marked a high point in Simonds' career. Santamaria in *The Advocate* next month offered his unique definition of Catholic Action as: 'the determination of Australian Catholic unionists to fight the Communist aggression against the industrial movement', in other words, the Movement, no secrecy here. In the late 1930s and early 1940s Calwell was one of the first to organize groups to combat the pro-Communist left, not only in unions, as is well known, but in the ALP itself, as he and others were having their own political pre-selections and careers threatened by far left entrism. So Calwell was at this stage an initiator and supporter of Grouper strategies.

Panico's Plan

From the 1943 Calwell and Simonds were both living in Melbourne. How did Simonds come to end up in unfriendly Melbourne not Sydney, his natural home in the church? For an answer we have to turn to the activities of the Apostolic Delegate in Australia from 1935 to 1948, Archbishop Giovanni Panico.² Panico's job as a diplomat was to conduct relations with the Australian government on behalf of the Vatican, not to run the Australian church. Panico, energetic and relatively young, and with a twelve year posting, took it upon himself to radically reorganize the Australian church and so become its de facto leader, a role to which Papal Nuncios before or since have not aspired. In 1920 the Vatican had decreed that native clergy were to eventually replace foreign born missionaries. This ruling gave Panico his opening. He could diminish the dominant influence of Irish-born bishops, and appoint his own, less experienced, local choices in their place.³ Panico seems to have harboured some animus against the outstanding figure of Mannix, using the preference for native bishops as his excuse to downgrade him and Melbourne.

Panico's basic strategy was to isolate Mannix by removing his deputies, on whom as an 80-year-old man he relied to administer his archdiocese. The next most important clerics in Melbourne on whom Mannix relied were Mons. Lonergan, Dr Matthew Beovich and Dr Patrick Lyons, all of whom were got out of the way by promotion to bishoprics out of Victoria. Mannix

had to fill the deputy's job again and again, and was running out of talent. So the inadequate Fr Arthur Fox, not trained overseas nor even a home-grown thinker, was appointed in 1944 to the major administrative posts.

The other side of the coin was Sydney, lagging after Archbishop Kelly's long and uninspiring reign. In order that Australia should have its own first native born archbishop, in 1937 Simonds was given Hobart, where he was underused and out of the mainstream. A Sydney priest, Norman Thomas Gilroy, had been appointed Bishop of Port Augusta in 1934 only eleven years after his ordination, with much experience of the inner workings of the church but with virtually no pastoral experience. Panico manoeuvred the Irish Archbishop Sheehan out of the Sydney deputy post, and appointed Gilroy as Coadjutor; Gilroy succeeded Kelly on the latter's death in 1940. (Sheehan, who continued to publish intelligent articles on social questions, may have been a better choice for Sydney. Santamaria had long admired Sheehan – his rational defence of his faith was based on Sheehan's *Apologetics*. Santamaria's fatal falling out with Sydney might not have transpired if Sheehan, not Gilroy, had been in charge there.) The overall effect of Panico's moves was to reduce Mannix's and Melbourne's leadership of the Australian church, and so in comparison to increase the importance of the previously underperforming Sydney.

Panico's biggest coup was still to come. Simonds had been in Hobart a reigning archbishop with full faculties. In the depths of the war in 1942 Panico summoned him from Hobart to Sydney, to tell him he was to be appointed Mannix's coadjutor in Melbourne. Mannix was not to be informed, as he had a right to be. Simonds, a ruling archbishop, was thus demoted to be an assistant in another archdiocese, another unusual appointment and another Vatican/Panico attempt to corral Mannix. Mannix was eighty by this stage, and the Vatican may have presumed the 'Angel of Death' might soon relieve it of this turbulent priest. But for the next twenty years God - and Mannix - had other ideas. Another reason for Simonds' transfer to Melbourne might have been for Simonds, the Episcopal Vicar for Catholic Action, to keep a close watch on the controversial Movement activities already going on in the Catholic Action office in Melbourne.

On Simonds' arrival in Melbourne, Mannix gave him an enormous reception at Cathedral Hall, he gave him the pro-Cathedral St Mary's in West Melbourne, he gave him a priest as full-time secretary and he provided him with a car, and then didn't consult him on crucial issues nor give him administrative power over the next two decades. *The Advocate* article on Simonds' arrival ended by saying that 'the burden of office, which he

[Mannix] has borne for so long, will be lightened by one so eminently and manifestly suited to assist him'. It was not to be. Panico's strategy was so crude and transparent that Mannix, a consummate tactician, had no trouble swatting it away. Nonetheless Mannix does not come out well of this sidelining of Simonds, although the problem was not something of Simonds' nor Mannix's doing. Simonds had to put up with Fox, his inferior in rank and talent, doing the day-to-day running of the archdiocese instead of him. Panico's deep plan was not just, as has been assumed, to replace Irish bishops with local ones (that was merely his rationalization), but to replace independently minded bishops with dutiful Romanized ones.⁴

It would have been far wiser and simpler for Panico, instead of all this complex manoeuvring, to have made Simonds Archbishop of Sydney after Kelly. Sydney required a strong and imaginative leader after Kelly had run it down. Like Mannix and Carr, Simonds was, as a seminary head training young priests, a wide ranging thinker writing on theological, philosophical and current social issues, the outstanding NSW priest of his generation. Simonds was far more qualified for the position than Gilroy, but was overqualified for both his Hobart and Melbourne posts. The messy situation created by Panico in Australia's two premier sees was an underlying factor contributing to the Melbourne-Sydney fallout in events leading up to the split.

A few months after Simonds arrived as second in charge in Melbourne in 1943, Arthur Calwell was promoted to the Federal Cabinet. Both now began, after their stellar starts, new and difficult careers which would run in tandem. Both were now based in the North Melbourne area. In 1943 Calwell as Minister for Information supplied Santamaria with scarce newsprint paper for *Freedom*, Santamaria's Movement journal, a sign that Calwell was on side with the Movement at this stage. Calwell's career peak came with his handling of the Immigration portfolio. One of Panico's last moves was to have Gilroy, with a short six-year term as leader and no discernable achievements, appointed a cardinal in 1946, instead of Mannix, an accomplished incumbent for almost 30 years. The prophecy uttered at Moran's funeral was being fulfilled - the Sydney Cardinal's role was not for Simonds. Arthur Calwell, devoted to Mannix and a senior government minister, caused a stir by saying Mannix should have received the honour - another characteristic Calwell outburst, impulsive and self-defeating. Compare Simonds, with equal frustrations, but remaining quiet as a mouse. Calwell was 'in your face' - he projected his personality, whereas Simonds contrived to efface his.

At this stage Calwell should have been bothering, not with this peripheral issue, but with handling the Movement's attempted takeover of the ALP, which now threatened his career, just as earlier Communist tactics had. In 1948/9 Calwell and Keneally in Melbourne and Mulvihill and Ormonde in Sydney were rolled from their state executive posts, a sign of Movement domination in both states. Calwell was now anti-Movement and so lost favour with Mannix. Both Calwell and Simonds were now (late 1940s) opposed to the Movement, which they considered was damaging church and party, but were unwilling to move against it by announcing its existence; though opponents they too kept it secret, and as a result became incapacitated by their inaction. Calwell had attacked the 'anti-Communist obsession' of the Catholic right at the party's 1948 state conference, but it was in an internal forum. At the inauguration of the Eris O'Brien in January 1954 as Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn, Simonds similarly spoke out against those who 'involve the Church in underground political intrigue', admonishing 'her misguided children [who] seek to capture political power in her name', but only the few in the know picked up this oblique reference. Calwell now (late 1940s) had a window of opportunity to explain to the public the problem: we called in Catholic Action to save the Labor movement from the pro-Communist left, but, that battle having been won, Catholic Action is now trying to take over us. Calwell needed to name and shame the Movement publicly, and so seize the initiative by setting up the centre as the dominant majority against the left and right splinter groups. In the vacuum Evatt seized the initiative some years later, making his centre left narrative the dominant one. For the centre, led by Calwell, to fail to clearly state and act on the problem, was fatal for church and state, not to mention his own career.⁵

Early 1950s

But Calwell at this crucial juncture was incapacitated by the death of his only son Arthur Andrew to leukaemia at the age of eleven in 1948, and by a terrible coincidence Kennelly lost his son Neil aged 13 in a car accident in 1952, at the time the Movement rolled him in his state seat. These further personal tragedies, coming in the midst of bruising internal political struggles, embittered both even more against Santamaria, with his large family, and the Movement. With Chifley's death in 1951, Dr Evatt was elected leader of the Federal Labor Party; Calwell was elected deputy leader. So by the early 1950s both Calwell and Simonds were now deputy leaders of their factionalized and fracturing organizations, both at the height

of their personal powers but without real power. Both had leaders, Evatt and Mannix, with whom they were ideologically at odds.

In the run up to the split, Panico's moves meant the wrong people were in the wrong places at the wrong time when the split erupted. Consider this: in anti-Movement Sydney a pro-Movement Melbourne cleric Lyons was supervising the Movement there, whereas in pro-Movement Melbourne an anti-Movement Sydney cleric Simonds was second in charge - what a mess! Calwell, his resolution corroded by the turmoil, lost another great chance when, at a Caucus meeting after Evatt publicly dumped on the Movement, he did not seek a spill motion against Evatt's severely weakened leadership, which would likely have succeeded. Both deputies in state and church, Calwell and Simonds, had failed to press their case until it was too late. But it was harder for Simonds, who operated in a quasi-monarchical system, to challenge the king than it was for Calwell in politics, where leadership challenges are par for the course.

Late 1950s

Contrast Calwell and Simonds in the two decades 1943 to 1963: Calwell was flat out, running hard just to keep up, as a cabinet Minister, as an opponent of the Movement, as deputy leader destabilized by the split, and then leader, whereas Simonds had little to do except an endless round of Confirmations on Sundays. Poor Simonds, the best twenty years of his life were wasted as coadjutor with no agreed role. Simonds at one stage decided to examine how the many religious orders in Melbourne were faring. When he reported to Mannix that all was well, Mannix replied that that came from leaving them alone, an unsympathetic response. Mannix was ninety when the split occurred, and needed an auxiliary freed from administrative burdens to help cope with the ongoing crises in the wake of that disaster. So Mons. Fox was promoted to Bishop in 1957, a further insult to the coadjutor Archbishop Simonds as Fox, his junior, was given the role of archdiocesan spokesman, a role for which, with his charmless personality, he was not suited. The 1957 Vatican decision dissociating itself from the Movement's *modus operandi* proved Simonds and Calwell right, but sadly too late to help either.

Early 1960s

Calwell became leader of the Federal ALP in 1960 at the age of 64. He had his big chance in 1961, the credit squeeze election, where Menzies scraped home by one seat. Once again Lady Luck had deserted him. It

was a devastating setback, as he never again came close to being Prime Minister. Calwell looked too out of date to appeal to voters, and with the DLP incubus still round his neck. Although in private a charming and accomplished person, he seemed to undergo a personality change when mounting a political platform, ranting on in a hoarse nasal voice. Before the 1963 Federal election Calwell stated the ALP could not win except for the intervention of the 'Angel of Death', an anticipation of Mannix's demise. Perhaps he was remembering his long wait to succeed to Dr Maloney's seat. This demeaning reference to his former close friend did him damage among Catholic voters. By this stage three of the four federal Labor leaders (Calwell, Nick McKenna and Kennelly) were inner suburban Melbourne Catholics, remarkably as Catholic factional antics in the Victorian branch had wrecked the party - the fourth leader was Gough Whitlam. Santamaria and McManus, from the same CBC North stable, were also very prominent, as were the North CBC bishops Lyons, Beovich and Stewart, and Darlinghurst's Monsignor Tom Wallace.

The coadjutor Archbishop Simonds, who was attending the Vatican Council when Mannix died in 1963, returned to automatically succeed him. Simonds had become a seminarian in 1906, so he was now in his 57th year in the church. Becoming the Melbourne Catholic leader at the age of 73 was too late, like Calwell, to enjoy the fruit of his decades of hard work and commitment. When Simonds finally came into possession of the Melbourne See in 1963, he was old, infirm and with poor sight, which occasioned the then current pun: 'Long time, no see/See'. A vault in the floor of the cathedral's western transept had been opened up to receive Mannix's coffin. At the burial the TV cameras showed Bishop Fox grasping the new incumbent Simonds, who had limited sight at this stage, firmly by his vestments as the two shuffled slowly across the floor towards the vault, lest Simonds fall in once again.

A rundown archdiocese was handed to a man who was himself run down. Simonds had the job of running a complex and divided organization ahead of him, just as Calwell had. But he did not have the time nor health to make the substantial changes needed after an organizational hiatus stretching over decades. Simonds had the administrative head, Mons. Moran, promoted to bishop in 1964. This had the effect of sidelining Bishop Fox until he was put out to pasture as Bishop of Sale.

Late 1960s

Calwell was awarded a papal knighthood in 1964. This may be viewed as a

consolation prize for missing out on greater honours in public life.⁶ Strangely in the large literature on Simonds and Calwell, I cannot find reference to any relationship nor connection between them, though they lived near each other for a quarter of a century. Calwell was defeated for the third time by Menzies in 1966 at a federal election largely fought on opposing views of the Vietnam War. Calwell, having survived an assassination attempt in June 1966, another setback, stepped down as federal ALP leader in February 1967 and was replaced by Whitlam. It was a sad end to a long and ultimately unfulfilled career. It was the same year as Simonds relinquished his position, a final parallel in their careers. They were the last major victims of the split.

Simonds to his credit had stoically accepted his twenty-year cross without demur, but Calwell was overtaken in his last years by bitterness at the fate dealt him. The parliamentary reporter Alan Reid recalled that when Calwell was federal leader he had a *prie dieu* installed in an anteroom attached to his office in Parliament House, to which he would repair, ostensibly to meditate, but actually to have little recrimination sessions against his enemies. In his memoir Calwell describes many of his fellow Catholics as 'fear-stricken, communist-hating, money-making, social-climbing, status-seeking, brainwashed, ghetto-minded people'. However Calwell and McManus became reconciled before the former's death. Both Calwell and McManus published valuable autobiographies after their retirement from public life. Calwell died in 1973, aged seventy seven, the same age as Simonds on his death. Calwell's daughter Mary Elizabeth has kept his memory alive through a number of publications defending his legacy.⁷ Poor lonely Simonds had no one to defend his until Fr Max Vodola published his Simonds biography in 1997 in an attempt to rehabilitate his reputation.⁸

Endnotes

- 1 Dr Maloney had an intriguing background, being the illegitimate son of the wealthy squatter William 'Big' Clarke of Rupertswood, and a married Catholic woman Jane Maloney.
- 2 In her biography *Mannix*, Brenda Niall devotes two chapters 'The Vatican Chess Game' and 'The Cardinal's Red Hat' to Panico's extensive manoeuvres.
- 3 The ruling was hardly applicable to Australia. Unlike the situation when missionaries were sent to Asia or Africa, the cultural gap between Irish Catholic clergy and their predominantly Irish Catholic flock in Australia was minimal.

- 4 Between the 1880s and the 1960s Sydney has three Roman trained hierarchs Moran, Kelly and Gilroy, in contrast to Melbourne's Carr, Mannix and Simonds. Whether Panico was under instructions from Rome to carry out his program, or was on a frolic of his own, is not clear. When Simonds met the powerful figure of Monsignor Montini (later Pope Paul VI) at the Vatican in 1946, he was surprised to hear of the high esteem Mannix was held in in Rome. The Panico-Mannix contretemps had been a cause for regret there, with Montini implying Mannix had been badly treated.
- 5 History is full of examples where in a civil war, one side calls in a powerful outsider in order to retain independence, with the result that the outsider remains to dominate the situation, for example the English called into Ireland in the 12th century, and the Russians moving into Ukraine in the 17th century; both left only in the 20th century.
- 6 Over 50 years Mannix appointed only a few monsignors, nor did he recommend Papal awards, both of which honours required approval from Rome. Gilroy soon appointed about 20 monsignori, which led Mannix to refer derisively to Sydney as 'the Purple East'.
- 7 Mary Elizabeth Calwell, *I Am Bound To Be True: The life and legacy of Arthur A Calwell 1897-1973*, Mosaic Press, Preston Vic, 2012.
- 8 Max Vodola, *Simonds: A rewarding life*, Catholic Education Office, Melbourne, 1997.

WARRANE COLLEGE. THE DIFFICULT BEGINNINGS OF AN OPUS DEI UNIVERSITY RESIDENCE IN SYDNEY

José Manuel Cerda*

Abstract: *This article refers to events that occurred in Sydney, Australia, from 1966 to 1974, to provide some general background to the foundation of Warrane College, a university hall of residence entrusted to the spiritual care of Opus Dei and affiliated with the University of New South Wales. Primarily based on journalistic accounts, this study is divided into three main sections: first, it provides a narrative of the foundation of the college, then an analysis of the particular aims and ethos of the residence, and finally, it describes the growing opposition to the project and the subsequent protests of 1971 and 1974.*

Keywords: *Opus Dei – Josemaría Escrivá – Warrane College – Australia – 1966 –1974.*

The history of Warrane College, an Opus Dei university residence for students at the University of New South Wales, can be traced back to the 1950s. Then the Catholic archbishop of Sydney, Norman Cardinal Gilroy, first came into contact with members of Opus Dei and a sample of their educational initiatives in Europe. The most senior figure of the Catholic Church in Australia, Cardinal Gilroy attended the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), when he is likely to have met Saint Josemaría Escrivá. The Reverend Thomas Muldoon, auxiliary bishop of Sydney, recalls that after an audience with the founder of Opus Dei, Pope Pius XII famously said to Cardinal Gilroy that Monsignor Escrivá “is a true saint, a man sent by God for our times”¹.

As it turned out, Gilroy’s visit to Rome was to prove a crucial moment in the early history of Opus Dei in Australia. The cardinal was then entertaining the idea of setting up a residential college at a university

1 *Postulación de la Causa de Beatificación y Canonización del Siervo de Dios Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer, Sacerdote, Fundador del Opus Dei: Artículos del Postulador* (Roma, 1979), p. 395, and n. 1424.

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campus in Sydney and the University of New South Wales – then the New South Wales University of Technology – was very short of places for student accommodation. Opus Dei, then a secular institute of the Church, must have loomed large in the mind of the Australian cardinal, not only because of the words of Pius XII about its saintly president and founder, but also because Gilroy had taken note of the experience of its members in the administration of university halls in Spain, Italy, Ireland and the United States².

In 1963, Father Salvador Ferigle, a member of Opus Dei and lecturer at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, had been to Sydney on his way from Tokyo to Rome, and had met Cardinal Gilroy and visited the university campus. Four months later, and under the impulse of Saint Josemaría, two priests and two laymen of Opus Dei went to Australia to settle for the first time. They lived on Silver Street, in the suburb of Randwick, near the university. Several other laymen from Spain and the United States came to support the apostolic work of Opus Dei in Australia, and in 1965, they set up ‘Nairana Cultural Centre’ on High Street in Randwick, also very close to the campus.

In the 1950s, there was a move to set up a Catholic university in Sydney but it was finally decided to build instead a residential hall and add to the long-standing presence and important function of St. John’s College at the University of Sydney.³ A letter from Gilroy to another Italian cardinal in June 1963 reveals his enthusiasm about the prospects of an Opus Dei university residence in Australia:

‘Opus Dei’ is quite unknown here, but I have heard so much that is good about it that I share Your Eminence’s confidence that it will do a great deal of good...The apostolate of ‘Opus Dei’ should be appropriate antidote to the spirit emanating from these places that have

2 Cf. Ian WALKER, *Church, College and Campus: The Sacred and the Secular in the Foundation of Denominational Colleges in Australian Universities, with particular reference to certain colleges in universities established in the period 1945 to 1975* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The University of New South Wales (Sydney, 2001), p. 427. The foundation of university residences run by Opus Dei around the world is summarised in Andrés VÁZQUEZ DE PRADA, *op.cit.*, pp. 341, 504; and Owen F. HUGHES, Owen F. HUGHES, “Disorganised Organisation? Opus Dei Replies”, *Arena*, 30 September 1968, p. 4; *Tharunka*, 29 October, 1968.

3 Cf. Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 427; *Tharunka*, 7 June, 1966.

a high intellectual standard but inculcate indifference to religion.⁴

The “Kensington Tech” (or New South Wales University of Technology) was founded in 1949 and in the face of increasing student demand for accommodation in the 1950s, it became the most suitable campus for new halls of residence⁵. At the Australian Universities Commission in 1959 the Vice-Chancellor of the university and representatives of the Church met to discuss the prospects of setting up a Catholic college on campus, and it was agreed that “depending upon a suitable site being obtained, and Commonwealth grants for the triennium 1961-63, the Church would match the available finance to provide a college for up to two hundred residents”⁶. The details of the negotiations between the Church and the university concerning the building were managed by Father John Burnheim of St. John’s College. It is worth citing a letter he sent to the Vice-Chancellor in June 1963 in which he reveals a great deal of enthusiasm for the project and the Church’s confidence in the suitability of Opus Dei for its management:

I am very happy to be able to tell you that a Catholic organisation called Opus Dei is very anxious to push ahead with the project for a College at the University of N.S.W., and that the Church authorities are giving them every encouragement and support. Two of their members, Father James W. Albrecht and Christopher Schmitt are in Sydney and are empowered to take immediate steps towards making a foundation...In the near future I shall no doubt be handing over any negotiations concerning a college at the University of N.S.W. I know that they will pursue the project with great vigour, and I hope that they will enjoy the same very cordial and understanding relationship with you and the University that I have enjoyed over the past few years⁷.

Members of Opus Dei had spent only three years in Australia and they were now entrusted with a major task for which they received unreserved support from university and church authorities. Cardinal Gilroy’s letter to Father

4 Sydney Archdiocesan Archives, Series 40/35. See also John LUTTRELL, *Norman Thomas Gilroy. An obedient life*, St Pauls Publications, Sydney, 2017, p. 231.

5 See Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, pp. 436-437 and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (hereafter *SMH*), 10 June, 1971, p. 14.

6 Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 432.

7 These excerpts are taken from UNSW Archives (FN. 29367 CN.461/1), and included in Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 433.

Albrecht in March 1964 stamped the initiative with an official blessing:

As you know, for some years now, the Archdiocese has had the desire to establish a Residential College at the University of New South Wales under Catholic auspices. I am pleased that *Opus Dei* has come to Sydney and is providing an opportunity for this desire to become a reality...While I was in Rome, I had the opportunity to visit one of your international student residences there. I was very pleased with the spirit of the people in the residence and the work *Opus Dei* is accomplishing there. I am happy that you plan to establish a residential college in order to carry on this work here, and I wish you every success and assure you of my blessing⁸.

Michael Steuart, then the secretary of a committee set up to carry the project through, received a letter in 1968 from the Chancellor of the university praising the efforts of such a group and stating that he was

also pleased that the direction of Warrane is to be entrusted to Opus Dei, an Association which has had wide experience in this field⁹.

The college was named Warrane, and this was perhaps the very first manifestation of its affiliation with the principles promoted by the projects under the direction of Opus Dei members. Warrane is an anglicised version of *Warrang* which in one of the aboriginal languages of Australia means 'Sydney Cove', where the first European settlers established themselves in 1788. Some may have expected the new college at the University of New South Wales to have a 'Catholic' name – after all, the Church had initiated and was significantly involved in the project.

Furthermore, an initiative of this nature could have followed the precedent of St. John's College, set up in the nineteenth century as the Catholic college of what was then the only university in Sydney. Josemaría Escrivá always practised and encouraged others to have a very intense veneration of the saints of the Church, but he had indicated as early as 1943 that the corporate initiatives of Opus Dei would not have the name of saints, so none of these

8 Cited in Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, pp. 434-435 (from the UNSW Archives, see above). Cfr. Patrick O'FARRELL, *UNSW: A Portrait*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 1999, p. 165.

9 Cited in Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 437. Refer also to *Committee of Enquiry into Warrane College*, The University of New South Wales Council, November, 1974, p. 2).

projects would be identified as officially Catholic¹⁰. Opus Dei had gone to Australia to serve the Church and the ethos of Warrane College was to be closely associated with the principles and values of Catholic doctrine. However, it was made clear from the beginning that the college was not run by the diocese, nor was it in any way dependent on directives suggested by the hierarchy more than any private initiative run by ordinary Australian Catholics.

Cardinal Gilroy, who seems to have understood this aspect of the spirit of Opus Dei, celebrated the work of the Warrane College Development Committee in a letter sent to its secretary, Michael Stuart, in October 1968: “it is especially pleasing to know that you have the co-operation of men of different faiths who have the common desire to establish Warrane College in the knowledge that its benefits will be extended to students of all faiths”¹¹. Residence in the college was open to non-Catholics just as much as membership of its management and administration. As Owen F. Hughes remarked in *Tharunka*, the newspaper of the Students’ Union, as with all residences of Opus Dei throughout the world, “Warrane will be open to students of all religions, races and nationalities. The College will, in fact, make every effort to have the greatest possible diversity among the residents and tutors”, and quoting the words of Saint Josemaría, he continues: “In Opus Dei pluralism is not simply tolerated. It is desired and loved, and in no way hindered”¹². This was not mere university diplomacy. When the college was officially opened in 1971, *The Sydney Morning Herald* informed that “its resident population will include undergraduate and postgraduate students from every faculty at the university, and will represent more than 20 countries, mostly in the Pacific area. Open to students of all faiths, the college has residents of many denominations”¹³. In 1972, for example, 72 per cent of residents at Warrane were Australian; 24 per cent from Asia; and 4 per cent from other continents, and since its foundation, the college

10 Cf. Josemaría ESCRIVÁ, *Conversations with Monsignor Escrivá de Balaguer*, Sydney, Little Hills Press, 1993, n. 81; see also n. 47. This aspect of the spirit of Opus Dei is succinctly explained in Scott HAHN, *Ordinary Work, Extraordinary Grace: My Spiritual Journey in Opus Dei*, New York, Doubleday, 2006, p. 89.

11 Cited in Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 436.

12 *Tharunka*, 29 October, 1968. In 1974, for example, 37 per cent of the residents at Warrane College were not Catholic (*Committee of Enquiry, op.cit.*, p. 9).

13 *SMH*, 10 June, 1971, p. 14.

has hosted students from over 40 different countries. This multicultural interaction was so prominent a feature in college life, that it was noted and celebrated in 1972 by the Minister for Immigration¹⁴.

The lease of land which allowed the construction of Warrane was signed on 27th March 1967. Construction of the college began in January, 1969, and the building was ready to accommodate students for the third term of the academic year of 1970. It stood as an imposing structure of dark brown bricks which dominated the skyline of Kensington with its tower of eight floors elevated over the south-east corner of the university campus on Anzac Parade with Barker Street. The building was equipped with single bedrooms and facilities to accommodate 204 students, resident tutors and other senior and domestic staff. The first two stories included the chapel, a number of offices, a common room and snack bar, a library and music room, as well as a large dining room adjacent to the entrance hall and reception room. Next to the dining room were the premises reserved for the household administration, managed and directed by women of Opus Dei in collaboration with many others.

For the standards of the 1960s, Warrane College was indeed a large-scale structure which impressed the neighbouring community and was the subject of an extraordinarily detailed description in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.¹⁵ Opus Dei was barely starting its activities in Australia and its members would have surely preferred a much smaller building in order to offer a more personalised attention to residents in accordance with the principles that inspired this type of project in other parts of the world. In this case, a particular model of residential education, so successfully tested in several countries, was naturally adapted to local circumstances, not without difficulties as we shall see. More in the traditional style of Opus Dei residences was Creston College, a university hall for women with capacity for 30 students, who settled in the building previously used for the 'Nairana

14 The Minister for Immigration was Albert J. Grassby. Another manifestation of the international character of Warrane was 'The Asian Cultural Festival,' organised by college residents, attended by more than 300 people, and opened by Sir Robert Webster, Chancellor of the University of New South Wales. There were about 1,000 overseas students enrolled at the university in 1970 (Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 120).

15 Cf. "Governor to open university college," *SMH*, 10 June, 1971, p. 14. See also Jon POWIS, "Opus Dei on the campus," *The National Times*, August, 1970; and *Tharunka*, 2 October, 1968; 25 February, 1969; and 4 November, 1969.

Cultural Centre', just outside the northern bounds of the university campus, on High Street¹⁶.

Dr Joseph F. Martins was appointed master, the highest authority in the residence. A member of Opus Dei, Joe Martins had migrated from the United States after obtaining a doctorate in physical chemistry from Harvard University and having directed a small residential hall in Boston. The dean of students was Dr Owen F. Hughes, also from the United States, and then a lecturer in the School of Mechanical and Industrial Engineering at the University of New South Wales. In the administrative and academic management of Warrane, they were assisted by a number of staff, among them 12 residential tutors, divided between the six residential floors, several lay members of Opus Dei, and two Catholic chaplains, also in residence.¹⁷

Warrane was officially opened on Sunday 13th June, 1971, by Sir Roden Cutler, Governor of New South Wales. The ceremony was also attended by David Hughes, Minister for Public Works; Sir Kevin Ellis, Speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly and Deputy Chancellor of the University of New South Wales; Professor Rupert Myers, Vice-Chancellor of the university; the members of the Warrane Development Committee; and more than 200 guests, among them the college residents. Warrane then became one of the 70 university residences in Australia and one of the six colleges affiliated with the University of New South Wales¹⁸. Like Warrane, all these institutions were affiliated university colleges which aimed to provide a communal environment nurtured with active participation in a variety of collegial activities ranging from social events to cultural initiatives, from sporting competitions to academic endeavours. Like all affiliated colleges in Australia, these were not simply halls of residence providing temporary accommodation during the university term in the manner of student hostels. Like the first colleges established in Australia in the nineteenth century, the post-war residences aimed to maintain and cultivate at least the most fundamental traditions first espoused by Oxbridge colleges in the Middle Ages, "while expressing, in their architecture and style of life, new ideas and approaches to university student life"¹⁹.

In varying degrees, an intense collegial life was common to all the

16 Cf. *Tharunka*, 1 September, 1971.

17 Cf. "Governor to open university college," *SMH, op.cit.*, p. 14.

18 *Tharunka*, 25 February, 1969. Cf. "Governor to open university college," *SMH, op.cit.*, p. 14.

19 "Governor to open university college," *SMH, op.cit.*, p. 14.

student halls affiliated with the University of New South Wales from the late 1960s, and came to complement and enrich the university experience for thousands of students in Sydney. However, the principles upon which Warrane was established and the aims driving the efforts of its management towered above the objectives of all other residential colleges at the University of New South Wales, and indeed in Australia.

In concordance with the aims of the Education Development Association, the college's first and most fundamental purpose was "to promote education and the development of character in accordance with the principles and ideals of Christianity"²⁰. Such an objective was common to all university residences established by members of Opus Dei throughout the world, but in 1970, it implied a most ambitious and daring novelty for a college in the increasingly secularised environment of campuses in Australia²¹. When asked whether Opus Dei was relevant to the Australian conditions, the college master, Joe Martins, vigorously answered that "there are two main points that Opus Dei emphasises: living one's Christian commitment fully and sanctifying oneself through one's work. It is obvious that both Christianity and work have a place in Australia. Opus Dei's message is relevant here as in the some 40 countries where the Association carries on its work..."²².

Tony Shannon, formerly a lecturer in the Department of Applied Mathematics and now Emeritus Professor at the University of Technology Sydney, had been in touch with members of Opus Dei and residents at Warrane long enough to grasp the essential mission of the college. In an article published in 1974 in the *Canberra Times*, he explains:

Warrane's aims are: (1) to ensure good study conditions and further the intellectual development offered by the university; (2) to promote a spirit of friendship and understanding in an atmosphere of warmth and service to others; (3) to provide, for those students who wish it, the opportunity to know and practise the Christian faith more fully; (4) to encourage participation in all aspects of university life; (5) to foster

20 *Committee of Enquiry, op.cit.*, p. 11. This was cited from the Memorandum of E.D.A. in relation to the objectives of Warrane College, its affiliated institution.

21 Cf. Donald HORNE, *The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1964, pp. 52-58; Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, pp. 162, 167.

22 "Warrane College-Opus Dei", *op.cit.*

an awareness of one's social responsibility and of the opportunities to contribute to the needs of the society in which we live²³.

In order to ensure good study conditions and further the intellectual development offered by the university, the college appointed several tutors every year. These tutors would be residents chosen on the basis of seniority and academic experience, and in 1971 they were expected to conduct tutorials, be available to students for consultation concerning their university courses, and be aware of their academic standing. Beside these academic obligations, these tutors were also asked to fulfill a number of mentoring and leadership tasks. In 1973, these roles were separated and two groups of tutors were established: those designated 'academic tutors' were exclusively concerned with the academic welfare of the students in the college, while a second group known as 'resident tutors,' were appointed for each floor to look after their personal wellbeing and were entrusted with some authority over the residents.

The sanctification of work is at the very centre of the message of Opus Dei, and since studying was the principal occupation of university students, it was naturally afforded a central place in the college experience. "An hour of study, for a modern apostle, is an hour of prayer", once wrote St. Josemaría.²⁴ A large number of tutors, a comprehensive tutorial program, an encouraging environment of academic achievement, and ideal study conditions were the ingredients of the Warrane recipe. An appropriate ratio between tutors and residents ensured personalised attention and regular academic counselling. In addition to the assistance offered by the permanent staff, the academic environment at the college was substantially aided by 22 visiting and resident academic tutors, who offered assistance on a wide range of subjects.

Academic achievement was encouraged and rewarded at Warrane from its earliest history. A college scholar award was given each year to students who on average obtained a distinction level or higher in all subjects. Further contribution to this environment of academic excellence was made by weekly guest speakers to broaden the professional and cultural horizons of the residents, and study weekends designed for those who wanted or

23 Tony SHANNON, 'In defence of Warrane and Opus Dei', *Canberra Times*, June, 1974.

24 ESCRIVÁ, *Furrow*, Sydney, Little Hills Press, 1987, n. 428; and Scott HAHN, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

needed to intensify their study towards preparing exams or completing assignments.

The Warrane model, however, was not entirely geared towards the academic performance of its residents, nor was this successful system what characterised the college most. The staff was also greatly concerned with promoting a spirit of friendship and understanding in an atmosphere of warmth and service to others. Residential tutors were appointed for this purpose. According to an outline of proposals for 1971, the staff indicated that two tutors were to be allocated to each floor and they would be expected to help establish get-togethers or social gatherings on the floors in a way which creates a home-like environment among the residents; be vigilant about study conditions, apply the rules and deal with the students on these matters; visit the residents with frequency for counselling and mentoring; and finally, help the House Committee member on each floor in promoting floor-based activities and contributing to the social interaction and cohesion of the group²⁵.

And just as the college promoted and rewarded academic achievement, the sportsman of the week was presented with the ‘Willie Wong Best and Fairest Award’, a cup named after a resident from Malaysia who represented Warrane with distinction in a number of sporting contests. The presentation of this award became a tradition in college and has continued to honour the efforts and skills of many residents. Sporting success was a fundamental element of cohesion and has fed college spirit for decades in a country where sport awakens unparalleled fervour.

A number of public lectures were organised at Warrane every year and added to the talks given every week by guest speakers from the professional and academic world. These weekly lectures served to widen perspectives among the residents while facilitating privileged contact with a range of professional undertakings. These sessions also fostered an ever present awareness of the student’s social responsibility and of the opportunities to contribute to the needs of society, another of the aims procured by the staff and tutors at Warrane, and unmistakably inspired by the mission preached by the founder of Opus Dei of “contributing to resolve in a Christian way the

25 Cf. “Outline proposals for the college in 1971,” Minutes of the College Council, ref. 1/71, p. 2.

problems which affect the community of each country"²⁶.

Residents at Warrane were encouraged to participate in community service and devote some of their time to visiting nursing homes and families in poorer areas of Sydney, feed and accompany the homeless, and assist the elderly with some gardening. These activities have greatly enriched the college experience for generations of university students, and have been an integral part of the education for life which is offered at Warrane.

These particular features were characteristic of a college committed to the education of its residents in Catholic morals and ethics. The final and most important of all objectives established with the foundation of Warrane College in 1970 was to provide, for those students who wish it, the opportunity to know and practise the Christian faith more fully. This purpose inspired all the other aims we have cited and, in various ways, it informed every single project designed for the college. On offer to Catholic residents and the faithful at large, as well as those interested in Catholicism, was a rich variety of spiritual and doctrinal activities: ongoing courses on Christian principles, ethics and history, a weekly chaplain's talk, and personalised spiritual guidance and training were made available to all who wish to start or improve a relationship with God. The chaplains were also available for confessions, and Holy Mass was celebrated in the college chapel every morning. But in explaining the role of the chaplains in Warrane, the college vice-master insisted that "functions of a religious character will of course be organised, but the residents will be under no obligation to attend them. In fact, respect for the freedom of the individual to participate or not in any activity is basic to the spirit of *Opus Dei*"²⁷. In consequence, "no obligation whatsoever of a religious nature will be imposed on the residents", who could gain acceptance into the college regardless of their religious beliefs or personal convictions²⁸.

Catholic or not, the residents have always been encouraged to lead a life of virtue and principle. They have acquired or developed social skills later necessary for forging lasting friendships and for the crafting of successful professional careers. There can be no doubt as to the radical change that years in Warrane have prompted in the life of many young men. Staying at the college was therefore a challenging experience for those willing to assume the demands of an education for life. The resident was no mere

26 *Conversations, op.cit.*, n. 19. Cf. *Conversations, op.cit.*, ns. 56, 57, 119.

27 *Tharunka*, 29 October, 1968.

28 Cf. Owen F. HUGHES, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

lodger because the college was much more than a student hostel.

However, the same Warrane ethos responsible for its success and attractiveness to so many also encountered hostility from a noisy minority, particularly among student activists on campus. The validity of such ambitious and transcendental goals was not understood or tolerated by everyone, for they embodied a staunch resistance to many of the trends and ideologies emerging at university campuses from the mid-1960s.

All over the world, the traditional university experience was challenged by radical minorities who opposed all forms of authority and morality. In the words of Patrick O'Farrell, these trends responded to "emergent student mores, marked by anti-authoritarianism, anti-religion, and aggressive personal laxity"²⁹. In the English-speaking world, much of this activism and protest in the 1960s was fuelled by a combination of Marxist ideas and the new commandments of the sexual revolution, and found an inspiration in the 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement, among other student uprisings³⁰. In Australia, the university environment quickly became politicised and rebellious from 1965, after the commitment of Australian troops in support of the United States' military involvement in the Vietnam conflict, which was seen as cooperating with authoritarian and capitalist forces³¹.

A minority of radicalised students wanted to assert control over university

29 Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

30 Refer to Kenneth KENISTON and Michael LERNER, "Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 395 (May, 1971), pp. 39-53, and particularly pp. 50-52; Helen LEFKOWITZ HOROWITZ, "The 1960s and the Transformation of Campus Cultures," *History of Education Quarterly*, 26 (Spring, 1986), pp. 1-38; James W. CLARKE and Joseph EGAN, "Social and Political Dimensions of Campus Protest Activity," *The Journal of Politics*, 34 (May, 1972), pp. 500-523. Cf. Mick ARMSTRONG, "The radicalisation of the campuses, 1967-1974," *One, Two, Three, What are we fighting for?*, Melbourne, Socialist Alternative, 2001: www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions). See also James FRANKLIN, *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Philosophy in Australia*, Sydney, Macleay Press, 2003, pp. 289-295.

31 Cf. W.J. WEST, *Opus Dei: Exploding a Myth*, Sydney, Little Hills Press, 1987, p. 156; Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, pp. 451-453; O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 162. See also references in footnote 61.

administration and thus transform the nature of tertiary education by changing the focus from teaching and learning to urging political, moral and social change. Although a rejection of traditional morality and any form or shape of authoritarianism were the major causes that united student movements across the world, activists at different universities were constantly in search of a local *cause célèbre* to initiate and justify action, mostly by a typical sequence of propaganda, march and occupation³². In Australia, for example, any measure taken by university authorities which contradicted the emerging ideology was turned into a cause for protest. In consequence, from 1967 to 1974 there were violent student uprisings at the universities of Monash, Queensland, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, La Trobe, Flinders, and Macquarie³³.

The student population at the University of New South Wales in Sydney was moderate compared to the others, perhaps because it had originally been a technological institute and was therefore attended by a larger proportion of science and engineering students³⁴. The Students' Union, however, was controlled by people who had been influenced by the Freethought Society, the Libertarians, and the Sydney Push in addition to influence exercised by international trends, all of which advocated the defiant ideas typically associated with the movements of the 1960s³⁵. In 1971, then, student activism at this university found a most convenient cause for protest, a real gold mine to keep radicals occupied on campus. The presence of Opus Dei in Warrane College was suitably turned into a 'local Vietnam' and the Catholic organisation became the target of violent opposition in the early 1970s. The historian Patrick O'Farrell explains that "some were genuine radicals frustrated in their larger ambitions and seeing in Warrane a specifically local issue which they might champion with some hope of drawing on immediate and individual discontent"³⁶.

Opus Dei was seen by the radicals as a formidable opponent because its

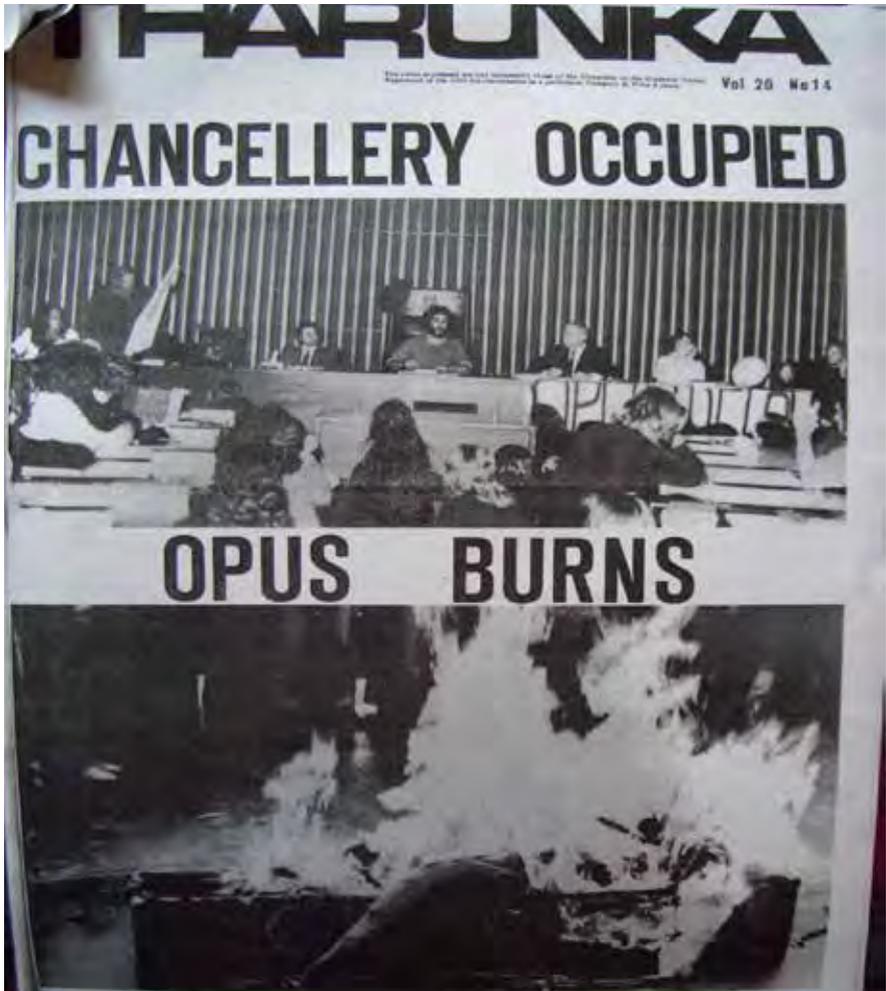
32 Cf. Mick ARMSTRONG, *op.cit.*; Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 442.

33 Cf. Mick ARMSTRONG, *op.cit.*; James FRANKLIN, *op.cit.*, pp. 281-294, 309; Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, pp. 162-163.

34 Cf. Mick ARMSTRONG, *op.cit.*

35 See James FRANKLIN, *op.cit.*, pp. 158-161; and Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, pp. 439-442.

36 Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 163; *Tharunka*, 4 June, 1968.



Tharunka front page, 12 June 1974

mission was in direct collision with the moral relaxation they intended for university students. Also in reference to the Anglican foundation of New College, Ian Walker observes that the situation “was as if the colleges had arrived at the wrong party!”³⁷.

Most of the opposition to Opus Dei from 1966 to 1975 was primarily

³⁷ Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, p. 452.

channelled through *Tharunka*, the publication of the Students' Union at the University of New South Wales.³⁸ Many of the written accusations here were typically misinformed and slanderous, well summarised by William West:

Stripped of their rhetoric, the objections in *Tharunka* to Warrane College policy boil down to (a) they are Catholic; (b) they don't let students visit maids or girls in rooms; (c) they expel students for breaking rules or promoting pornographic movies; (d) they hang crucifixes on walls.³⁹

The attacks on Opus Dei had in the 1960s been confined to pen and paper, but the theft of a sex manual published by *Tharunka* as a 'family issue' in 1971 gave the protesters a local excuse to test their strength against the university authorities and further their cause against Opus Dei.⁴⁰ All of the literary ammunition directed at Opus Dei since 1966 was collected and used again to replenish the pages of *Tharunka* in 1971 and 1972. On campus, the small but loud opposition to the administration of Warrane had commenced a fierce campaign with the cry 'Joe must go', directed at the college master, Dr Joe Martins.

Only two months after the official opening of the college, the staff and residents at Warrane were confronted with dramatic scenes on that famous Monday 9th August. What followed the meeting of students held at the university roundhouse was broadcasted by most radio stations and attracted the attention of newspapers all over Australia, one of which reported the following:

The incidents occurred after a meeting of about 2,000 students in the university roundhouse passed a resolution demanding that the university end the lease of Warrane College...shortly after 2 pm, after a number of students had left, the meeting narrowly voted that students should 'adjourn to Warrane College'. Several hundred walked to the front of the college in Anzac Parade, and about 10 ran inside. A group of college employees and residents blocked the doorway, and pushed

38 Cf. James FRANKLIN, *op.cit.*, p. 175; Joe MARTINS, 'Information of the events of the last few days related to Warrane College', Kensington, 13 August, 1971, p. 2.

39 W.J. WEST, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

40 Cf. "Student sex manual theft alleged," *The Australian*, 5 August, 1971; *The Australian*, Letters, 6 August, 1971; Brian McKINLAY, "Uproar over sex book follows pattern," *Sunday Review*, 20 August, 1971.



Demonstrators at the Roundhouse, UNSW; from Tharunka, 12 June 1974

back others who were trying to force their way in...the crowd then moved to the side of the college, and a number of students climbed in through a window. Police kept arriving throughout the afternoon until by 3.15, 21 police cars were parked beside the median strip in Anzac Parade. About 40 police were moving through the crowd. Soon after 3 pm, police entered the college to remove the students who had run inside...The arrested students will appear in Waverley Court this morning.⁴¹

Radical students had resorted to occupation. Violence had finally come to the Kensington campus and 7 students were arrested as a result. The diary of the college records that “an estimated 600-strong crowd mostly curious onlookers was watching the ‘siege’”⁴². The residents at Warrane had not only opposed the meeting and its resolutions, but they defended the college

41 ‘Students besiege uni college’, *SMH*, 10 August, 1971.

42 *Warrane College Diary* (1971), General Archive of the Prelature (AGP, Rome), 8 August, 1971.

during the attempted invasion by throwing all sorts of missiles, rubbish and water bombs from the windows.⁴³ The college diary keeps the recollection of an extraordinary day for everyone at Warrane:

Most of the radio stations broadcasted the incident at the college. Reporters from various media came to interview the master and many did it by phone. In the evening after tea, the main common room became the TV room as everybody went to watch the ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission) telecast of the “siege”. Other channels also reported on the same events. From this day on Warrane or Opus Dei shall have been heard by the whole of Australia.⁴⁴

It had been a difficult day for those running the college, but it was almost as if the rebels had done Opus Dei a great favour: shortly after its opening, Warrane had made the news all over Australia. In any case, Joe Martins publicly declared that Opus Dei had nothing to do with the disappearance of the manuals and the director of students’ publications quickly wrote a disclaimer to one of the newspapers stating that the controversial ‘family issue’ was not an official publication of the Students’ Union and that there was no official support for the occupation of the college⁴⁵. In addition, an avalanche of letters came in support of Opus Dei and its project for the college.⁴⁶

A minority of students persisted on their attacks over the next year. In June 1972, about half of the college residents broke the rules concerning visitors, but three were singled out as particularly defiant, and were expelled. Although they were reinstated two days later and the visitors rule

43 “Police at Uni. Clash”, *Courier Mail*, 10 August, 1971. A member of the staff registered the events of that day in the college diary.

44 *Warrane College Diary* (1971), *op.cit.*, 9 August, 1971. See also “College stormed in students’ riot,” *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 10 August, 1971; “Student riot under review,” *Daily Telegraph*, 11 August, 1971; *Sunday Review* (Melbourne), 20 August, 1971; “Police rush to stop Uni. Brawl,” *Sun* (Melbourne), 10 August, 1971; *The Australian*, Letters, 6 August, 1971; “The ‘Spanish Mafia’ comes under attack,” *The Australian*, 10 August, 1971; *Sunday Australian*, 12 August, 1971; “Police at Uni. Clash,” *Courier Mail* (Brisbane), 10 August, 1971; “Students besiege Uni college,” *SMH* (Sydney), 10 August, 1971; and 16 October, 1971.

45 Cf. *SMH*, Letters, 16 August, 1971; Letter from Joe Martins to *The Australian* (5 August, 1971).

46 “Nothing left to read,” *The Sunday Australian*, 15 August 1971.

was revised after peaceful dialogue and mutual compromise, the incident was reported in several newspapers and television news, and the editors of *Tharunka* took this opportunity to reactivate their discourse on Opus Dei.⁴⁷

Animosities cooled down in 1973 as *Tharunka* was slowly cleared of some radical trends, but the magazine continued to lead the opposition to the presence of Opus Dei on campus, and the violent scenes of 1971 were repeated in 1974. The Students' Union and a handful of activists had incited a large crowd to join them in testing strengths with university authorities, and this time they took advantage of the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, who was then overseas, to bully the acting authority and exploit the fragile situation. There was less violence in this protest than in 1971, but the activists achieved a lot more. While they failed to have Opus Dei ousted from the campus, they managed nevertheless to push the university into a compromise: a committee would be established "to inquire into the recent public criticism and protests over the management of Warrane College and to investigate whether...is contrary to the interests of the University generally".⁴⁸

The investigation began on July 22nd and concluded on November 11th. The six members of the committee, which included the president of the Students' Union and no one from Warrane, assembled on 11 occasions, received 149 written submissions and interviewed 18 of those who sent written testimonies.⁴⁹ After much consideration of documents, interviews, and a thorough inspection of the college, the committee resolved in a 22-page report, the following:

There is no evidence before us capable of supporting the suggestion that Opus Dei has employed its position on the campus as a means of bringing its corporate influence to bear upon any institution of the University...(or) is an organization which designs by secrecy and stealth to overthrow existing institutions, or to infiltrate, for its

47 Cf. *Tharunka*, 4 May, 1972; Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 163; "Row at Uni. Over rules", *Daily Telegraph*, 5 June, 1972; "Uni. Students reinstated," *Daily Telegraph*, 6 June, 1972; "Uni rule relaxed," *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August, 1972; "Students criticise expulsions," *SMH*, 5 June, 1972; Letter from the Australian Broadcasting Commission to Joe Martins (7 July, 1972) and Statement given by the college master to Channel Ten by telephone (21 April, 1972).

48 *Committee of Enquiry, op.cit.*, p. 1.

49 *Committee of Enquiry, op.cit.*, pp. 1-2; Ian WALKER, *op.cit.*, pp. 445-450.

own purposes, positions of power and responsibility. The material before us does no more than establish that, in this country at least, it is the lay apostolate which it purports to be...We have no reason to question the good faith of those members of Opus Dei associated with the management of Warrane...the College possesses special aims and special character (and) the University, which invited Opus Dei to establish this College, cannot now contend that its aims, as set out in E.D.A's memorandum and articles, are other than proper and deserving of support...We are of the opinion that a University has a duty to tolerate intellectual pluralism, and the expression of disparate views⁵⁰.

The exoneration was publicised in several newspapers in November 1974 and the attacks against the administration of Warrane College practically came to an end thereafter,⁵¹ "yet the matter was not trivial or irrelevant", observes Patrick O'Farrell in his historical account of the university. "It raised again the question of how a tiny minority of students in *Tharunka* could sustain an agenda well past its use-by date: the era of student power had long ended and it was rationally and politically obvious that the anti-Warrane agitation could go nowhere, whatever the motions gone through"⁵².

Although the magnitude and relevance of the protests of 1971 and 1974 should not be exaggerated, there are a number of reasons for considering these incidents as an important section in the early history of Warrane College. In the first place, these were public events and as such, they are undoubtedly the best documented episodes in the history of the college. Secondly, these attacks had been, as it were, Warrane's baptism of fire. This violent assault on the aims of the college and the public nature of the campaign against its management did as much to advertise the spirituality and apostolic mission of Opus Dei in Australia as Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code* has recently done throughout the world. Finally, just as the circumstances forced the residents and many students on campus to take sides, the members of Opus Dei were strengthened in their convictions.

50 *Committee of Enquiry, op.cit.*, pp. 7, 20-21.

51 "Opus Dei college is not subversive, says council," *The Australian*, 12 November, 1974; "Sex adjudged reason for college ban on women," *SMH*, 12 November, 1974.

52 Patrick O'FARRELL, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

Over the years, the experience of many at Warrane has been one of real conversion: many Catholics have learnt to live their faith more fully and love the Church more intensely, a few have discovered their call to join Opus Dei. For many non-Catholics, on the other hand, the years at Warrane have served to become acquainted with Catholic doctrine, and several of them have been received into the Church.

A PATHWAY INTO THE TRADITION OF CHRISTIAN MISOGYNY

Chris Geraghty*

While a documentary on the general topic of misogyny would be lengthy and complex, we can assert without much controversy that for centuries before Jesus' time the writers of the ancient world had promoted an pejorative, sometimes obscene image of women – an image which was still popular at the time Jesus was moving around Palestine and visiting Jerusalem, and when his apostle Paul was journeying in and out of the cities and towns on the northern border of the Mediterranean. As a general rule, women were not held in high regard in those societies. If you delve into the classics, into the Greek or Latin poets for example, or read the contemporary Jewish literature or the writings of Christian bishops and theologians, the same picture emerges – women were trouble. They were associated with sex and sin; they were seen as fickle, emotional, unstable, untrustworthy – beautiful but as dangerous as Eve was to Adam. But, as in many other ways, Jesus had lived by different standards – or at least the early Christian communities had painted him as a counter-cultural force in his homeland challenging the standards of his day. He had welcomed women into his world, included them in his work, enjoyed their company, entrusted his religious secrets to them and had made them part of his life. They had understood his message. While he freely and frequently criticized the Jewish elite, men exercising power and authority, even his own slow male disciples, not a word of criticism or complaint was recorded against any woman who happened to have entered his personal space and engaged him in conversation.

Within a very short time, however, Jesus' followers were once again taking on board the prevailing prejudices and misogynist attitudes of the Greco-Roman world in which they were living and working. Instead of adopting the fresh standards which had governed Jesus' behaviour, instead of preaching his message of the kingdom, they simply settled comfortably into the ruts of the world and justified their anti-feminist stand with spurious theological crap about the superiority of Adam and the male members of the

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species, about Eve's inferiority and her status as the supreme temptress, about a female's natural weakness, her tendency to evil, to sin and to do the devil's work. Tertullian, just by way of example, had a few choice words to say on the subject.

You ladies should accept that all of you are an Eves. The sentence of God on your sex continues to be lived out in this age: the guilt must of necessity also continue. You are the devil's gateway: you are the one who broke the seal on that forbidden tree (in Paradise): you are the original one to abandon the divine law: you are she who persuaded the man whom the devil was not strong or courageous enough to attack. With such ease you destroyed the one who bore God's image – man. On account of your rebellion and its consequences, namely death, even the Son of God had to die.¹

None of these theological gems can be traced back to Jesus. He had given the lead, but for a host of reasons, his followers had slid off the narrow track and turned back to the world.

In addition to the leadership tensions which apparently emerged in the early days between Peter and Paul of Tarsus, and the leadership rivalry in Paul's church at Corinth, we see in the New Testament literature a struggle also developed between the authority of various members of the apostolic college and the pivotal position of Peter on the one hand, and another style of leadership founded on spiritual gifts, associated with personal faith, based on visions and dreams, on messages revealed to individuals (including some women), and on the gift of prophecy.

The early sources show that Jesus had commissioned Mary Magdalene to deliver a message to his apostle, but when she had revealed to them that Jesus had risen, Peter had dismissed her as an unreliable witness. The apostles had greeted her news as "just idle talk". Within a few centuries she was to become known as "the apostle of the apostles".

In two of the Gospels (Matthew and John), Mary Magdalene and some of the other women had been first to the empty tomb and first to see Jesus in his newly risen state. In the Gospel of Luke, however, while the women were first to go to the empty tomb, they had not seen Jesus and according to the story, he later appeared to some of his male apostles-disciples – no mention of women.

And again, in his letter to Corinth, we read that Paul had identified a series of post-Resurrection appearances to various groups – but none to any woman – not to Mary Magdalene, or to any other female. For some strange

reason, while some of the Gospel authors included them, Paul omitted to mention women as witnesses to Jesus' resurrected existence.

From the New Testament literature, we see that on Jesus' withdrawal, Peter and the other apostles had immediately begun to assume a position of authority – an authority which was to be handed down to others within the community, from male leader to male leader - to James, the brother of Jesus, in Jerusalem, to a committee of male presbyters or elders, and to male deacons. Gradually, from a council of presbyters modelled on a Jewish authoritative structure, the Christian communities began to settle on a three-tiered structure – a male overseer or manager, a council of presbyters under him, and a group or order of deacons also subject to the *episcopos*. Early on, the leaders had begun to look with suspicion on any influence based on a member's (male or female) gift of prophecy and personal faith. "Idle gossip" was a typical way of dismissing the power of a female witness.

The competition for supremacy which had operated in the primitive community between those in charge (the men) and those with "the gifts" grew in intensity in the stories about Peter and Mary Magdalene which began to circulate in the churches of the second and third centuries . A Gnostic form of Christianity based on some special hidden knowledge which could restore harmony, which could introduce a believer into an intimate, spiritual relationship with the world and its creator, was in a battle with the powers-that-be, with the bishops and their hierarchy, and with the institutional church. The power of prophecy, the influence of pushy women, of women teachers and preachers, the ministry of women had to be suppressed, or at least regulated – otherwise Christians would not be accepted out there in society as mainstream and the status of the apostles and their successors would be undermined.

The tension witnessed to in the New Testament literature, where women were at work and involved in ministry, but where their contribution had to be at least controlled – this same tension was on show in the Gnostic-Christian Gospels of the second and third centuries. Believers were telling themselves stories about Mary Magdalene, about her special status, her influence with Jesus, about her authoritative voice and her gift of prophetic revelations. She was seen as a lady who had been given a position of authority, a female with a contribution to make to the life of the faith community.²

The Gospel of Mary.³

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a fifth century papyrus codex was resurrected in Egypt and found to contain four ancient works written

in a Coptic dialect – *the Apocryphon of John, the Sophia of Jesus Christ*, a summary of *the Acts of Peter* and a document which became known as *the Gospel of Mary*. The scorched sands of Egypt had proved to be a providential place to preserve precious ancient documents. The gospel is reproduced in *the Berlin Gnostic Codex* and has been translated into English by Karen King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala: Jesus and the First Woman Apostle*, 2003 and by others.

The original *Gospel of Mary* had been composed in Greek, probably during the second century – maybe sometime between 120 A.D. and 188 A.D. The Mary to whom the Gospel was attributed, or at least after whom it was called, was almost certainly Mary Magdalene – the controversial woman also referred to in other early apocryphal documents - *the Gospel of Thomas* as well as in the *Pistis Sophia* and *the Gospel of Philip*. She was believed to have been the focus of some division and ill-will in the early Christian community. She was the woman who had stood up to Peter and Andrew, and who had challenged their authority.

Unfortunately, in its present reconstructed form *the Gospel of Mary* is incomplete. The first six manuscript pages are missing (chapters 1, 2 and 3, and part of chapter 4) and in the middle, another five pages (pages 11-14 or part of chapter 5; all of chapters 6 and 7 and part of 8).

The text opens in the middle of a conversation, probably a post-Resurrection conversation, between “the Saviour” and Peter. Peter had enquired about “the sin of the world” and Jesus was telling him (in contrast to what became a doctrine of original sin) that there was no sin as such; that people made sin for themselves when they act in an adulterous way. Jesus gave advice to Peter which the Vatican could well have followed.

“Do not lay down any rule beyond what I have determined for you, and do not promulgate laws like a law-giver lest you be constrained by it. And when he said this he departed.” (Ch. 4, lines 38-39).

Once “the Saviour” had uttered his revolutionary advice to Peter, he had disappeared. As the story went, his followers were naturally distressed and frightened. Mary stood up and took over. According to the author, she was acting both as a prophet with a personal message there in the early church, and as the moral conscience of the disciples. Her ensuing address and her interaction with Peter and Andrew occupy the bulk of the surviving portion of the document, though the record of this important meeting is interrupted and the participants reduced to silence by the fact that four more manuscript pages are missing.

For any Christian, liberal or evangelical, *the Gospel of Mary* is a curious document. Not a classical orthodox Christian work (or at least not one from the past fifteen centuries), and yet not a classical Gnostic document. There are good reasons to classify it as a product of the Gnostic world, not least because it was found in an old codex with several other Gnostic writings. Furthermore, similar to other Gnostic works, it was written in a form of dialogue containing revelation discourses framed within a narrative. There are equally good grounds, however, to hesitate because the author had not adopted a dualistic view of creation or the world. The text reflects a classical Christian monistic view – the one God as creator of all things, spiritual and physical, heavenly and earthly.

Despite any confusion as to its origins, however, this Gospel has much to teach us about life in the early church. Christianity was a turbulent movement struggling to embrace, or exclude, many competing influences. The primitive community finding its way – exploring the meaning of Jesus and his life, establishing structures, discussing and resolving questions, determining who was in charge, how to regulate the life of Christians living together, what teacher/preacher to listened to, where God's Spirit dwelt, who had the power. Much confusion, energized by a constant ebbing and flow. Open clashes of pressure groups. Arguments. Lobbying and competing loyalties. People leaving one community and joining another – and coming back. Charismatic leaders attracting members from rival groups. Christians converted to a secret Gnostic sect, or just attending meetings out of some religious curiosity. Gnostics returning to their former Christian community. Cross-currents swirling around, producing an intoxicating mixture of ideas. Theology, discipline, liturgical celebrations – all developing in a churning theological whirlpool. This *Gospel of Mary* was the product of a world now past.

The author of the apocryphal *Gospel of Mary* addressed questions which were vital to every Christian – as Christians, where were they to look to find answers? To discover truth? For insight and leadership? Who was going to replace Jesus once he had disappeared? Who held the keys of the kingdom? Whose visions could be trusted? Who had the strongest link to Jesus? Can a woman be a leader among the disciples? How was anyone to discover true freedom? This Gospel was about Christian controversies, the reliability of a disciple's witness, the validity of teachings which were communicated by personal revelations and visions - and about the role of women in the community.

After the Saviour had disappeared, Mary had spoken to the assembled

brothers and sisters, telling them to be strong and resolute, that Jesus had made them “true human beings”.

In their community setting, the members began to discuss the Saviour’s message. Peter invited Mary to share her special knowledge with them. She had been specially privileged in Jesus’ life. He had shared secrets with her.

“Sister, we know that the Saviour loved you more than all other women. Tell us the words of the Saviour that you remember, the things which you know, that we don’t know because we didn’t hear them.”

Mary replied by recalling a conversation about visions which she had had with Jesus.

I saw the Lord in a vision and I said to him, “Lord, I saw you today in a vision.”

He answered me, “How wonderful you are for not wavering at seeing me. For where the mind is, there is the treasure.”

I said to him, “So now, Lord, does a person who sees a vision see it with the soul or with the spirit?”

And the Saviour answered, “A person does not see with the soul or with the spirit. Rather the mind, which exists between these two, sees the vision and that is what...”(Ch 5 lines 5-11).

According to this ancient author, the Saviour had taught that the inner self was composed of soul, spirit and a third element, mind, which rested between the other two and which saw visions. But this is not the Jesus we meet in the original Gospels, nor was this a conversation that Jesus would have had with his beloved Mary Magdalene. “Soul”, “mind” or a human “spirit” were not concepts which would have been part of his Semitic world. Not part of his mindset. A dialogue constructed by an author of the second or third century.

When the narrative takes up again after the absence of four manuscript pages, Mary was in the middle of recalling the revelation she had received in her vision. A prophetess contributing to the stock of revelations from Jesus. On its ascent to its final destination, the soul had engaged in a typical Gnostic dialogue with the powers which had been trying to hinder its progress. Mary’s vision and her revelation did not please some of the brothers – Andrew and Peter particularly. Addressing his brothers and sisters, Andrew remarked –

“Say what you like about the things she has said, but I do not believe that the Saviour said them. These teachings are strange ideas.”

Knowing what we know of Jesus from the four original Gospels, I would tend to agree with Andrew. But institutional leaders were finding it difficult to recognize any contribution prophets were able to make to the life of the church.

Peter joined in to express his concerns.

“Did he, then, speak with a woman in private without our knowing about it? Are we to turn around and listen to that? Did he prefer her over us?”

When the damaged document re-opens, Mary was upset. The male apostles were casting a shadow of doubt over her authenticity and over her right to speak. She burst into tears and said –

“My brother Peter, what are you imagining? You think that I have thought up these things by myself in my heart or that I am telling lies about the Saviour?”

Then the apostle Matthew intervened with a startling put-down. For any contemporary Christian who is familiar with Peter’s established position within the little apostolic group, with how the authors of the Gospels had attempted to prop up his authority and primacy, his status in the primitive community, and how his successors have prized their link to Peter, expanding their institutional control over the universal church, Matthew’s contribution to this unpleasant confrontation is surprising. He was putting Peter and the other apostles back in their box.

“Peter, you have always been a wrathful person. Now I see you contending against the woman like the Adversaries (the evil spirits). For if the Saviour made her worthy, who are you to reject her. Assuredly, the Saviour’s knowledge of her is completely reliable. That is why he loved her more than us. We should be ashamed. We should clothe ourselves with the perfect Human, acquire it for ourselves as he commanded us, announce the good news, not laying down any other rule or law that differs from what the Saviour said.” (Ch 9 lines 2-10).

On any view of the author’s description of this imaginary scene, Mary Magdalene was being depicted as a central character in the early Christian community, an especially cherished companion of Jesus, the repository of exclusive visions and divine revelations, with a ranking and an authority which implied a leadership role – as someone truly worthy – made worthy by the Saviour.

This apocryphal Gospel tarnishes any romantic notion contemporary Christians might entertain about the level of harmony and communion in the early church. It challenges us to reconsider the basis of power and authority within that emerging institution. The author provided an insight into the life of the early church, describing the discussions and controversies among them about the source of revelation, the random gift of the Spirit, the reliability of the disciples' witness, about ministry, leadership, authority, control – and about the role of women in the guise of Mary Magdalene.

The *Pistis Sophia*

The tension between Peter and Mary Magdalene also featured in another Christian-Gnostic document which was re-discovered in 1773, and which had probably appeared in the book-shops for the first time in the third - the fourth century at the latest. In 1896 G.R.S. Mead translated the Coptic into English (*Pistis Sophia: A Gnostic Miscellany*), a second edition of which appeared in 1921 and a reprint in 1992.

The author of *Pistis Sophia* purported to record the secret Gnostic teachings of the transfigured Jesus. He had remained on earth for eleven years after his resurrection and had engaged in dialogue with his disciples, his mother, with Mary Magdalene and Martha. In this apocryphal document, the disciples are heard asking questions and Jesus answering – but Mary Magdalene was presented as a specially privileged interlocutor.

”Excellent, Mary. You are blessed beyond all women upon the earth...
Speak openly and don't be afraid. I will reveal all things that you are looking for.”

Mary Magdalene and John the Virgin appear in the document as the principal disciples of Jesus and consequently, they possessed the greatest measure of gnosis. Mary Magdalene asked question after question, and sometimes excessively long ones. The author painted her as a garrulous, overbearing woman, the subject of complaint by Peter, and admonished by Jesus. Because of her deep spiritual understanding, she monopolized the discussion (asking thirty-nine of the forty-six questions). Peter was affronted and irritated by her overbearing presence and interrupted twice to register his annoyance.

“My Lord, we can't suffer this woman who's dominating the conversation, robbing us of our opportunity. She doesn't allow anyone to speak. She's doing all the talking.”

Jesus agreed and told her to give the others a go. Peter thought she was supplanting his authority, and the authority of his brothers. However, when he urged Jesus to silence her, Jesus rebuked him (Bk. 1 ch.36). In Book 2 chapter 72, Mary Magdalene tells Jesus that she was reluctant to speak to him freely,

“Peter makes me hesitant. I am afraid of him because he hates the female race.” (36:71).

Perhaps he did. Maybe he was a misogynist. In any event, there was some tension in the early church, some antipathy towards pushy women, at least as the author of the *Pistis Sophia* imagined the situation to be in the third or fourth century. Women dominant. Men not happy. Reminiscent of Paul’s community in Corinth. A contest for control. Not a pretty picture, but a contest which women were doomed to lose.

The Gospel of Philip⁴

According to the author of *the Gospel of Philip* and following a theme explored in the Gnostic Gospel narratives, some of the male disciples of Jesus were jealous of Mary Magdalene and her access to the Master.

In *The Dialogue of the Saviour* which is also part of the Nag Hammadi Library which was discovered in Egypt in 1945,⁵ Mary Magdalene had been included as one of the three disciples (together with Thomas and Matthew) whom Jesus had chosen to tune into his special teachings. The author praised Mary above the other two, describing her as someone who “spoke as a woman who knew the All”, as a woman “who had understood completely”. (139:12–13)

One should not presume, however, that *the Gospel of Philip*, or for that matter, any of the ancient Christian-Gnostic texts from the second, third or fourth centuries, should be accepted as reflecting the real situation as between Jesus, his disciples and Mary Magdalene. It’s obvious that the further we move away from the events themselves, the less likely it is that any document which purported to describe the events of Jesus life and his relationship with others accurately reflected the historical facts they described. These were imaginary narratives created by their individual authors, reflecting their view of the world, their problems, and their perception of the dynamics and interactions within the group, their prejudices and struggles. In telling us about Jesus and his life, they were telling us something about their own times, their local community, and about themselves. These writings give us some insight as to what it was

like inside the Christian-Gnostic communities at the time they were being written, though modern readers have to be careful how they interpret these texts.

The Gospel of Philip, for example, is a Christian-Gnostic work written in the Coptic language sometime in the second half of the third century. It had been lost until re-discovered in 1945 as part of the Nag Hammadi library in Egypt. The work was bound into the same codex as *the Gospel of Thomas* and is a collection of Gnostic teachings and reflections – a mishmash of parables, aphorisms, polemical statements, dogmatic propositions and biblical exegesis, with a special focus on *the Book of Genesis*, on the Adam and Eve story, presenting Gnostic teachings on the origin of the human race.

The author described Jesus as Mary Magdalene’s “companion” whom he loved more than all the other disciples. According to him, Jesus used to kiss her often on her... – but the manuscript has a puncture hole at the critical point – mouth, lips, hand, cheek, forehead (63:32-64:5). The nature of the kiss is uncertain. But when Jesus kissed Mary Magdalene, he filled her with grace. They were able to share because Mary had proved herself worthy of “the kiss”. The disciples were jealous of her because they were not worthy of the same intimacy. Mary and Jesus had been united in a mystical marriage of man and woman forever – Logos and Spirit; Adam and Eve again; male and female – and the circle was complete.

The Gospel of Thomas⁶

The Gospel of Thomas is a collection of the hidden sayings of Jesus which was composed during the second century (maybe even towards the end of the first century). After being lost for centuries, it too was re-discovered in 1945 among the Gnostic text uncovered in Upper Egypt. The work is alleged to have been dictated by Jesus to Judas Thomas the twin, and purports to record some of the original sayings of Jesus.

But the Jesus figure we meet in the Thomas Gospel is of someone who had come under the influence of Greek philosophers, of sophists and stoics, and of men like Diogenes, Plato and Socrates. This particular Jesus is a universe away from the Jesus we encounter in the four original Gospels.

In saying number 114, the author deals with a tension involving Mary Magdalene and Peter. In a brief interchange, if the author is to be believed, Peter had displayed a chauvinist attitude towards women and revealed a strange sexist view of the world – a view hostile to the attitude the Jesus

figure displays in the original Gospels. Far from slapping him down and putting him back in his place, Jesus made some strange remark about assisting Mary to become a man like the other apostles. As the story unfolded, and addressing Jesus and his followers, Simon Peter, as leader of the apostles, said something rather offensive about women –

“Mary should leave us, for females are not worthy of life”.

As far as he was concerned, Mary shouldn't have been there as part of Jesus' inner-circle. She was not worthy. She was after all, only a woman. We know from what we read in the Gospels that Peter is here portrayed as giving expression to an attitude which he would have known Jesus did not share. He had consistently involved women in his life and mission – as friends, disciples and witnesses of the Good News. Peter was out of line in trying to get rid of Mary Magdalene. For this reason, the author's version of Jesus' reply is curious. It is obviously out of character for Jesus, but a revealing indication as to where the leaders of the community stood on the issue of women in the community at about the turn of the first and second centuries, and what they believed at that time. Basically, they shared Plato's understanding that women would need to transform themselves into males because only men would inhabit the stars (Timaeus 41-420).

Jesus told Peter,

“Look, I shall guide her to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every female who makes herself male will enter heaven's kingdom.” (Saying 113-114)

Peter appeared hostile to Mary Magdalene because, being only a woman, she was like all women – “not worthy of life”, that is, heavenly life.

According to the text, far from putting in the boot, Jesus seemed to have shared Peter's view. He sought to put his anxiety to rest by assuring him that he would guide his special friend so that she would be transformed into a male, into a living spirit resembling Peter and his brothers. To enter the kingdom, every woman had to make herself “a male”.

Some Christian Gnostics believed that through some secret gnosis, by some revealed knowledge humans could transform the earthly, perishable, passive and sense-perceptible elements in their make-up and become heavenly, rational, eternal beings. Earthly female characteristics had to be sublimated and transformed into male features in order to participate in the life of the Spirit, in order to be liberated from the world and float among the angels and the stars.

This transformation of the female into the male was a theme which had

been explored in ancient literature. While the change-over was frequently viewed in a metaphorical sense, some authors understood it as a literal transformation. Some of them, Ovid for example, had told fantastic stories of women developing male genitalia – probably a throw-back to Aristotle and to Doctor Galen’s pseudo-scientific analysis of the human body when the difference between males and females was that in males, the genital organs they had in common, dangled about outside the body.

The Christian-Gnostic author of *the Gospel of Thomas* was not alone in his view that women had to become men before they could enter the kingdom. A Sethian Gnostic writing in the early third century, Zostrianos, advised his readers to flee from the madness and the slavery of “femaleness” and to choose “the salvation of maleness”.⁷ In *the Dialogue with the Saviour*, when Judas had asked Jesus how they should pray, he answered,

“Pray in the place where there is no woman.”

God had created women for procreation and according to the author, when there was no further need to continue the human race, when all mankind was on its way to heaven, the role of women would be superfluous and they would disappear.

An interesting gloss on the same drive to perfect the female and to turn her back into the male she was supposed to be, developed later in Asia Minor around the middle of the fourth century. Basil, the bishop of Ancyra (modern Ankara) was writing to advise virgins what they had to do to conserve their virginity. He was the author of *On the Preservation of Virginity*, and one of those rare bishops worldly-wise enough to appreciate the blinding power of the sexual drive.

He knew that just because a girl had consecrated herself to a life of virginity didn’t mean she didn’t feel the eruptions of sexual desires deep within her body. He realized that a consecrated virgin was just like everybody else – she too had a river of sensuality flowing through her pristine body. A touch, a glance, a simple kiss could create ripples in her just as the touch of a snake causes the whole body to shiver and shake.⁸ There was no such beast as sexual innocence, even among children, or eunuchs.

Basil advised his virgins that they had to adopt a strict code of sexual avoidance – and that meant they had to develop the firm, muscular body contours of a man. Walking like a man, speaking as men do, and adopting an unnatural, masculine brusqueness⁹ was the only effective way for a virgin to protect herself from unwelcomed advances – to suppress her femininity and take on the characteristics of a man.

By this stage, Jesus' message had travelled far from the oasis where he had planted it, out into the desert lands on the perimeter of the Mediterranean.

For some Gnostics as well as some more orthodox Christians, salvation for women was to be a process of returning to their pristine male state. To enter heaven, the original balance had to be restored. God had created his perfect creature in the Garden of Paradise - a man after his own image and likeness. It was only at a later stage that he had created Eve, from the body of Adam - male and female he created them. But at the conclusion of a woman's earthly life, and before entering heaven, she had to become part of God's original, perfect creation and return to where she had come from - back to the image and likeness of God, free of corruption, cleansed of female urges and emotions, in the form of a man.

Though he didn't share their opinion, we have Augustine of Hippo to witness that this strange view of women and their place in the world was popular among Christians and Gnostics in the first few centuries of this era. In *The City of God*, which was published a few years before his death, Augustine told us that by misinterpreting a few scriptural passages, some had arrived at the conclusion that "women shall not rise as women", that "all shall be as men" because God had made Adam (not Eve) from the earth, and Eve had been fashioned from man. Augustine, however, had no doubt that both sexes would rise together, but without their sexual drives.¹⁰

Despite Augustine personal view, for the first few centuries, a blatantly sexist view of the world was common among Christians and others, and was even, though much later, to find expression among the theologians of the Middle Ages. God created a perfect creature - man - made to his own image and likeness. His perfection had been diluted in the female person - a view shared by Plato, by Aristotle and his school, and codified in the Genesis story and in the many subsequent Lives of Adam and Eve. To enter heaven and share in the glory of God, both men and women had to attain perfection. They had to become spiritual beings, rational and balanced. Women have to shed their femaleness and be transgendered into male beings. Like any respectable club, membership in heaven was restricted to men. Disappointing for the pious Muslim terrorists. Frustration for all young, full-blooded males. And no-one there will be old, or disabled - only young, handsome, active, athletic males. All paid-up members of Fitness-First. A nightmare!

Endnotes

- 1 Tertullian, *De Cultu Feminarum*, I.1.
- 2 Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York, 1979); Marvin Meyer, *The Gnostic Discoveries* (New York, 2005); Marvin Meyer and Harold Bloom, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus* (San Francisco, 1992); Willis Barnstone and Marvin Meyer, *Essential Gnostic Scriptures* (Boston, Mass, 2010).
- 3 Berlin Gnostic Codex 8502 (also known as *the Akhmin Codex*).
- 4 Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) II, 3:52:29-86:19.
- 5 NHC III, 5:120,1-147,23.
- 6 NHC II,2: 32,10-51,28; Meyer and Bloom, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus*.
- 7 NHC VIII, 1:1,1-132,9.
- 8 Basil of Ancyra, *De virginitate tuenda*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 30:677, 681 and 700.
- 9 J P Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* vol. 30:708.
- 10 Augustine, *City of God*, bk. XX.17.

WAS THE REFORMATION PROVIDENTIAL? CONSIDERED PROVOCATIONS FROM UNCONTROLLABLE MATERIALS

Garry W Trompf*

‘Pre-ambling’

Not long ago I was challenged to write an article to honour a Church historian, and in it I have asked whether and why we could still talk about the Providential placement of Christ in historical time. In the process I came across a very large book in my own library, so old as to be roped together by raffia and yet filled with sadly forgotten lithographs, sitting on a top shelf where I was wont to store emergency mouse-traps! The book turned out to be an English translation of the great Swiss-Protestant Jean-Henri d’Aubigne’s massive *Histoire de la Réformation* (1835-53), first inspired by its author’s visit as a young man to Eisenach, near Wittenberg, to join the tercentenary celebrations of Martin Luther’s Posting of the 95 Theses. What first caught my eye in this tome was a passage paralleling the divinely-guided arrival of Jesus and the Protestant Reformation.

When “God appeared among men,” d’Aubigne somewhat questionably averred, “the enfeebled world was rocking on its base,” and basically the gods “had mutually destroyed each other,” leaving “a kind of Deism, destitute of spirit.” Likewise, before the Reformation, Christendom herself was wracked by “superstition, infidelity, ignorance, vain speculation, and corruption,” but, as with the coming of Christ (and indeed “at all times”), God wisely “governs the world.” In both cases, “He begins His preparations leisurely, and long before the event He designs to accomplish... Then, when the time is come, He produces the greatest results by the smallest means. ... When He wishes an immense tree to grow, He deposits a little grain in the earth,” as when he began and then later renewed His Church.¹

This, of course, is the voice of one rejecting Catholicism, and his book is presented like a family Bible, with an embossed covering, for devout Presbyterians of his time. This leaves us then with a sad disjuncture: Catholic, Protestant, indeed Eastern Orthodox alike would today rejoice at

1 D’Aubigne, *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow: William Collins, Sons, and Company, 1869 [single vol.] edn.), pp. iii, 1, 12.

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the Incarnation – even as “Providence made flesh.”² But the Reformation? Why, for at least half the Western world the Reformation might be more a reason for lament! Here I am, though, child of Protestant reforms, albeit implacably ecumenical, asking in 2017 whether we still talk, if not with the defensive bias of a d’Aubigne, about the providentiality – the evident blessing – of this immense disturbance. Perhaps I should not forget to admit from the start, in the pages of such a journal as this, that western Catholics, too, underwent their own great reforms in the sixteenth century, more and more called these days the ‘Catholic (rather than Counter-) Reformation.’

But what about Providence? It sounds more Stoic than Biblical (though cf. Sap. Sol. 14: 3), even if *pronoia* – the guiding purpose of God in human affairs – was a given in the thought of the Church’s early centuries. In any case, are historians allowed to refer to Providence any more? The kind of principle we associate with *Providentia*, with a narrator first and foremost wanting to show that the happenings recounted reveal divine justice, or appropriate rewards and punishments, seems a key reason for writing a record or ‘history’ from the very beginning.³ Yet nowadays, writers of *empirical* (for some putatively scientific) history works are meant to eschew value judgements – certainly big, ‘loud’ ones, like God dispensing blessings and curses in earthly affairs. Many of us are familiar with the problems of thinking in this vein. Apart from *parti-pris* attitudes, we know species of over- and anti-providentialism can be just as cock-eyed as each other. Some believers have opined too loosely about what is “divinely ordered,” giving God too “many ways of accomplishing his purposes” (including war) or making all “changes” toward some congregation’s decline “inevitable” and “good” (when spirited adaptation could forestall the worst). Others have alleged *per contra* that if this or that did not happen, things would have worked out better – and so, if England’s King James I’s first son Henry had lived to take his father’s famously published advice, “the mistakes of policy” by Catholic-leaning Charles I would be “avoided,” his head kept

2 Thus Nigel Wright, *Providence made Flesh: Divine Presence as a Framework for a Theology of Providence* (Paternoster Theological Monographs [49]) (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2009).

3 Consult my *Early Christian Historiography: Narratives of Retributive Justice* (London: Continuum, 2000), pp. 10-13.

intact and any ‘Puritan Revolution’ made still-born.⁴

It is not as if any interpreter of the past can avoid axiology altogether, and so glimmers of a writer’s values – the quest for truth, dismay over violence, dismissals of prejudice – will be allowed to shine through. At least, with the bigger question of general providence in affairs we have some great thinkers not giving up on the matter. Why, did not Giambattista Vico, very significant for my own thinking and acclaimed founding father of social science, have his own interesting solution? He maintained, as in the 1744 edition of his *New Science* (*La scienza nuova*), that overall Providence was reflected through history “in spite our mistakes,” that despite evil deeds, base motives, our delusional fantasies, or setbacks to the best ideals, the divine purpose and instruction remain discernable from what humans have been doing. I suppose that was his more sophisticated rendering of comparable arguments by the great Latin Catholic Father he most respected, Augustine of Hippo, who decided (ca. 410-426) that there had to be enough good things occurring in affairs, balanced by enough ordeals to challenge us, for *Providentia* to apply.⁵ And here am I, even if

4 For these examples (with quotations), William Tilden, *Autobiography and Personal Tributes*, Boston: George Ellis, 1891, pp. 136, 147; Henry Morley, “Introduction” to *A Miscellany containing ... The Basilikon Dōron of King James I, etc.* (Morley’s Universal Library 63), London: Routledge, 1888, p. 7. Note also how interpretations of apocalyptic events have been to justify or devalue the Reformation on both sides of the Catholic/Protestant divide, from John Knox (see Jane Dawson, *John Knox* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016], esp. ch. 17) to Frederick Faber (see Cadoc Leighton, “Finding Antichrist: Apocalypticism in Nineteenth-century Catholic England and the Writings of Frederick Faber,” *Journal of Religious History* 37, 1 [2013]: 80-97).

5 Vico, *Principj di una Scienza Nuova intorno alla natura della nazioni, per la quale si ritrovano i principj di altro sistema del diritto naturale delle genti, etc.* (Naples: Gaetano, and Steffano Elia, 1744), I[ii],xcv [mod. sect. 292]; ‘Conclus.’ [I108-0]; and see Augustine, *De civit. Dei*. esp. I.8. For guidance on these issues in both authors, Trompf, “Vico’s Universe: *La Provvedenza* and *la Poesia* in the New Science of Giambattista Vico,” *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 2, 1 (1994): 75-76; idem, “Augustine’s Historical Theodicy: The Logic of Retribution in *De civitate Dei*,” *In Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*. (eds. Graeme Clarke et al) (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1990, pp. 292-8.

having pondered the matter over the years, daring to assess such complex and controversial materials as an historian of ideas, asking whether we can accept a greater good in the long-term outcomes of the Reformation to this time or see in them a sad general requital for so terrible a disturbance to holy ecclesial unity. A more recent paragon among Catholic theologians, Cardinal Henry Newman, I admit, a probable future Father of the Church, once warned that a sensing of God's rewards and punishments can only really be worked out inwardly, by individual souls for themselves through conscience, rather than for collectivities and historical affairs. But even he could not stop himself from the writing about the development Christian doctrine as a blessed progress under God, and his novels naturally assume the cultural universal of the time, that "moral truth ... from the great result of human actions is everywhere the same."⁶ So I girt up my loins, trusting that there will be some small benefit from my provocations of age.

Let us first make a general purview of the Reformation *qua* 'period.' Then we shall try placing it in macro-historical perspective, ranging over apparent positivities and gloom, and weighing of things up at the last.

'Re-entering the House of Horrors'

It is not as if the Christian Church had never experienced divisiveness. The Great Schism between the Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodoxy (from 1054) was serious enough, and made worse by unworthy Crusader incursions into the eastern Mediterranean during the thirteenth century. But now, just when the Latin and Greek churches had been seeking to patch things up (in the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-45), and the final Turkish encirclement of Byzantium threatened oblivion for the Eastern churches, a terrible rupture threatened Western European religious unity from the north. The pastoral priority of the Bishop of Rome stood

6 Newman, esp. "On Justice as a Principle of Divine Governance" (1832), Sermon 6 of his *Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, in *Works* (ed. W.J. Copeland), London, 1909, vol. 6 (as No. 10), pp. 99ff. (quotation); cf., e.g., his *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, London: J. Toovey, 1845; and *Loss and Gain*, London: Burns and Oates, 1848' and see (Rev.), Hobart Caunter, *The Romance of History: India*, London: Edward Churton, 1836, vol. 1, p. ix (quotation). For guidance on Newman, (Fr Dr) E.J. Tyler, 'The Historical Development of J.H. Newman's Idea of Conscience, Viewed in the Context of his Defence of Belief' (Doctoral dissert., University of Sydney), Sydney, 2016.

high like a firm spiritual bastion (from Peter, who some said in the East “guided the bishopric for twenty-five years”)⁷ weathering the storms of the Arian heresy, the ravages of Alaric and Attila, the worrying impetuses of Islamic, imperial Germanic and Northman ambition, “the Babylonian captivity” at Avignon⁸ and schismatic popes; and of late, had not the bones of troublemaking heretics John Wyclif and Czech Jan Hus been burnt to ash (in 1415)? Much seemed so promising: the Moors’ Kingdom of Granada had fallen in 1492; a year later the Borgian Pope Alexander VI had demarcated the brand New World of the Americas between Spain and Portugal; and in 1516, the ruler of the Spanish Empire and the Netherlands, Charles V, was poised to bring unprecedented political unity to the Catholic world. The city of the Papacy had never looked so good: its maps adorning the walls of a scintillating Vatican revealed the most massive and widely tentacled organizational network ever seen; and oh! Bramante and Michelangelo were at work designing the glorious new basilica of St Peter’s.

The luxury of it all only maddened a young Saxon Augustinian Friar on his foot-sore visit to Rome to do business for his Ordo in 1510-11. It is well known, though, it was not just the venality and spiritual laxity that shocked him. Surely it had already been rumoured to Germany that, among popes, (the non-so) Innocent VIII, and then Alexander VI openly admitted to having children, and that Michelangelo’s patron Julius II had ridden around the Romagna (or the papal territories) on a war horse. Luther realized the great bulk of papal taxes – the ancient decima, the annates, purveyances, rights of spoil, census, charities, including indeed Peter’s pence that placed a burden on his country’s poor – were heading for the Roman curia. As is well known, a tipping-point came when his fellow Saxon and Dominican friar, candidate for a Doctorate of Divinity at Frankfurt an der Oder, was afoot in German lands ‘selling Indulgences’ (as payments of penance for security from Hell and Purgatory, even for the dead) with much of the proceeds designed to pay the costs of Rome’s new basilica. No wonder blood ran to Luther’s brilliant professorial head when he all at once he struggled back in Wittenburg with the sacred text on *justitia Dei*, on the meaning of the Hebrew *mishpat* and the Greek *dikaiôsounê*. If his solution was theological, that salvation was certainly not be earned by payment, nor any works of

7 The neglected tradition of the Assyrian Isho’dad of Merv, *Comm. in Act.*, 25.

8 The polemical phrase deriving from the Italian poet Francesco Petrarco’s lament over the absence of the Papal presence in Rome during the fourteenth century, *Epistolae metricae*, 2.1.71-73.

the law or merit, as many of his 95 theses he pinned to Wittenburg's church door loudly proclaimed 500 years ago, certain German princes were more concerned about the injustice of taxes, and it was their backing of Luther's doctrinal correction through acts of political separatism that hastened the renting of western Christendom.⁹ It is enough to contemplate Hieronymos Bosch's sardonic depiction of human follies as a "Haywain" (1516), though, to imagine that a lot of people apart from theologians and rulers were ready to upset the sad directionless train of things.

Yes, we find "the Church at war," so intense was the commitment to new truth on the one side and the defensiveness of the unity of religion, long assumed as necessary in the Latin world, on the other. Yes, the mounting will for Reformation brings on "the destruction of Christendom" in the latest blistering summary of the matter by Sheffield Emeritus Mark Greengrass. And if we Westerners think of "wars of religion" in general, we are likely to think first of Europe's own internal ravagings between Protestant and Catholic – especially in the Thirty Years War or the English civil war in the first half the seventeenth century – rather than of the Crusades or the War on Terror.¹⁰ Admittedly debates over whether these conflicts were "really religious" or not will go on, and I have been only too ready criticize the reification of such colligations as 'religion,' 'Christianity,' 'Catholicism,'

9 For relevant materials on *justitia*, seminally Edward Cranz, *An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society* (Harvard Theological Studies, 19) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 41-62; and then on indulgences, Luther, Theses esp. nos. 5-6, 8, 10-13, 20-21, 27, 32, 35, 39, 50-56, 66-67 (using *Documents of the Christian Church* [ed. Henry Bettenson]) (London: Oxford University Press, 1963 edn.), pp. 261-5). On 'the Lutheran Reformation' affecting the German princes and cities, start with Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), pp. 364-81; Arthur G. Dickens, *Luther and the German Nation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1974), chs. 6-9.

10 Ernst Gombrich, *A Short History of the World* (trans. Caroline Musthill) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), ch. 29 (first quotation); Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed: Europe 1517-1648* (London: Penguin, 2014); cf. Wolfgang Palaver, Harriet Rudolph and Ditemar Regensburger (eds.), *The European Wars of Religion: An Interdisciplinary Reassessment of Sources, Interpretations, and Myths* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2004), pt. 2.

‘Protestantism,’ as if they are active agencies of violence when they are conditioning, circumstantial factors affecting the human agents who purpose to fight or else desist.¹¹ But parties in conflict used what they could to fabricate the house of horrors that affected the West for most of the 500 years we now celebrate(!). Trigger-mechanisms go back to key protagonists at the beginning: thus the Medici Pope Leo X, well-travelled, tutored by the great Florentine humanists Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, deploying negotiating skills in his family’s banking tradition, luxuriating in and truly “enjoying the Papacy God has given us,” not having the will to clean up the curia, and excommunicating Luther. And then Luther, who burnt Leo’s 1520 Bull *Exsurge Domine* to bring on the charge of heresy upon his own head, and on all those who would bring about the *Reformatio* he urged. And Luther would soon rate the Papacy with the Turks as the twinned Antichrist, placing it among his pet “hatreds.”¹² It seems not a pretty sight that followed, a household of faith awkwardly divided over a very, very long aftermath, and here in Australia in the last century tensions could translate rather absurdly, especially from Ireland. There is an anecdote that, early in post-War Sydney, the Catholics concertedly advertised a public meeting to strengthen “the Faith of our Fathers,” but the Protestants quickly arranged for a rival meeting, calling in the redoubtable Irish-born Principal T.C. Hammond of Moore College to speak on “the Faith of our Grandfathers”!¹³ As an adolescent Victorian Protestant, I experienced matters easing for the better in 1952, when I first heard the prayers of a Catholic priest as a boy scout and wondered whether I might even be allowed a Catholic girlfriend! How wonderful, I was to learn, that I was living at the tail-end of so much suspicion and rancour.

‘Flying over Time’

If I am daring to ‘test providentiality,’ I suppose I should ‘take the bull by the

11 Trompf, “Of Colligation and Reification in the Representation of Religion (and Violence).” In *Ecumenics from the Rim: Explorations in Honour of John D’Arcy May* (eds. John O’Grady and Peter Scherle) (Berlin: LIT, 2007), pp. 179-186.

12 Of late, Robin Doak, *Pope Leo X: Opponent of the Reformation* (Minneapolis, MN: Compass, 2006), esp. chs. 1, 5-7; Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (London: Bodley Head, 2016), ch. 18.

13 Recounted by Howard Marshall, “Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earlier Christianity,” *Themelios* 2, 1 (1976): 5.

horns' and offer my views, in an act of reflective macro-history, as to what have been the good and bad outcomes of the Reformation, ranging over the last half-millennium of history. Seeking to make considered judgements, though with no illusions about the imperfections of my formulations and to what degree they satisfy, I will suggest key pros and cons and then conclude my whole presentation with an assessment.

Pros for the Reformation

Apart from exposing corruptions of the Church, a work that had begun earlier within the Catholic fold itself,¹⁴ the most powerful positive effect of the Reformation was in *identifying* 'the perennial problem of religion.' This was the false principle that in 'doing your duty by the Divine' (basically the original pagan meaning of the word *religio*), you can persuade God you are worthy of heaven (or avoidance of hell). This *problématique* should remind one of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the most subversive assault on religion as manipulating God to be found in all Antiquity, and the warning that no amount of human ritual and willful piety earns our salvation, but only surrender to the Almighty in the faith that Christ has saved us (Rom. 3: 24, 28). Had not Augustine, in whose name Luther was a friar, reached the same understanding in taking on 'perfectionist' Pelagius (*Contr. duas epist Pelag.*)? I remember once being asked to pour tea for the Dhammakaya monks in Chang Mai, highland Thailand, and intone and lead the midday chant for them. Following the rite, the abbot (my mediation mentor) assured me that through what I had done I had built up enough good karma to last me many years! I had to chuckle. Good works had 'done it,' in a systematic 'treasury of merits' very similar to the one Dr Tetzel thought it correct to apply. But Luther was right; we are not saved by our own efforts, we are justified by faith, a gift of God responded to by the Spirit's regeneration of us in a life of love and service (*De servo arbit. 131*). How significant it was that Cardinal Contarini negotiated agreement over justification between Catholic and Protestant disputants at Regensburg in 1541! But by then the Lutherans had moved on to intractable positions over Popes and Councils, the Communion, even Penance.¹⁵ Members of the Council of Trent came to address justification in their own more cautious way: while faith is the foundation of salvation, faith without works was dead (Jas 2: 17, 20), though

14 Start with Heiko Oberman (ed.), *Forerunners of the Reformation* (trans. Paul Nyhus) (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1967 [repr. 2002]).

15 See Joseph Lecler, *Toleration and the Reformation* (trans. Theodore Westow) (London: Longmans, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 231-2.

neither faith nor works “merit grace,” for grace can only be received as gift (decr. I, 7-8). But by then Protestants came to see Catholic dogma based on extra-Biblical ‘laws,’ and the Mass an unnecessary continuation of sacrifice, its efficacy *ex opere operato* often linked to ‘magic.’ Nevertheless, what was now being clarified was the heart of the Christian way as Faith, not just a religion among religions, or another rule-following among prescriptions found in the Torah, the Avesta, the Laws of Manu, the Analects, the Qur’an and so on.

The Reformation also *delivered the Christian Faith out of a spiritual life bound by an ancient language insufficiently known and shared by congregations* (even priests), and alleviations to this kind of sad unevenness have resulted from the ‘vernacular turn’ of the Reformation (touching other branches of Christianity and for the matter in other religions outside the West, and of course Latin Catholicism too). That improvements to the newly invented printing press coincided with the Reform impetus has naturally been seen as “providential,” if mainly by Protestants,¹⁶ and so it was that the Scriptures, translated from the original languages, could now reach so many in the vernacular – in Luther’s *Heilige Schrift*, Calvin’s *Bible de Genève*, the King James version – and thus begin its course as the most consistent bestseller, rendered by our time in a myriad of languages across the globe. This huge development was in due course joined by more and more Catholic translations over the centuries. In the sixteenth century it was heretical for any unauthorized persons to try their hand at it, for which attempt, it will be remembered, the learned and earnest Protestant Catherine Parr, Henry VIII’s last wife, earned his residually Catholic ire and nearly lost her head!¹⁷ Yet the point is, the availability of the Bible is nowadays cherished at large, not feared.

A related benefit to this vernacularizing trend, as time passed, was the *greater enhancement of science under the freer intellectual ethos of Protestantism*. It has not taken just the ecclesial silencing of Galileo from 1616 to convince historians that such Protestant greats as Boyle and

16 Fairly recently, Brian McLaren, *A Generous Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2004), p. 10.

17 Parr (trans.), *Psalms or Prayers* (London: John Fisher, [1525]; cf. Sir Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England, etc.* [1663] (London: Samuel Ballard et al., 1670 edn.), pp. 291-2. Remember that the 1534 Act of Supremacy was not meant to make England non-Catholic, but to elevate the king to headship of “the Church in England.”

Newton, founder-figures of modern chemistry and physics, benefited from doing without the threat of papal Inquisitors. Again, when the general and long-term favouring of state monarchism in the Catholic tradition is considered, the greater freedom for Republican and incipient democratic political systems to develop in ‘a Protestant climate’ was a notable feature of affairs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Calvinist Geneva, advocating lay supervision of ministers by Presbyterian elders was a hotbed of support for parliamentary protection against one-man tyranny.¹⁸ In the long run, well does Geneva deserve its place as the ‘capital’ of the League of Nations; and it is perhaps no less significant that the United Nations first met in 1946 in Westminster’s Methodist Central Hall!

In the stresses and strains of these religio-ecclesiastical, scientific, political and wider cultural divides (to a considerable extent also between Mediterranean and Northern sensibilities) we may discover *‘the genius of the West’ in the inner conflict of more or less equal opposites* that even translated itself across the oceans, and still unfolds in the religious histories of the Americas, and of course Australia. To the extent that the inward competition was quite evenly balanced (if for that reason tenuous and with more seemingly at stake) so-called Western civilization was probably handed a special advantage, in strangely combined yet competing efforts at overseas venture and the saving of souls. We have to modify the impression of prolonged, seething bitterness, or just “grudging consent” to coexist after religious war (and the 1648 Peace of Westphalia). Toleration edicts were won, and Wayne Te Brake has opened up the new field of how some ‘working peace’ had to be made in a myriad of locales.¹⁹ Intriguingly, for comparison, Islam’s inner Sunni/Shi’ite division was generally more one-sided, with the Turkic dominance coming to drain the creative initiatives earlier evident in (greater) Persia. In China, with periods of different culturo-religious energies, a conformity conditioned by Confucian examinations for bureaucrats made for a ‘stultifying stability.’ In the respect that the Reformation generated remarkably new dynamics in and from Europe, it utterly changed the world. In the end, in a globalized intellectual order,

18 For perspective, Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2: *The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), esp. pt.3.

19 Wayne P Te Brake, *Religious War and Religious Peace in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics [18]) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), chs. 10-13 (with quotation).

newly trained thinkers in Islamic lands, India and China could come to read their own Scriptures, previously withheld from them, and attempt their own reformations.²⁰

On my assessment, the long-term energies peculiar to the protesting and reforming spirit informed Western Christianity with *new popular psychological pressures to change attitudes, to soul-search and purify the inner state*, and prefer an interiorization of the Word to the outward practice of the Mass. New principles of conscience were afoot to mark changed lives (conversion) and deter temptation (corruption). As a scholar interested in the retributive aspects of religious activities, the Reformation impetus was to drive out the workers of outward evil. Its protagonists, dare I say, made for the elimination of ‘the poisoning society,’ the deployment of potions as well as incantations that have always marked the residues of negative payback from the old pagan religions, or for that matter other great religious blocs (such as the Chinese one, where *gu* poisoning techniques remain prominent).²¹ It is not unfair to say that the Catholic world was tardy in divesting itself of inimical potions – as the tragedy of Verona’s Romeo and Juliette already suggests, or more indicatively with *conquistador* Pizarro’s expectation that his priest had a knowledge of poisons.²² The Protestants were hell-bent on ‘purging the land’ of such insidiousness, which is why their sorcery- and witch-hunts look more frenetic (involving also both anti-Catholicism and anti-sectarianism), and in America it could not be borne among Puritans that such infestations of evil should ever arrive from the

20 Note Felipe Fernández-Armesto and Derek Wilson, *Reformation: Christianity and the World 1500-2000* (London: Bantam, 1996), in the light of Fernández-Armesto’s *Millennium: A History of the Last Thousand Years* (London: Bantam, 1995), ch. 23.

21 For an entry into various relevant issues in one key country, Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin, 1973).

22 See, e.g., Thomas Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 191-3, 379-81; John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (London: Abacus, 1972), ch. 3. *Inter alia* on fear of Jesuit poisoning through the “Black Legend,” see Silje Normand, “Venomous Words and Political Poisons: Language(s) of Exclusion in Early Modern France.” In *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (eds. Melissa Calaresu, Joan-Pau Rubies and Filippo de Vivo) (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 120-23.

Old World.²³

Why not be relevant to the immediate situation and provocative in the same space at this point? The Reformation brought an end of 800-odd years of all-clerical celibacy in Western church history.²⁴ Yes, Luther married a nun, Catherine von Bora, who bore him six children, setting the stage for Protestant ministers' and pastors' marriages to come. In the light of recent events, I am bound to say, this was socially healthier, and I am trying hard to affirm this, as an ecumenist, without fear or favour, appealing to my experience of the Orthodox world (where in any case a compromise was reached) rather than to my 'Protestant preferences' (or weaknesses)!

Cons against the Reformation

What am I saying? Am I justifying all the conflicts and divisiveness that were consequences of the Reformation? Was it all worth it for the sake of human breakthroughs that eventually came out of the hostilities? Given scientific developments in the pre-Reformation Renaissance, would not they have gone on apace to Europe's advantage anyway? Just consider also the strong lineage of Catholic scientific geniuses to come – Copernicus, Galileo, Gassendi, Pascal, Kircher, Ampère, Mendel, Lemaître, etc. And 1492, with all it portended for European expansion when Columbus 'sailed the ocean blue,' is a date obviously preceding 1517. Was not the structure of democracy already incipient in the electoral process of the Church, even more so than Athenian democracy, which existed within a slave society? Ponder the fact that, in the paradigmatic British case, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first to sign the *Magna Carta* (1215) against King John, after the monarch wanted his own appointee at the top of the English church, not Langton as the one elected by the clergy. Did not the Dominican Savaronola frame the first modern democratic Republican

23 Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); cf., for seminal approaches, Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Religion, the Reformation and Social Change." In *European Witchcraft* (ed. William Monter) (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1969), pp. 27-34; Edward Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization: From England to America in the Seventeenth Century* (1901) (New York: BiblioBazaar, 2009 edn.), pp. 22-34. Such a Protestant (Lutheran) writer as jurist Christian Thomasius, though, was at the forefront of opposition against witch-hunting.

24 For background, Henry Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (New York: University Books, 1966), chs. 7-24.

constitution, in Florence, and was not Catholic Venice (albeit at times dissociating itself from the Papacy) a model for northern parliamentarians? Would not the Church in its wisdom have drawn a halt to witch-persecution, considering that even now modern enclaves of *stregheria* are found a few hundred kilometres south of Rome?²⁵ And am I asserting that, just because some priests found it too difficult to be unaffected by the extreme sensualizing of post-War Western culture, that the discipline and the purity of the celibate life is a false ideal?

At every turn it is possible to find reasons for lamenting the tragedy of Christian disunity. Even in Australia I have had occasion to see the point of retaining a 'latinate world,' when, at a time my knowledge of Slavonic languages was appallingly low, Latin was the best resort with a Polish priest visiting the university. But *the religious splintering of the Western Christian world went on uncontained* after the Reformation. Already, by 1529, Luther had refused to shake hands with Swiss Reformer Huldrych Zwingli, who had read Communion as symbolic and a memorial, perhaps the Saxon then realizing that the more radical soul had formally broken with Rome just before he did, after the 1522 "Affair of the Sausages," when Zwingli ordered a meal of red meat for his weary workers and visitors to Zürich during Lent.²⁶ But on the renting went, from the Radical Reformers, starting from the Anabaptists down to the myriad of tiny churches you can find advertising themselves on the street corners of Miami's black quarter, Florida.²⁷ By 1948 Swedish scholar of religion Bengt Sundkler estimated there were already nearly a thousand independent churches in South Africa

25 For guidance on the above, e.g., *Magna Carta* 1215 (Brit Lib. Cotton MS Augustus ii.106) (Langton often said to have penned it); Savonarola, *Trattato circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze* [1498] (Monumenta Politica et Philosophica Rariora Ser. 2, no. 3) (introd. Luigi Firpo) (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1963); Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980); Carlo Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (trans. Francis Frenaye) (London: Cassell & Co., 1948).

26 Jean Rilliet, *Zwingli: Third Man of the Reformation* (trans. Harold Knight) (London: Lutterworth, 1964), chs. 7-8, 28.

27 Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961 edn.); Trompf, "Independent Churches." In *Encyclopedia of Christianity in the Global South* (ed. Mark Lamport) (Bend, Oreg.: Cascade, 2018), pp. 367-9.

alone. Pentecostalist strands made matters still more diversified.

One sees a twinned problem here: the Reformation unleashed the possibility of serious doctrinal diversity with the so-called ‘Radicals,’ most numerous the Anabaptists, whose spread led to massive executions for heresy, up to 40,000 ‘re-baptizers’ being martyred by Catholic and Reformed Protestants alike (beginning from the forced drowning of Felix Mantz in the Limmat River, Zürich, in 1526). On reading the Baptist martyrologies, I find myself caught, utterly saddened by this example from ‘the house of horrors’ and respecting the heartfelt attempts to return to, indeed re-enact New Testament Christianity;²⁸ and I myself have imbibed from them my arrant pacifism and my spirit of dissent against coercive governments, as also from the Quakers (who emerged in the next century). Would “the Erasmian line,” as my early teacher Professor Max Crawford told me he preferred (over Luther’s), be strong enough to hold back this flood of intolerance? And yet my Catholic sympathies know what awesome issues were at stake. How central the Mass was to the Latin Church! now the heartbeat of 1500 years of liturgical service, taken up, died for in the face of marauders, and persisted with across numberless communities, would be subverted by revulsions against grand ritual, altars, precious relics, icons and sculptures, even crosses. Why, for some the continual saying of the Eucharist, with the keeping of the Host, has become the very embodiment of Providence, of Christ’s very healing presence on earth in our fractured affairs.²⁹ The *holy body of tradition* that had been built from beyond the New Testament into the councils creeds, Patristic and custodial teachings

28 Trompf, *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought*, vol.1: *From Antiquity to the Reformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 305-08. For scholars’ “rediscovered dimensions” of the Radicals, Dickens and John Tonkin [of interest my successor in Reformation history at the University of Western Australia], with Kenneth Powell, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), ch. 9.

29 E.g., considering the unpromising beginnings of modern Australia, Eris O’Brien, *The Dawn of Catholicism in Australia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1928), vol. 1, pp. viii-x. On Erasmus and other Catholic pacifists in the Reformation, start with Jan Kvacala, “Deux pacifistes catholiques au temps de la Réforme.” In *Congrès d’Histoire du Christianisme III* (Loisy Jubilee) (ed. Paul Louis Couchoud), pp. 128-142. (*Annales d’Histoire du Christianisme* 3) (Paris, 1938); Lecler, *Toleration and the Reformation*, esp. vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 2; bk. 5, ch. 1.3.

of the Church *would, to varying degrees, be discarded, even theologically assaulted*. The formidable organizational unity under the Papa of Rome, surely the foundation of all bureaucracies to come(!), but also once the proud spiritually-grounded arbitratorship of Europe – the veritable prototype of a United Nations umpiring – was oh, so rent.

And was the competition that the Catholic-Protestant engendered worth it? Did it not uncoil a world of ‘Promethean’ politics and economics, of nationalisms and capitalist ventures that ended in imperialism, world wars, the reaction of Communism, and the decimation of the global environment? Should it be so much a matter of pride that Europe would “conquer the world”?³⁰ Although there were oppositions to profit and riches among the early Reformers, there remains the case that Protestantism facilitated “the spirit” of that highly questionable fixture “capitalism,” and released the tightness around the loans with interest long before the Holy Office’s concessions (from 1830 to 1871).³¹ If *tendencies in Reformation* thought toward individual commitment, introspection and freedom were to be welcomed, did they not eventually *take things out of hand* in the ultra-individualist non-communitarian Western societies of today? Did they not produce in Catholicism over-reactions, highly anti-liberal tendencies or the support of conservative-monarchist and coercive regimes that in turn stirred revolution?

30 Citing Philip Hoffmann, *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), with p. 132 on “Western Christianity,” including the Reformation, holding European political unification back, assuming this was a ‘bad thing,’ but in general on how steadily improving military technology in a conflict-ridden continent brought eventual advantages for world conquest.

31 Seminally Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) (trans. Talcott Parsons) (New York: Scribner, 1958); Richard Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (Holland Memorial Lectures 192) (West Drayton, UK: Penguin, 1961); yet cf. Malcolm Kitch (auth. and ed.), *Capitalism and the Reformation* (Problems and Perspectives in History) (London: Longmans, 1967); Thomas Divine, SJ, *Interest: An Historical and Analytic Study in Economics and Modern Ethics* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1959).

'Even Stevens'

Here we are in 2018, and after 500 years the differences between Catholic and Protestant have become more historical than real. After good Pope (St) John XXIII's initiatives for Vatican II, fine doctrinal points of difference, the tightness of identity and communion, the social divides, have been so whittled away that one wonders what the point of the fuss ever was. For much of my working life, at the University of Papua New Guinea, the Catholics were members of the National Council of Churches, with the United Church in it inheriting the London Missionary Society accommodation of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and Quakers. As a Protestant I felt quite at home working with a Belgian Sacred Heart Father and a Polish Michaelite writing up the history of Catholic Missions in central Melanesia. As it is turning out, does the Providence lie more in the way concord has been achieved than in the pros and cons for having a Reformation in the first place? Upon honest reflection, every component of the arguments I presented for and against could be looked at again, modified, and taken in different directions and viewed from multiple and more 'mixed' perspectives.

In approaching some kind of a conclusion, I seem to be asking many more questions than stating provocations! Sometimes the questions have veered unapologetically toward ('what if?') unhistorical ones, admittedly for provocation's sake. At this point we have to be clear that Catholics, as I recognized at the beginning, were part of the Reformation anyway, that there were jolted into 'cleaning up their own act,' in what is now preferably called the Catholic rather than the 'Counter-' Reformation, and that the Catholic Church had energies already within itself, the Dutch Deventer school of *devotio moderna*, the late mediaeval German mystical tradition, the Conciliar movement, Christian humanism, etc., preparing the way for reform, with the Thomist revival around the corner to consolidate it. In 'flying over time,' we would have to appreciate how the Reformation took on various faces – there was not just one Reformation from the start, and others or other forms of it may be said to have come well after³² – and we cannot neglect to see points of Catholic-Protestant intersections of spirituality and common cause even in the period when tensions remained high. When it comes to literature even through the Reformation stresses of

32 Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996); Carlos Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016 edn.).

Tudor times, somehow a “chorus” of a common faith was kept up. I think also *inter alia* of the early confessionalist protagonists for religious toleration; of common reliance of the Benedictines and Methodism’s John Wesley’s on the spiritual discipline of John Cassian; the Anglo-Catholic relations arising from Newman and the Oxford Movement; the Protestant admirations for St Francis (if often out of touch with mediaeval Catholic, starting with Paul Sabatier).³³ When Luther’s colleague Philipp Melanchthon made speedy contact with the Orthodox Greeks, that also set in train work bringing East and West back together after the stalled Council of Florence and in the long run made possible the later ecumenical movement, the World Council of Churches, and the rounds of positive discussions right now healing wounds across the Patriarchates.³⁴

The materials are uncontrollable and increasingly so, and it would seem as if we would be rushing foolishly to decide between ‘tragic lessons’ and ‘buoyant marveling’ at the extraordinary tapestry of time, though these could still be two reasons to talk of Providence – of ordeal and blessing. In the long run the phenomenon of post-Reformation Christianity becomes an enormous phenomenon. Catholic and Protestant missionaries go everywhere; for a long time vying with one another, and their cultures, social structures and nationalities affecting their approaches. In due course, the centre of Christianity starts to fall out of European hands, becoming more mixed, and at the moment less Western, with the prospect of the most populous part of the Church being Chinese by 2050. Perhaps such change in process is more providential than some might think; for I cannot help wondering whether ‘the whiteman,’ as my Melanesian friends call the hegemonic newcomers, has been that good for the development of the

33 Alexander Kinghorn, *The Chorus of History: Literary-historical Relations in Britain, 1485-1558* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971); Lecler, *Toleration and the Reformation*, vol.1, bks. 4-5; vol. 2; Cavazutti Rossi (dir.), *La santificazione nelle tradizioni Benedettina e Metodista* (rev. Bruno Corsani and Réginald Grégoire) (Rome: Il Segno dei Gabrielli, 1998); Eric Sharpe, “The Secularization of Sanctity: The Case and Example of Francis of Assisi.” In *The World of Religions: Essays on Historical and Contemporary Issues in Honour of Noel Quentin King* (eds. Trompf and Gildas Hamel) (Religion, Politics and Society 1) (Delhi: ISPCK, 2002), pp. 155-167.

34 See esp. Berge Trabouksi, “Some Aspects of Protestant-Orthodox Relations in Modern Times: A Historical Analysis,” *Chronos: Revue d’Histoire de l’Université de Balamand* 16 (2007): 69-93.

Christian faith. European history bespeaks too much of the uses of religion for power. Actually Indo-European history across Eurasia has carried a hidden structural factor inimical to any religion, certainly the Christian faith. I refer to the separation between privileged nobles and inferiorized commoners that put power, both secular and ecclesiastical, too much into the hands of 'upper-caste' elites. It brought on bloody revolutions, and made for new attempts at 'relative egalitarianism' in New continental Worlds, but somehow the problem lingers on in new guises (and in Britain, the legislation to abolish hereditary peerage still has not quite 'done the trick'). But we sit at the dawn of a new millennium when the domineering ones will be learning lessons from those who had their initiatives too often stalled, and who will enter 'the theatre of mistakes' from the sides hopefully to play better roles than those before.

Here I stand, lamenting and honouring the Reformation, I can do no other. Its key theological instructions I admit should stand forever, to secure Faith against Religiosity, but we still need to discern the meaning of its intricate social results, and we require the highest values to heal all remaining wounds: peace with justice for humanity and the earth, love as unconquerable goodwill, let alone a sustained quest for truth – with no self-serving arrogance and with a genuine care for consequence.

BOOK REVIEW

A Very Contrary Irishman: The life and journeys of Jeremiah O'Flynn

Author: Paul Collins

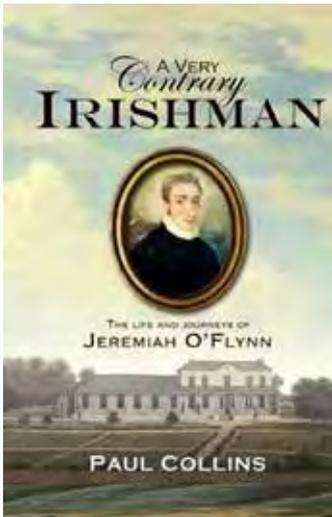
Published: Morning Star Publishing, Northcote Vic. 2014

ISBN: 9781925208467

Format: paperback 211 pages

Price: \$34.95

Reviewed by Janice Garaty*



This biography of Rev Jeremiah O'Flynn will appeal to those interested in the early history of the British colony of New South Wales (New Holland). It explores the political machinations within the colony between various cliques of power and influence and Governor Lachlan Macquarie. O'Flynn arrived at Port Jackson, Sydney Town in November 1817 with dubious credentials. In spite of his claims to have received proper authorisation, the English Catholic Church (the immediate authority) had not been consulted by the Catholic authorities in Rome or Dublin. In Rome to plead his case against accusations of insubordination, O'Flynn saw the opportunity to go to this relatively young penal settlement as a means of redemption.

It also appealed to his wanderlust. By the time he arrived in Sydney he had already circumnavigated the world. We cannot know what drove him to become a *vagus*, "a restless wandering priest living off his wits". It is estimated he travelled at least 105,000 kms altogether over his short lifetime.

It may be surprising to many readers to read of the absence of Catholic priests in the colony to minister to the Catholic convicts and marines who numbered around 6,000, although Collins maintains that most did not miss their ministrations. O'Flynn was typical of Irish priests of the early nineteenth century who suffered because the restraints on education

* Dr Janice Garaty works as an independent scholar. Her commissioned work, *Providence Provides: Brigidine Sisters in the NSW Province*, was published in 2013.

imposed by the Penal Laws on Irish Catholics and who were inspired by a peculiar Irish brand of Catholicism based heavily around ritual and which elevated the priest to a singular position of influence over congregations. He was born in a revolutionary age in 1786 in Tralee, County Kerry and died in the USA at the age of 44. He spoke Irish Gaelic fluently but was semi-literate in English. His incomplete preparation for the priesthood at an English Trappist Monastery (Saint Susan's) was not O'Flynn's fault.

Collins sets out to debunk the myths which developed in colonial Sydney Town after O'Flynn was deported by Governor Macquarie in 1819 and to reveal the real person behind those myths. He doesn't succeed fully in those aims but certainly has tried hard with an astonishing array of research covering a broad geographical sweep, from Ireland to the Caribbean, from colonial New South Wales to Pennsylvania, USA. The book is dedicated to the memory of Eris Michael O'Brien, Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn and the first President of the Australian Catholic Historical Society. One of the most eminent historians of Australian Catholic history, he was the first historian to write what amounts to a biography of O'Flynn. It was eminent historians such as O'Brien and Cornelius Duffy (following on from Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran) who perpetuated the myths about O'Flynn leaving behind the Blessed Sacrament and it being continuously venerated at either one or two houses at The Rocks. Collins does not refer to Patrick O'Farrell's quite extensive cover of the background of the myth making and the role it played in picturing Catholics as victims of outright sectarianism with O'Flynn seen as a martyr wrongly arrested and sent away from a group desperate for a priest to minister to their needs.¹ This myth was so entrenched that Pope Pius XI allowed the 24th International Eucharistic Congress to be held in Sydney in 1928 with a focus on St Patrick's Church Hill at The Rocks.

The author does take the same stance as O'Farrell towards the role played by Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales; he was not acting as a anti-Catholic bigot but was realistically assessing the political ramifications of allowing a Catholic priest to remain in the colony without proper authority from the British Colonial Office as well as having questionable Roman credentials. Macquarie feared another Irish convict led rebellion; the Irish convict priests had been blamed for the Vinegar Hill rebellion.

The author is honest in admitting the paucity of primary source material; his frequent surmises of O'Flynn's motivations, emotions and goals means the book is an entertaining narrative. Apart from the details of O'Flynn's

years in other regions it remains just another rendition of the struggles of a small group of Irish Catholics to establish their religion in the Antipodes. Paul Collins has concluded O'Flynn was 'a good priest' inspired by romanticism. This book has fleshed out the man who was for a short period the only Catholic priest in the colony. It was his failings which finally saw the appointment of two Catholic chaplains, Irish missionaries, officially approved by the English Catholic Church and the Colonial Secretary who sailed for New South Wales in December 1819. This was his most important legacy.

Endnote

- 1 Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia* (Nelson, Melbourne, 1977), pp. 11-16, 18-19.

BOOK REVIEW

Journal of a Voyage to Australia 1855-56: Myles Athy, A Recruit for St Mary's Monastery, Sydney

Author: Anne Wark

Publisher: ATF Press, Adelaide, July 2017,

ISBN-10: 1925309681

ISBN-13: 978-1925309683

Paperback: xx + 160 pp. + unnumbered facsimile pages.

Reviewed by Michael Hogan*

On 27 October 1855 Archbishop Polding boarded the *Phoenix* in the Mersey at Liverpool, bound for Sydney from a visit to Europe. With him he brought a small entourage: three Benedictine monks, including Abbot Gregory, and three Benedictine nuns, destined for the Australian mission. On board there were three other priests who were not Benedictines. Also in the group was a 37-year-old Irishman who was hoping to become a professed Benedictine when the party arrived in Sydney. His name was Myles Athy – pronounced “o-thigh” – and he is of interest because he wrote a diary of the journey, which is at present lodged in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. Anne Wark, who was acquainted with Athy because one of the stained glass

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Journal of a Voyage to
Australia 1855-56

Myles Athy, A Recruit for St
Mary's Monastery, Sydney



Anne Wark

windows in St James' Church, Forest Lodge (Glebe) was dedicated to him by parish priest Hugh Callachor OSB in the 1880s, obtained permission from Dublin to transcribe and publish the hand-written diary.

Along with the journal itself, Anne Wark has provided a generous (about 60 pages) explanation of the various historical contexts that were familiar to Athy, if not to his readers a century and a half later. These include: the Benedictine mission in Australia and the role of leaders like Polding and Gregory; Athy's education at Downside College in England where he had had earlier contact with Polding; class differences among Irish Catholic families; the international

background of the Crimean War; the newly established Marist community of Hunters Hill, and, of course, the daily routine of a sailing ship on a three-month journey in the mid 19th Century.

The author of the journal intended his exercise book to be posted back to his family, so he was certainly not concerned with answering the questions that a modern reader might like answered. That said, however, a modern reader would wish that Athy had been more observant or reflective. All the evidence, including that of his mother, suggests that he was not very bright. He seemed most concerned to provide a summary of what food was available for each meal of every day. A typical commentary for 2 November 1855 begins:

9^h.15^m. Breakfast. Fare: boiled Ling, Sardines, Mashed Ling & potatoes, Boiled Potatoes. Curried fowl, Hot rolls, rather black but pretty good. Ship biscuits, Tea & Coffee. I tried the boiled Ling but had to send it away. I did not like it, not being "the best".

Much of Athy's time, as the ship travelled the great circle route from Liverpool to its first landfall at Melbourne, was spent in preparation for his new vocation. He had almost daily sessions with the Archbishop, polishing up his Latin, learning the elements of spiritual formation, and discussing theological and ethical matters. Polding seems to have appreciated this

contact, and he would take Athy as a companion on future trips inside Australia and on a later trip to Europe in 1864, but the younger man was unsatisfactory as a sounding board for serious discussions. Abbot Gregory, in contrast, was a constant point of contact for such issues, even after Gregory's return to England. Athy joined the Benedictine community in Sydney on his arrival, and, after ordination as a priest, served in Orange, Lyndhurst, Waterloo, Haymarket, St Benedict's at Broadway, Brisbane Water, Bulli and Forest Lodge. He was a popular pastor, dying in 1891 at the age of 72.

We are indebted to Anne Wark for this work of transcription from a difficult scribbled hand-written text (as evidenced in the selection of facsimile pages), and for her intelligent editorial commentary. Despite Athy's lack of curiosity about anything but humdrum shipboard life, the journal is an interesting document, providing insights into the daily life of the Benedictine party on the ship, and it also provides a useful contribution to maritime history with its discussion of a ship's routine, the boredom of a long voyage without landfall, relationships between cabin and steerage passengers, even including an example of the Captain's use of authority to quench some drunken Christmas brawling among the crew.

There are insights into the character of Archbishop Polding and Abbot Gregory. The picture painted of Gregory acting as the life of the party, leading deck games for steerage passengers with enthusiasm and jollity, helps to fill out a biography of a man otherwise remembered more for his role in serious ecclesiastical politics.

One aspect I regret in Athy's journal is the lack of attention to the relationships among the Benedictine party. The nuns are in the background, but are mentioned only rarely. More significantly, however, he shows no understanding that two of the monks in the party – Anselm Curtis and Mellitus Corish – were returning to Australia after a failed attempt to convince Rome that Archbishop Polding had treated them unjustly. As Wark points out, Polding himself had gone to Rome planning to hand in his own resignation in the face of opposition to his role in Sydney. That request was also turned down in Rome. Surely relationships were strained on both sides. What a pity we don't have a frank diary of the journey written by Dr Gregory! However, we do have this one written by Myles Athy, and it is certainly worth a look.

BOOK REVIEW

Bishop Matthew Quinn and the Development of Catholic Education in NSW 1865-1885

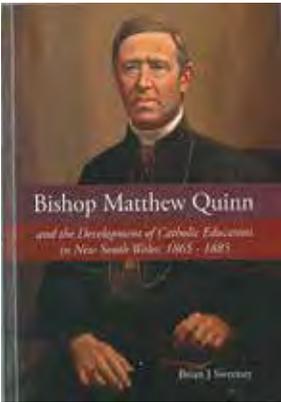
Author: Brian J Sweeney

Publisher: Catholic Diocese of Bathurst with the permission of Brian Sweeney, October 2016

ISBN: 978-0-646-96304-4

Paperback: 255 pages, \$15

Reviewed by Dr Anne Wenham*



The Diocese of Bathurst celebrated its Sesquicentenary in 2016. Bishop Michael McKenna, the eighth Bishop of Bathurst who has a love of history, particularly as it relates to the early days of the Diocese, located and realised the significance of the unpublished Thesis of Brother Brian Sweeney fms. He sought permission from Br. Sweeney to have this published and it was launched by Bishop McKenna in October, 2016.

In his Foreword Bishop McKenna reflected that the challenges and public debate that Bishop Matthew Quinn, First Bishop of Bathurst, faced and addressed in terms of the character and funding of Catholic education are “still fundamentally alive”. This book is certainly an important piece of research, particularly in terms of understanding current discourse about Catholic education through the historical lens of the development of Catholic Education in NSW 1865-1885. Along the way, Br Sweeney also allows us to enter the life of Bishop Quinn through his family history, his leadership of the Diocese, his engagement with Church and political leaders, his relationships with priests and religious of the Diocese, and of enormous significance, his pastoral leadership of the parishioners of the Diocese.

This Thesis was submitted in partial requirement for the honours degree of Master of Arts in Education. Br Sweeney’s scholarship, research and writing are meticulous as evidenced by the large number of his cited references.

* Dr Anne Wenham is currently Head of College at St Stanislaus College Bathurst.

Through this publication Bishop Quinn's vision, his work and his legacy on behalf of Catholic education have been brought to life. In Br Sweeney's words,

(Bishop Quinn was)...Loved by his own and respected by others, experienced in education, and dedicated to religion, Quinn was the man to establish a system of education. In a sense Matthew Quinn was the right man for the moment.

On my first reading, I was struck by how much about the man himself, whose Episcopal Motto was *Mergimur Nunquam*, "We never go under", came through. Br Sweeney's generous use of adjectives highlights Bishop Quinn's personal qualities: courteous, charitable, determined, dedicated, energetic, enthusiastic, genial, gentle, kind hearted, moderate, modest, patient, pious, prudent, sincere, tactful and zealous.

In this publication, Bishop Quinn emerges as a Bishop who was firm and uncompromising on matters of Catholic education, intensely dedicated to the progress and advancement of the Catholic religion, possessing of a strong belief in his own judgement, a leader who inspired confidence and as Bishop having a firm conviction of the correctness of his policies and decisions.

One observation I made was the amount of travel that Bishop Quinn undertook. We must remember that in 1866 the Diocese of Bathurst encompassed what is today the Diocese of Wilcannia Forbes and so it stretched from the Blue Mountains to the borders of South Australia and Queensland. His powers of endurance in the face of physical hardship must have been extraordinary given travel was on horseback/coach. His first trip was from Bathurst to Bourke during which he broke his arm – that didn't stop him!

Bishop Quinn's arrival in Bathurst in 1866 was at a time of enormous challenge to Catholic education in the Diocese. The 1866 *Public Schools Act* was contentious and there were serious implications for Catholic school autonomy and identity. This was to become law on January 1st 1867 and it moved to give greater control of the State over all schools; in the words of Henry Parkes,

to put a stop forever to the interference of the clergy in school management!

This Act foreshadowed passage of the *Public Instruction Act*, introduced into Parliament, again by Parkes in 1879, that signalled the withdrawal of state aid to denominational schools by 1883.

Bishop Quinn's legacy to Catholic Education was and is enormously significant: a system of Catholic education for the Diocese of Bathurst and for the whole of the colony – a system independent of the state system, operating without government funding.

Br Sweeney's book focuses on how this was achieved, particularly through Bishop Quinn's influential and persuasive work with Catholic Church leaders, clergy, religious and laity. He worked tirelessly with his fellow Bishops – in working with them he urged unity which resulted in the *Joint Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops exercising Jurisdiction in NSW 1879*. Its significance is given appropriate attention by Br Sweeney in terms of its condemnation of secularist education, its emphasis on the necessity for all Catholic parents to provide their children with a Catholic education and its recommendation for the removal of all Catholic children from Public schools where practicable.

A particular theme that runs through this publication is the importance of Bishop Quinn's relationship with the laity. Through his preaching, meetings, pastoral visits, writings, interviews and engagement with journalists, he inspired within the laity a unity of purpose as well as confidence and enthusiasm for the cause of Catholic education.

Bishop Quinn's purpose in building up and supporting Catholic schools was unwavering and his goals were made clear to all: finding religious to staff Catholic schools, ensuring quality teaching with appropriate oversight to ensure credibility and maintaining quality and resourcing of Catholic schools through ongoing commitment to funding by the laity.

Within 20 years of Bishop Quinn's commitment to building Catholic Education in the Diocese of Bathurst there had been established an orphanage, primary schools, secondary schools, boarding and day, girls and boys as well as convents, a seminary, novitiates and model schools for the training of teachers

One of the joys in reading this book is in learning about Bishop Quinn through his spoken words and writings. For example, as he commenced his leadership of a calculated campaign to convince all about the primacy of Catholic education he was quoted thus:

we are ready to make (sacrifices) and to take on the whole burden of the education of our children on ourselves if the State will not give us free and unfettered action in this matter (1867).

When he was welcomed to Forbes in 1882, he summed up the sense of shared achievement saying,

We are proud that in all Australia there is no diocese better provided with means of religious worship and religious education.

During his years of leadership he faced enormous challenges and public criticism, particularly in the media. Despite this, he exhorted all with whom he worked and whom he led to show moderation and charity to others. In his words,

I would rather cut off my right hand than say one word that would be offensive to any member of the community.

As the current Head of St Stanislaus College Bathurst, I read with enormous interest, Br Sweeney's account of the establishment of this College. Within two months of arriving in Bathurst in November 1866, Bishop Quinn opened a high school for boys in Bathurst – St Stanislaus High School – under the direction of Mr Michael McGirr, attached to the Catholic Boys Certified Denominational School. Its curriculum comprised Latin, French, Greek, Mathematics and higher branches of English literature with a view to preparing the students for matriculation for University entry and for commercial pursuits.

In January 1867 Bishop Quinn expressed his hope for the College:

It is the earnest wish of my heart that before many years have elapsed, the brightest laurel and proudest boasts of the young men of my diocese, shall be to have been educated at St Stanislaus High School.

The school became a College some months later when boarders were accepted. They lived in a house in George St under the care of Mr and Mrs McGirr. As more boarders came, they moved along George St to a larger house. The College transferred to its present site in 1873. Bishop Quinn also established a Seminary on the College site – St Charles Ecclesiastical Seminary 1875–1891. Of its students, 27 became priests and two became NSW Bishops.

In 1882, 15 years after it commenced, Bishop Quinn reflected on St Stanislaus College saying:

I have always borne a love towards it like that of a parent for a child. From year to year it has progressed, and now I think, either materially as a building, or intellectually as a place of education, it is second, perhaps to none, but certainly, it is second to very few in these colonies.

Bishop Quinn died at St Stanislaus College on 16 January, 1885 at the close of the annual Retreat of the clergy. His impact on the Diocese of Bathurst was immense:

On arrival in 1866 in the Diocese there were six priests, five churches, five chapels, seven schools and 492 students. By 1885 there were 28 priests, 43 new churches, 86 sisters of Mercy, 106 sisters of St Joseph and 4,000 students in 56 schools.

As well there were 31,762 children being educated in Catholic schools across the Dioceses of Sydney, Maitland, Bathurst, Goulburn and Armidale.

Upon the death of Bishop Quinn, the editorial in *Freeman's Journal* included the following reflection:

As a single individual he was perhaps the greatest benefactor to the work of Catholic education that this country has ever seen.

Br Sweeney's Master's Thesis, now published as a book, is a timely and valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of Bishop Matthew Quinn and his impact not only on the Diocese of Bathurst but also particularly on the position of Catholic education in NSW. The impact of his

BOOK REVIEW

Nicholas O'Donnell's Autobiography

Editor: Val Noone

Published: Ballarat Heritage Services 2017

ISBN 978-1-876478-32-2

Format: 343 pp.

Price: \$38.50

Reviewed by Pamela O'Neill*

Dr Val Noone's work on the Irish in Australia, and particularly in Victoria, is well-known to those with an interest in the field. He has for many years pursued an interest in the leading figures of the Irish home rule movement and Irish cultural organisations in Melbourne around the turn of the nineteenth into twentieth centuries. Notable amongst these figures was the medical doctor, Nicholas O'Donnell (1862–1920). With his extensive network of contacts amongst the descendants of Irish migrants to Victoria, and his keen eye for historically important material, it was perhaps inevitable that Noone would happen upon what O'Donnell's descendants called 'the diary', and recognise its importance. The result is this very fine work of scholarship, in

* Dr Pamela O'Neill, University of Sydney.

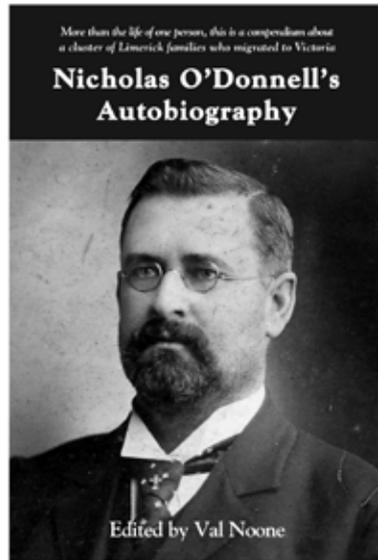
which what O'Donnell himself called 'My Autobiography' is edited and annotated.

Although Noone could not have done better than to adapt the title O'Donnell gave to his work, that title obscures the work's real importance. It is, in fact, a wide-ranging work of family and local history. It will be of great interest to the many descendants of the complex web of families detailed by O'Donnell (including but not limited to O'Donnell, Spillane, Barry, Blake, Bruen and Taylor), to historians interested in Irish emigration, particularly from County Limerick, and those interested in the Irish home-rule, cultural and language scenes in Melbourne and in Australia more widely.

Nicholas O'Donnell was born in June 1862 at Bullengarook, Victoria, of Irish immigrant parents, and was educated partly in Gisborne and partly at St Mary's, West Melbourne and then St Patrick's, Melbourne and Melbourne University. He became a doctor, formed a lifelong friendship with monumental mason and fellow Irish home-ruler, cultural and language enthusiast Morgan Jageurs, and contributed extensively to Irish-language publishing and book collecting in Melbourne.

O'Donnell felt that his Catholicism was fundamental to his identity. He expresses the wish (p. 54) that his descendants 'be unflinching in their fidelity to the Catholic faith. It ought to be part of their nature like their nationality. Because they are Irish they ought to be proud to be Catholic and they ought to be truly Catholic because they are Irish'. These sentiments may at first seem at odds with his commitment to non-sectarian Irish nationalism, and even Noone refers to 'conflicting messages' on this point. However, an alternative reading is that O'Donnell, without wishing to see his own descendants abandon their heritage, was able to value the contribution of non-Catholics to Irish nationalism, perhaps perceiving figures such as Emmett and Parnell as welcome incomers whose value to the collective Irish identity did not rely on homogeneity: a lesson for many in today's world.

O'Donnell hand-wrote the large manuscript he titled 'My Autobiography'



beginning in 1908 and continuing to update and annotate it sporadically almost until his death. It seems likely that O'Donnell intended to continue from his memoirs of the first thirty-three years of his life and recount more of his involvement in Irish cultural and political affairs, but this did not happen. After the events of 1916 and the loss of the home rule ambitions he had so keenly supported, O'Donnell had what might be considered a breakdown, closing his medical practice, abandoning his cultural involvement, and seemingly becoming disillusioned with much of his earlier work. The handwriting in the manuscript dated 1916 shows a deterioration from O'Donnell's initially neat, legible hand – perhaps another sign of the emotional trauma of that year. We may surmise that this is why the story of O'Donnell's own life does not continue beyond 1894. This want is partially remedied by Noone, who draws on painstaking research by himself and others to describe the last 25 years of O'Donnell's life in an epilogue.

In making this important historical source accessible for a wider audience, Noone has done a great service to a wide range of audiences, present and future. In this, as in everything, he has been ably assisted by Mary Doyle, whose handiwork can be seen in the family tree reproduced on pages 20 and 21, and is less visibly present throughout. The manuscript has been painstakingly and sensitively edited to a high scholarly standard. Noone has given considerable thought to how best to represent O'Donnell's work in a way that will be most helpful and clear for his readers, with excellent results.

The edited manuscript is preceded by a very useful introduction, which helpfully details Noone's editorial method alongside much other contextual information. It is followed by the epilogue referred to above; two appendices giving further details of sources and transcripts of some letters; a useful bibliography; and an excellent index. It is punctuated by a helpful and informative collection of photographs and maps, some selected from O'Donnell's collections by Noone, and others provided by Noone himself.

If one must nitpick, one could point out that Noone's outstandingly high-quality editing of the manuscript is not always matched by the standard of copyediting of Noone's own text. This is a common problem for good editors, who can never treat their own work quite as well as that of others. The text is of a higher standard than one often finds in commercial publications of recent years, but a small few infelicities of expression and punctuation, and occasional typographical anomalies (like opening quotation marks in place of apostrophes in abbreviated years) survive. But this is to nitpick indeed.

The final word must be given to presentation. The volume is very

handsome, in keeping with the photograph of the equally handsome O'Donnell on the front cover. Facsimiles of the manuscript on the endpapers are aesthetically pleasing, as well as giving a taste of the original artefact. Typesetting and layout are elegant and easily read.

BOOK REVIEW

Report of Rosendo Salvado to Propaganda Fide in 1900

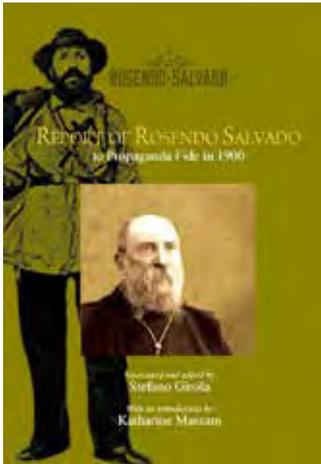
Editor and translator: Stefano Girola

Publisher: Abbey Press, Northcote Vic, 2016

ISBN: 9780995381599

Paperback, 114 pages

Reviewed by Irene Franklin*



Rosendo Salvado was born in Tui, Galicia in northern Spain in 1814 and entered the Benedictine Abbey of San Martin in Compostela.

He arrived in Western Australia in 1846 and died in 1900, while on a visit to Rome, at the Basilica of St Paul Outside the Walls. His body was returned to New Norcia three years later and buried behind the high altar of the Abbey church.

Salvado wrote a number of reports to Propaganda Fide in the fifty-four years that he was associated with what became New Norcia.

Salvado with a few companions went by oxcart into the rugged bush, where only aboriginals lived, on his arrival at the Victoria Plains in Western Australia.

In his time he was priest, missionary, bishop, author, teacher of the aboriginal people in literacy but more of practical importance for that time, various skills for building, growing vegetables, fruit and livestock. All this before he thought it possible to start teaching them anything about Catholic religious belief.

* Irene Franklin is a retired GP and member of the Australian Catholic Historical Society.

What was of paramount importance was his respectful opinion of the aboriginal people. He was a staunch friend of them when they were challenged by the white “New Australians” who believed them to be less than human and he quoted the work the aboriginal men and women had done in the various fields of endeavour they had acquired and spoke of them with pride.

The aboriginal people had at times of great need, before the missionaries arrived, resorted to cannibalism. So it was a very long cultural journey for them to take, in a relatively short time.

They helped the missionaries, in time, to clear the bush, build the church, monastery, dormitory for boys and later for girls when a father insisted they take his daughter to care for her and educate her by walking off into the bush and leaving her behind. A garden had to be enclosed, planted and cared for – hard work in poor soil and a difficult climate. Eventually livestock was added.

They had their problems quite apart from the weather and the soil. Their main problem was their fellow Catholics. The local Perth bishop helped himself to the finances that Salvado had raised from fellow Benedictines on his trips overseas and his visits to the Pope. Later he demanded produce from New Norcia, that they could ill afford to share.

It amazed me how many miles he managed to travel in between the hard work he did at “home” in those days of more difficulties. He went several times to Rome to inform the Pope in person and then visits to monasteries in Spain and Italy. It is this personal acquaintance with these people that aided Rosendo Salvado by supporting him and his endeavours when he was being undermined by the Bishop of Perth and his supporters.

This book is even more interesting if a person has visited New Norcia.

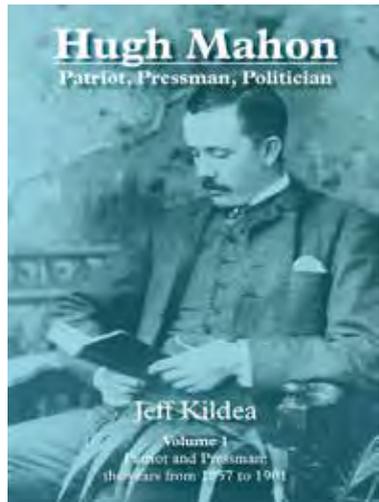
It is a valuable exercise for anyone who is interested in the interpersonal relationships. This slim volume deserves reflection.

BOOK REVIEW

Hugh Mahon: Patriot, Pressman, Politician: Volume 1, Patriot and Pressman: the years from 1857 to 1901

Author: Jeff Kildea
Anchor Books, 2017
Pages: 226
ISBN: 9780992467180
Paperback
Reviewed by John Luttrell*

Hugh Mahon, born in Ireland in 1857 and living in Australia from 1882 to 1931, generally appears in Australian histories as the only member ever to have been expelled from the Commonwealth Parliament. His expulsion was moved on 11 November 1920 by Prime Minister Hughes a few days after Mahon had publicly denounced Britain as a 'bloody and accursed empire', following the hunger-strike and death in prison of the Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney. Patrick O'Farrell, in his histories of Catholicism and the Irish in Australia, gives Mahon brief attention as a representative Irishman and a support to the Redmond brothers during their 1883 tour of Australia.



Jeff Kildea sets out to show that Mahon is much more than a one-incident figure; that apart from his expulsion he is 'an interesting subject for a biography ... a giant among men, brought undone by a fatal flaw, his love of Ireland' – and indeed that his whole previous life 'was on a trajectory that inexorably led to his expulsion from parliament' (2-3). He has embarked on an extended biography in two volumes. The sub-title, 'Patriot, Pressman, Politician', neatly flags the contents of the total work.

Volume 1, 'Patriot and Pressman', begins with the Mahon family in

* John Luttrell fms taught history in Marist schools and then religious history in three Australian theological institutes. He has published several monographs on the history of Catholic education in Australia, and, in 2017, *Norman Thomas Gilroy: An Obedient Life*, which is reviewed in this issue.

post-Famine Ireland as tenant farmers in the Tullamore area. When Hugh was twelve they moved to Canada, and from 1873 to 1878 to Albany, New York State. Both moves failed financially, but adolescent Hugh benefited by several arduous years in Albany learning the printing trade.

Hugh was back in Ireland by 1880 as a journalist for newspapers in the New Ross area. Ireland was then in the throes of Land League agitation led by Charles Parnell. Kildea portrays Mahon here as an activist and journalist for the Land League. A spell in jail in Dublin (with Parnell) and further pressure from the government led him to migrate to Australia in 1882. There he was still the Irish patriot supporting the Redmond brothers on their 1883 tour for the Irish National League.

After 1883 he was still an activist patriot, but that activism is shown as directed more towards local and Australian causes. 'Pressman' is the dominant theme of Kildea's account from 1883 to 1901 as Mahon edits and writes for newspapers in Goulburn, the Hawkesbury River, Sydney, Melbourne and the Western Australian goldfields. While 'Politician' is not a sub-title of this first volume, his interest is certainly there as he seeks election in colonial parliaments in New South Wales and Western Australia. Mahon's ambitions and Kildea's volume 1 peak nicely with his election to the first Federal Parliament in 1901.

Kildea certainly establishes Mahon as 'patriot' and 'pressman'. Context is important. Apart from Irish troubles we have quite a sense of late colonial Australia – local politics in New South Wales and the Western Australian goldfields, anti-Irish sentiment, legal stoushes, the Federation movement and western separatism. Kildea evokes this from a trove of archives and press sources whose range appears in titles such as *The Albany Evening Journal*, *People* (Wexford), *Gosford and Wollombi Express*, and *Kalgoorlie Miner*. The Catholic context is there, although the book is not deliberately a 'Catholic' history. A picture of the Land League Executive contains two priests, Mahon founds the Catholic Literary Society in Goulburn and is involved in drafting an address to welcome Cardinal Moran home to Sydney in 1885.

Despite his early depiction of Mahon as a 'giant among men', Kildea points to limitations – Mahon's partisan press accounts after the murder of the son of a landlord in Ireland, diatribes against Asian workers in the 1890s, and his Kalgoorlie *Sun* developing 'a reputation for muckraking' (201).

Volume 2 is yet to be published. This 'serial' approach to the biography has advantages. It allows for detail and context without overwhelming the

reader in one volume. It also gives the author flexibility, the benefit of reader reaction and time for reflection in covering the remainder of Mahon's life. Mahon's ADB biographer, H. J. Gibbney, asserted that his contemporaries found him a 'political conundrum'. It will be interesting to see how Kildea

BOOK REVIEW

*Faith, Hospitality and Service: St Martha's Catholic Parish Strathfield
1916-2017*

Author: Damian John Gleeson

Publisher: St Martha's Catholic Parish, Strathfield, NSW

ISBN: 9780646941097

Paperback Pages: xvi + 124

Price: \$20

Reviewed by Edmund Campion*

About ten years ago, someone got into the parish church at Strathfield in Sydney and smashed the heads off statues there. Gone – the faces and heads of Our Lord and Our Lady. Also damaged was the statue of St Joseph. This was a savage attack on the religious life of people who said their prayers in front of the statues. One of them was Mrs Eileen Yip, a craftworker, who now set herself to restoring the statues. Mrs Yip's spirituality energised her for the task – 'I said to Mary, 'If you want me to repair you, I cannot do it without the face. You must help me,' she prayed. Her devotion had a marvellous and long-desired outcome when she became a grandmother on the feast of the birthday of the Blessed Virgin.



The story of Mrs Yip and the statues is a high point in Damian Gleeson's very readable centennial history of the parish. The author gives equal time

*Edmund Campion is a Sydney priest, and emeritus professor of history at the Catholic Institute of Sydney. His book *Swiftly: A life of Yvonne Swift*, was reviewed in *JACHS* 37 (2).

to priests and parishioners, which makes his book something of a novelty in Australian historiography. Last century, parish histories tended to be solely about priests and buildings.

The people of the parish included notable figures such as PM Frank Forde and feminist Jean Daly, but Dr Gleeson shows admirable restraint in dealing with them, not overloading his pages with facts upon facts. To write well is to know what to leave out. Strathfield has been fortunate in its schools, staffed by Dominicans for girls and Christian Brothers for boys, to whom the author gives proper recognition. He deals honestly with tensions over money, in pre-state aid times, between the third Parish Priest and the Brothers. Similarly, his account of a dispute over the Tennis Club – who owned the tennis courts, the club or the parish? – is fair-minded. He writes about real people, who sometimes disagree.

There is a short chapter on Archbishop Michael Sheehan who resided in Strathfield for fifteen years, waiting to take over when Archbishop Kelly died, which Kelly obstinately refused to do. After 15 years, Sheehan went back to Ireland, leaving behind the legacy of his *Apologetics and Christian Doctrine* to form the religion of generations of schoolchildren; and Norman Thomas Gilroy was rushed to Sydney to fill his place before the Irish-Australian bishops could dissent. This chapter seems a sanitised version of the story.

Of all the priests at Strathfield Dr Gleeson gives much space to one of the curates, Geoffrey Innes Davey who was there for five years and is, to my knowledge, the only curate to get an entry in the 19 volumes published of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Before becoming a priest, Davey had a full life: civil engineer, Liberal Party candidate in a federal election, father of six children and a key figure in the administration of the Sydney archdiocese, where he was a member of the Jimmy Carroll-Tom Wallace team. After his wife's death, he became a priest, being ordained in the church she had designed. He remained close to the inner workings of the archdiocese and the author shows how his engineering skills served the schools of the parish.

A noticeable feature of the book is its employment of endnotes. In some 100 pages of text there are 666 endnotes (cf. Rev. 13:18), which page-for-page outscores the 1306 footnotes of Dr C F Fowler's recent history of Pymont parish, a much bigger book. The late dean of Australian Catholic historians, Patrick O'Farrell, eschewed footnotes because he aimed to attract a wide readership. Dr Gleeson, on the other hand, makes a case for the usefulness of endnotes. So footnotes and/or endnotes may be coming back into fashion.

BOOK REVIEW

The Rock of St George: Celebrating the 125th Anniversary of the first St Joseph's Church-School, Rockdale

Author: Damian Gleeson

Publisher: St Joseph's Parish, Rockdale City, 2017

ISBN:978-0-646-96747-9

Paperback: 210 pages

Price: \$60

Reviewed by Dr Moira O'Sullivan*

Saved from the depredations of war and bombings, Australian archives are rich in stories of the past. These archives allow Damian Gleeson, a meticulous researcher, to put together a book that covers a few areas: historical, geographical, social, genealogical, ethnic, and religious. Gleeson has already shown his expertise in recording family and parish history. Without access to the detailed information that archives hold, the story of the church in Australia would again descend into a hagiography which is seen today, in the light of recent scandals, as hypocrisy. While always respectful, the latest parish chronicles, like Gleeson's (which is under review here), and Colin Fowler's of Pyrmont parish, have avoided any temptation to gild the lily.

Keeping to facts means that there is little opportunity to analyse the religious feeling of parishioners. For such personal experience, we go to a different work, such as Gerard Windsor's *The Tempest-Tossed Church* (2017). Gleeson's strength is in capturing many aspects of the complicated evolution of one parish into four as population grew. Though Rockdale was



Descendants of the Walz family who were prominent contributors to the early life of St Joseph's parish, Rockdale. St Joseph's recently celebrated 125 years of parish life.

PHOTO: Giovanni Portelli

* Dr Moira O'Sullivan RSC has researched early church history and the first twenty years of the Sisters of Charity in Australia.

not created as a parish until March 1916, its first church-school was opened in 1892. Kogarah was the early hub on that line, founded in 1887, while others in the area were later: Hurstville in 1912; Arncliffe in 1917; Brighton-le-Sands in 1937; and Bexley in 1940.

The genesis in chapter 1, 'Colonial Mission', is followed by 'German Foundations', a reminder of a group not always remembered in a nation that tends to think of its beginnings as Anglo-Celtic, whereas in reality successive migrations came. Description of pioneer families, as well as tracing descendants still living in the area, shows the parish as close-knit, like the nineteenth century in loyalty to the area. Possibly St George's Club and footballers help maintain allegiances.

Conflict almost always comes from the competing claims of the parochial school for money against funding other activities the parish sees as essential. When a school is under the control of the parish priest, he cannot always adjudicate without offence. When a school serves more than one parish there are more problems. Reconciling the calls made by the Marist Brothers high school, Kogarah, on its feeder parishes was particularly difficult, especially when some parishes refused to meet what the Brothers asked them to contribute. They had their own expenses, and usually a heavy debt. The extra equipment demanded by the Wyndham Report on Education was expensive, beyond what parish primary schools had expected. The defection of other contributors placed extra stress on Rockdale. Fund-raising done by the parish schools run by religious women was not mentioned, perhaps because the religious Sisters' archives were not accessible for one reason or another.

In a sense, *The Rock of St George* reflects forces and waves of immigration that shaped Australia's growth, and not just that of one Sydney church. The great strength of the book is the focus on the parishioners, ordinary people of good will. They were the ones who made up for the fewness of priests, the ones who donated land, or raised money for land and buildings. Like most newcomers, they were keen to have their children educated. Clusters of nationalities came and were succeeded by others. One aspect was constant: they were people of faith, generosity, and vision, devoted to their families and to the parish which nourished them spiritually. The present reluctance to worship liturgically of many Catholics, though parents were sterling believers, along with a lack of vocations, means that Rockdale's daughter parishes of Arncliffe and Bexley have again been subsumed into the one St Mary McKillop's Parish, Rockdale City, in 2008.

Given that the book goes up to the present, it is somewhat disconcerting

to find that the Honour Roll includes names only from World War I. If the patriotism of the parishioners is to be celebrated, at least some mention of later participants in Australian or United Nations military actions would be fitting.

Apart from that quibble, because of the fullness of the information about pastors and people, Gleeson's book is valuable for those researching family history in the area and also for those interested in the development of the Australian church.

BOOK REVIEW

A priceless treasure: Sister Teresa McDonald, Pioneer Sister of St Joseph 1838-1876

Author: Marie Crowley

Publisher: Hindmarsh, SA ATF Theology, 2016

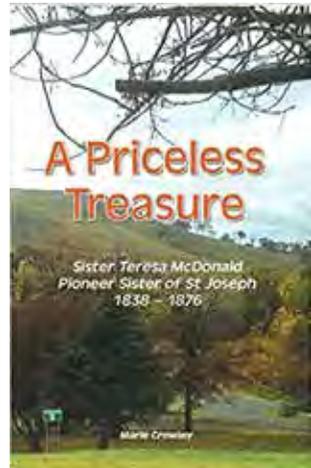
ISBN: 9781925486711

Paperback, 151 pages

Reviewed by Robyn Dunlop*

A Priceless Treasure : Sister Teresa McDonald, Pioneer Sister of St Joseph 1838-1876 is a portrait of one of the earliest members of the Australian Religious Institute the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart. As such, it is also a portrait of the beginnings of the Order, and of the Catholic Church itself as it struggled to establish lasting roots in nineteenth-century South Australia and beyond.

Marie Crowley has published two well-respected histories of the the Sisters of St Joseph, and *A Priceless Treasure* makes for a Josephite trilogy. Her first was a Congregational history, broad in scope (though particular in detail) – *Women of the Vale: Perthville Josephites 1872-1972* (2002). The second was the more focused study, *Except in Obedience: the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Victoria* (2013). This detailed the attempts to establish Diocesan



* Dr Robyn Dunlop is a historian and author of *Planted in Congenial Soil: The Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph, Lochinvar, 1883 – 1917* (2016), which is reviewed in this issue.

Josephites of Hugh Mahon and Victoria attempts 1901 which ultimately ended in failure.

A Priceless Treasure differs from the previous two books because of its biographical lens. The Josephites are women who know their own history well, but by researching, describing and reflecting on the personal experiences of one of their first Sisters, Crowley provides fresh insight into what might have seemed a familiar story.

Sister Teresa McDonald was the eighth entrant recorded in the Institute's Register, and she personally knew both of its founders: the Englishman Father Julian Tenison Woods and [then] Sister Mary MacKillop. Teresa was nearly 29 years old when she became a postulant in Adelaide in October 1867; like Mary, Teresa's background was Scottish. Catholics in South Australia were a minority then, and many Catholic clergymen were Irish – a detail which may have contributed to the cloud Woods and the Institute came under later on.

At the time, there was no state funding for denominational schools. However, in the early 1860s the Bishop of Adelaide had called for Catholic schools for Catholic children. The Sisters of St Joseph were founded to meet this need; as soon as she entered, Teresa was sent out to teach. Her religious training was limited, and hurried: she was professed little more than a year after entering. She was moved from city school to country, and promoted quickly to positions of responsibility within the growing Congregation. Whilst she wrote regularly (and candidly) to both Fr Woods and Sr Mary for guidance, she was heavily dependent on the Institute's brand-new *Rule* for instruction on religious life.

Fr Woods had written the Rule in 1867 and it was immediately used by the Sisters (it was approved by Adelaide's Bishop Shiel in December 1868). Crowley notes the Rule's "constant theme" of "mortification, renunciation and the acceptance of difficulties as crosses enabling union with a crucified Christ" (p.29), and gestures towards the untold costs – often physical – this had on the earnest and inexperienced Sisters, including Teresa. Crowley does not pass judgement but argues for a contextual understanding of such spirituality. Her tone is intelligent, considered and compassionate.

Teresa was present for many of the new Order's pivotal moments. She was appointed Provincial of South Australia, a position she held in Mary's absence and when there was a crisis in Woods' leadership. She knelt with Mary MacKillop when Mary was sensationally excommunicated. Despite ill-health, Teresa was also chosen to lead the first foundation to New South Wales in 1872, to The Vale (later named Perthville, near Bathurst); she was

the Provincial there when the Bishop of Bathurst tried to wrest control of the centrally-governed foundation so that it became a diocesan Order.

Many demanding situations took their toll on Teresa's health, particular in the 1870s. Although at times full of self-doubt, Teresa remained "humble but firm", a sensible and empathetic leader. She died whilst serving at The Vale, after only eight years with the Josephites.

Crowley's final chapter is a moving, mature reflection on Teresa's "inner life". She does not retell aspects of the Josephite story already well documented elsewhere, but useful footnotes guide readers to relevant work. Throughout, Crowley's writing on relationships and characters involved with the Institute during these years are a pleasure to read. *A Priceless Treasure* brings honour to one largely overlooked, and the book itself is, indeed, a treasure.

BOOK REVIEW

Of Labour and Liberty: Distributism in Victoria 1891-1966

Author: Race Mathews

Publisher: Monash University Publishing, 2017

SBN (pb): 978-1-925495-33-1

ISBN (e-book): 978-1-925495-34-8

Format: Paperback

Price: \$34.95

Reviewed by by Michael Easson*

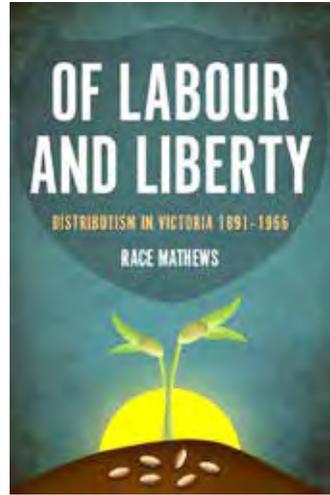
Sometimes the best surprises are the unexpected.

Race Mathews's new book on Catholic influence – once prominent now largely faded – on the ALP in Victoria is a fascinating story. Scholarship, clarity of expression, supportive exposition of the aligned compatibility between social democratic and Laborist positions and Church social theory – from the papal encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), the English-origin though universal ideas of Distributism, to Catholic social thinking in the heyday of Catholic Action in Australia from the mid-1930s to mid-1960s – are

*Michael Easson AM, secretary of the Labor Council of New South Wales to 1994, has edited several books on Labor history and policy.

explored thoroughly and sympathetically.

The book, *Of Labor and Liberty, Distributism in Victoria 1891-1961*, complements Gerard Henderson's equally well researched *Santamaria and the Bishops* (1982) on the involvement of the Australian Catholic Church in social and political issues in an overlapping period. But this book goes further in discussing various creative expressions in Australia of Distributism (also known as distributionism or distributivism) – words that never really took to the English language. The ideology, however, for a time flourished in response to and based upon the principles of Catholic social teaching, especially the teachings in the above-mentioned encyclicals



defining and suggesting Catholic alternatives to Statist socialism and unfettered capitalism. Distributists popularised the merit of independent action in localised and independent communities, hoping and working for examples and achievements of conscientious expression of Catholic principles that might inspire and shape the society around them. Distinctively, they advocated widespread private ownership of housing and control of industry through owner-operated small businesses and worker-controlled cooperatives.

It might be noted that both in the UK and in Australia, particularly in the Edwardian era and in the 1920s, anti-Statist alternatives to socialism, such as the independent National Guilds and Guild Socialist movements in the UK, were widely reported and commented on in the radical press in Australia, and were influential in emphasising “socialisation” rather than “nationalisation” in the adoption of the ALP’s objective in 1921. This tradition interacted with Catholic advocates of social justice and in opposition to Bolshevism and doctrinaire positions of State control.

Mathews’s work, a rewrite of his 2014 Doctorate in Theology thesis, “Manning’s Children: Responses to *Rerum Novarum* in Victoria 1891 to 1966”, is in many ways an astonishing achievement coming from a non-Catholic ALP activist, former leader of the Victorian Fabian Society, former MP in the national and Victorian parliaments (a Minister in the latter), whom as a complete outsider has come to appreciate Catholic social thinking.

At the start of the book Mathews says that through serial biography he

hopes to establish “through the prism of emblematic reformers the attendant clash of ideas, circumstances, aspirations and ambitions” and to tell the story that way.

He accounts for the social justice encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, referring to the influence of the English prelate Cardinal Manning (1808-1892), both in its conception and popularisation; and, in the Australian context, the advocacy of Cardinal Moran (1830-1911) in Sydney and across Australia, of social justice and freedom for workers.

Chapters on Cardinals Manning and Moran are followed by those on Archbishop Mannix (1864-1963), the Archbishop of Melbourne for 46 years; Frank Maher (1905-2004) and the Campion Society; Kevin Kelly (1910-1994) and the Campion Consensus – a reference to the ideas of Catholic Action, including those of the Belgian priest Joseph Cardijn (1882-1965) and his idea of Jocism – derived from his *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* movement which taught that moral formation should be through the organisation’s ‘Inquiry’ or “see, judge, act” motto of applying moral principles to a workplace, communities, and in a person’s daily life.

Chapters proceed on the Australian National Secretariat for Catholic Action formed in 1937; the eclipsing of the Catholic Action old guard from the mid-1940s onwards by the polarising Catholic layman B.A. Santamaria (1915-1998); the political successes then the debacle that followed; an account of the Young Christian Workers movement – including the growth of co-operatives, particularly credit unions in Australia; then the Mondragon experience.

Mathews’ 2009 book, *Jobs of Our Own: Building a Stakeholder Society: Alternatives to the Market and the State*, works from the premise that there is little enthusiasm today for massive state ownership, and no trust in the alternative of unbounded capitalism. Despite the blighting realisation that Third Way proposals have often turned out to be no less sterile, he argues there is a little appreciated alternative.

In this new writing, Mathews again celebrates the Mondragón experience – the extraordinary 80,000-person grouping of worker-owned cooperatives in manufacturing, financial, retail civil engineering and agricultural fields – based in Spain’s Basque region. He sees Mondragón, whose first cooperatives date from the mid-1950s, as a guide as to how to move the ideas of worker-ownership and cooperation into high gear and large scale. He dedicates his book to Fr. Don José Maria Arizmendiarieta (1916-1976), the Catholic Action founder of the Mondragón experiments.

Maher and Kelly are now unfamiliar names, even though both were

instrumental in forming Catholic Action organisations in Australia. Interestingly, both are extensively mentioned in Gerard Henderson's biography *Santamaria. A Most Unusual Man* (2015) – although Kelly is dismissed unfavourably as some kind of naïve, impractical dreamer, given his concerns that religious priorities were being transfigured by and transfixed to Santamaria's wider political ambitions. Defeating the communist and fellow traveller takeover of the ALP in the 1940s was a justification for the diversion of concentrated, organised effort to that danger but this, in Kelly's view, had the potential of diminishing concentration on religious formation and the evangelising of Catholic Action principles.

Mathews sides with Kelly, in contrast to Santamaria and despite Henderson's critique. He cogently argues that Santamaria should have shut down the intense involvement of the Catholic Social Studies Movement (formed in 1941) in the ALP in 1953, once the communists were mostly beaten in the unions. The national emergency – of communist seizure of the Labor movement – was over. Then was the time to return to the true purpose of Catholic Action, drawing the distinction, in the phrase of French Catholic intellectual Jacques Maritain (1882-1973), between Catholic Action and action by Catholics in politics. But hubris turned to nemesis with Santamaria's grand plans of permeating and gaining control of the ALP with "our people".

The Split, both in the Church hierarchy – Sydney v. Melbourne, and in the ALP, unleashed poisonous passions; families were split, Church influence faded and, as the Split stirred sectarian strife, alienated for nearly three decades most Catholics from the Labor Party in Victoria.

Controversially, Mathews sees Dr H.V. Evatt (1894-1965), the Labor Leader who precipitated the ALP Split of 1954-57, as a reasonable man, given Santamaria's fanatical desire to take over the ALP. A better interpretation, however, would see Evatt, Santamaria, and Archbishop Mannix as all terribly flawed figures who destroyed so much of what they had created. Of the latter, on Mannix, Matthews says: "For half a century the prospects for implementation of the encyclicals, and the degree of formation needed to give effect to them, waxed and waned in concert with his priorities, and ultimately were defeated by them." Mathews sees the result as vindication of Kelly's view – and that of Mannix's successor, Archbishop Simonds (1890-1967) – that the active, factionalised involvement of the Church in party political fights would end in tears.

Henderson, in his works, argues that Catholic Action, the role of laymen and the religious in its development, its guiding principles, were porous

ideas complicated with plenty of scope for disputes concerning doctrine, meaning, and implications, which meant there were ample areas of conflict as to deciding what belongs to Caesar and to God in organisation and tactics. Perhaps this could have been more carefully explored by Mathews; but that is to wish for a different book. The issue points to further exploration by future scholars of the rich themes examined.

As does the concept of what, exactly, are the alternatives, Catholic spurred and otherwise, to untrammelled capitalism or socialism. To adapt a phrase of the Australian philosopher John Passmore,(1914-2004), there is a straw-man problem in referencing the rival theories as posited by Mathews. Straw men are empty headed, usually so described so that a competing theory can look more substantial. But there are many “Third Way” options, including the societies in which we currently live, and much else besides. Mathews’ book is stimulatory in suggesting avenues for debate on this important area, also.

Not content to be an historian merely recording one damn thing after another, there are tinges of regret in Mathews’ narrative as he calls for fresh action to revive Catholic theory and its friendly relations with compatible secular movements and traditions. Both the Labor and Catholic social theory traditions can be enriched through such interaction. Mondragón is a reference that dreams can turn real. His original research on Kelly’s and Maher’s efforts are another starting point. One might add that Pope Francis’ 2013 apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* is another.

Mathews’ research, one feels sure, will invigorate fresh assessments – not only of Australian history, but on the applied efforts to develop in Australia practical reforms – and the application of Catholic social justice theory. He ends the book saying “...at a time when both the advocates of the statutory corporation school of State Socialism and their ‘greed is good’ counterparts in the corporate sphere have simultaneously and comprehensively discredited themselves, the way is open for Distributism to assume the larger role – locally, regionally, nationally and on a global basis - to which its merits so plainly entitle it.” That’s an inspiring rallying call that recouples Labor and liberty to Catholic social justice. Not for the first time, the future can be discovered through looking to the past.

BOOK REVIEW

Norman Thomas Gilroy: An Obedient Life

Author: John Luttrell

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Reviewed by Michael Costigan*

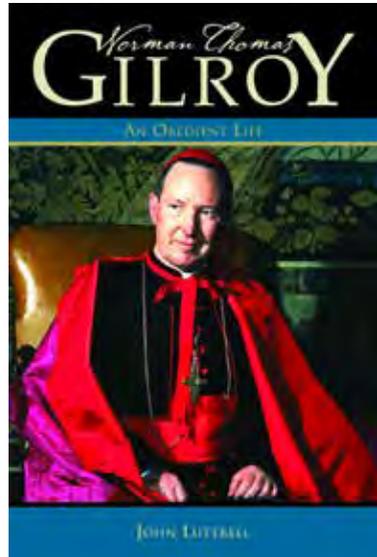
If Father Norman Thomas Gilroy, aged 38, had gone ahead with an arrangement to join the Jesuits early in 1935, he would almost certainly never have become the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney.

What changed his plan to satisfy a long-held desire to join a religious order or congregation was the news, conveyed late in 1934 by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Philip Bernardini, that Pope Pius XI had chosen him as the new Bishop of Port Augusta.

To at least this reviewer, the information supplied by Brother John Luttrell fms about the Australian Jesuits' willingness to admit the young priest into their novitiate came as a surprise. It is one of a host of fascinating details about

Gilroy revealed in this excellent and thoroughly researched life of one of the most significant figures in the history of the Catholic Church in Australia. The episode gives the lie to the supposition that Gilroy, trained for the priesthood in Springwood and Rome and schooled in papal diplomacy and canonical ways during six years (1924-30) as a secretary under

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Archbishop Bartolomeo Cattaneo in North Sydney's Apostolic Delegation, had harboured an ambition to rise high in the Church's hierarchy. As he told Bernardini, his only aspiration had been 'a complete annihilation in the Society of Jesus'. At the time of his appointment to lead the vast South Australian country diocese, Gilroy was secretary to Bishop John Carroll and Chancellor of Carroll's Diocese of Lismore, where he had been a teenaged postal employee years before. It was then that his confessor, Monsignor (later Archbishop) Terence McGuire, persuaded him to enter the Springwood seminary in 1917. His priestly ordination was to take place in Rome at Propaganda Fide College in December 1923.

Ordained bishop on St Patrick's Day 1935, Gilroy was to head the Port Augusta diocese for only two years. In that time he visited as much of the diocese as possible. He invited Bernardini's successor as papal representative, Archbishop Giovanni Panico, to accompany him on one extensive eleven-day tour. It was an eye-opener for the recently arrived Apostolic Delegate.

Panico's aim was to continue the 'Australianising' of the national hierarchy initiated by his predecessors. This was in keeping with the papal policy for locally born and/or raised bishops to replace those who had come from abroad to former colonies like Australia which were de facto no longer old-style 'missionary' countries and now had large Catholic populations.

Before the new Italian Delegate's arrival, Gilroy's had been one of several appointments of Australian-born bishops. One of Panico's early successes in pursuit of the Holy See's wishes was adroitly to bring about the resignation and departure from Australia of the scholarly Irishman Archbishop Michael Sheehan, who for sixteen years, as Coadjutor, had held the right of succession to the Archdiocese of Sydney's elderly Archbishop Michael Kelly. This removal of another prospective Irish church leader came about to the consternation of prominent Irish-born members of the hierarchy, led by Archbishops Daniel Mannix of Melbourne and James Duhig of Brisbane.

Mannix and Panico were famous adversaries throughout Panico's tenure (1935-48) as Apostolic Delegate. The relationship between Gilroy and Panico was more amicable. Not long after their much enjoyed outback tour together, the Delegate gave Gilroy top priority in his recommendations to the Vatican for the nomination of Sheehan's replacement. Pius XI approved this without delay, enabling Gilroy, still only 41 years of age, to leave Port Augusta and move to Sydney in mid-1937 as Coadjutor and designated successor to Michael Kelly. Again, some observers rather cynically saw a

link between the outback excursion and the appointment, as if Gilroy had consciously prepared the way for his swift elevation. His biographer makes it clear, however, that he had never expected what he called ‘the greatest shock of my life’.

The heart of John Luttrell’s biography is his full account in thirteen of the book’s twenty-one chapters of Norman Gilroy’s ministry in Sydney, as an active, fast-learning vicar for under three years to the frail and declining Kelly and as archbishop and absolute ruler in his own right for thirty-one years from 8th March 1940, the day of the Irish prelate’s death, until the acceptance by Pope Paul VI on 22nd July 1971 of his own resignation.

John Luttrell methodically traces the Archbishop’s career as a prominent churchman who led with authority and widespread influence through more than three decades of dramatic events in the Catholic Church and the rest of the world.

His early years of leadership coincided with the second world war, when his own recalled experiences serving at eighteen in 1915 as a volunteer shipboard wireless operator observing from a distance the Anzac landing on Gallipoli gave him a special feeling of empathy with young members of the armed services. It also taught him about what he was to describe in his last years as the appalling lunacy of war.

From the outset Gilroy, who had shown the form of a natural leader ever since joining the seminary as a ‘late vocation’ (and earlier as the eldest of six children in his family), left nobody in doubt that he was the one in charge and that the archdiocese would be governed in what he regarded as the correct and orthodox Rome-influenced way. His status and authority were strengthened in 1946 when Pope Pius XII made him the first Australian-born cardinal. Some Melbourne Catholics like the politician Arthur Calwell might well have protested that their Dr Mannix was more deserving of a red hat, but Gilroy was soon to show that he could fill the role with aplomb and self-confidence. Indeed, on his first visit to Melbourne as cardinal, local Catholics, in spite of hero-worshipping their own archbishop, gave him an enthusiastic welcome. He was ready to make his mark both internationally, acting as the Pope’s legate at Church events in a number of countries relatively close to Australia, and at home, where the postwar boom years featured a big population surge occasioned in part by the government policy administered by the erstwhile critic of his membership of the College of Cardinals, Immigration Minister Calwell. This meant, from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, the creation of many new parishes in Sydney and the accompanying need to provide more churches, schools and other buildings,

together with the finding of additional clerical, religious and lay personnel required to staff them.

At the same time, Gilroy met the pastoral, spiritual and welfare needs of his fast growing congregation by fostering a network of lay organisations and 'guilds', some already existing and a few his own creation. In supporting and encouraging this development, he would entrust priests with the role of chaplain, in part to maintain control and to ensure that orthodoxy prevailed and undesirable autonomy was avoided. This insistence led to clashes or misunderstandings with a few more independently minded entities. The author covers with fairness and objectivity all of this and a good deal more about Gilroy's management of his role, influenced as he was by his theological conservatism.

In a 32-page chapter titled 'Grappling with the Movement', he gives an equally calm account of the central part played by the cardinal in the controversial saga of the anti-communist Movement founded by Bartholomew ('Bob') Santamaria. The way in which the hierarchy and the Catholic community itself were divided over the Movement has been described by many writers, sometimes emotionally. Without becoming strident at all, Luttrell rightly underlines the role of Archbishop James Carroll in bringing it about that the so-called Sydney view about the Movement and its relationship with the official lay apostolate prevailed in the Vatican's judgment over the Melbourne view defended most strongly by Santamaria and his protector, Archbishop Mannix. The writer concludes that 'Australian Church and political life would have been very different, had Gilroy and Carroll not acted to block Church support for the Movement and the ensuing Democratic Labor Party' (page 398).

He also shows that Gilroy's fear of communism was just as obsessive as that of the most vehement of the Movement's defenders like the Jesuit Harold Lalor. It was only that he opposed that organisation's methods, its secrecy culture, what he saw as its damaging effect on the country's political life and the way in which it added to the faithful's confusion about the nature of Catholic Action. At the same time, he rejected the Jocist understanding of lay action, popular in Victorian circles, preferring the Italian approach, with the clergy retaining a controlling function.

Much changed for the cardinal and the whole Catholic Church in the 1960s, with the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Pope John XXIII gave him key roles in both the preparation of the Council and its first session in 1962, when he presided as a firm disciplinarian and with typical precision over a number of its daily gatherings. He attended all four of the annual

sessions, making three oral interventions, while offering other submissions on the Australian Bishops' behalf after presiding over their occasional gatherings. His own voiced opinions were traditionalist and often unsympathetic to changes favoured by the majority. Only weeks away from his 70th birthday when the formal sessions of the Council ended, a tired Cardinal was probably not in the best form to implement its innovations vigorously in his diocese. Nevertheless, given his unflinching loyalty and devotion to the Holy See and his spirit of obedience to whatever was decreed from above, it is not surprising that he did his best during his final half dozen years in charge to implement what the Council required. This was evident in his approach to relations with other Christian churches, to more equity in the remuneration of clergy and even to liturgical reforms, some of which he had opposed in Rome.

One such had been the encouraging of a more general use of the practice of Eucharistic concelebration by groups of priests. As a guest staying for a few days in June 1965 with priest-friends in St Patrick's College, Manly, I was invited by Monsignor James Madden to join ten priests on his seminary staff in a concelebrated Mass led by the cardinal himself. John Luttrell notes (page 320) that this was Gilroy's first involvement in Sydney in the practice as revised by the Council. I recall the way he treated it as a special event and as a model for how such a liturgy should be conducted.

More controversial issues were to disturb Gilroy in his last years as archbishop. One was the outbreak of open dissatisfaction in the seminaries in Rome and Manly which had both been the apple of his eye. He was upset when his own nephew, Bill Gilroy, whom he had sent to his beloved alma mater, Propaganda College, was associated with other Australians there in calls for reform. In the end he reacted to these and manifestations of unrest among the laity with more willingness to listen than he might have shown in earlier times, even if he was puzzled and probably saddened by these developments. He improved the Manly situation by making staff changes, while showing more tolerance to the lay demands for change.

Although Luttrell does not say this, the cardinal appears not to have reacted too unfavourably in 1968, during the furore over birth control created by Paul VI's *Humanae Vitae*, when a lay committee of four prominent Catholics was formed to receive written opinions on issues arising from the encyclical (page 356). Its members were Richard Connolly, Thomas Keneally, Margaret Norsa and Helen Scanlon.

The cardinal's term of office was in its final months when, near the end of 1970, he hosted Paul VI's visit to Sydney. Judged a great success,

ecumenically and in other ways, it was the first papal visit to this country. Gilroy's immense contributions to the Church and his own land were also honoured close to his departure when he became a Knight Commander of the British Empire in 1969 and was named Australian of the Year for 1970. His biographer writes (page 372): 'If the period 1945-55 saw the crest of his prestige within the Catholic Church, in the 1960s he grew in recognition and esteem within wider Australian society.'

I had a dozen or more meetings, usually brief, with Cardinal Gilroy in his heyday, in Sydney, Melbourne and Rome – where I interviewed him in 1963 during the second session of Vatican II, which I was reporting as a priest-journalist, and where I attended and reported on the commemorative Mass he celebrated with the rest of the Australian hierarchy for Daniel Mannix after his death in November of that year. At different times I heard much about him from others, mainly priest-friends from Sydney. I always followed his career with interest, often impudently comparing his personality and performance as a bishop with those of Mannix, under whom I served while a Melbourne priest. Although in the end I supported the position Gilroy, with James Carroll, took successfully in opposition to Mannix over the



Cardinal Gilroy (left) and Michael Costigan (right) at the concelebrated mass in 1965.

Santamaria Movement, my general judgment on their respective leadership and pastoral styles and policies would favour Mannix's.

On this conclusion I suspect I differ from Gilroy's biographer, although he does not commit himself fully, doing little more than offer fair and reasonable accounts of how each prelate behaved, reacted and advocated policies in particular areas and circumstances. To me, Mannix was and remains a giant among bishops, while his Sydney counterpart, important as he is in Australian Catholic history, does not reach that stature.

One of this biography's qualities is that the author does not shrink from

recording, in addition to words of praise, the main criticisms of his subject that different commentators had or have. While this is genuine biographical, not in any way hagiographical, writing, the author has succeeded for me in modifying or in part eliminating some of the adverse opinions I had formed about Gilroy over the years, without ever warming to him.

I was edified to read of the extent to which he was always a man of prayer with a strong devotion to the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary, a gentle listener and adviser in long hours spent in the confessional and, above all in his retirement years (1971-77), a compassionate visitor to the sick and

homeless.

One would also have to be impressed by his constant devotion to the loving but for many years needy family into which he was born and in which he was raised with regular leadership responsibilities until its impoverishment required him to leave school at fourteen and to undertake paid employment, often at a distance from home.

The author has tackled well the task of discerning what the sometimes distant or seemingly unapproachable Norman



At the concelebrated mass in 1965, l. to r.: Fathers Julian Miller, Harry Davis, Tom Connolly, Clem Tierney, Michael Costigan, Chris Geraghty, David Walker (future Bishop of Broken Bay), Terry Johns, Ted Shepherd, Patrick Murphy (future Bishop of Broken Bay) and Monsignor James Madden (President of St Patrick's College)

Gilroy was really like. Many different adjectives, some contradicting others, could be applied to him – and Luttrell does not hesitate to use or quote them all (for example, his ‘pusillanimous’ attitude to money), whether or not he agrees with what they convey. Referring at the end of the book’s last chapter (page 401) to the many people he interviewed as part of his twenty or more years of research, he says they ‘have a kaleidoscope of views about him: from aristocratic, patriarchal, sarcastic, remote and rigidly conservative to humble, spiritual, caring, pastoral, whimsical, wise and efficient’. He

adds that these memories are generally limited and partial and that future biographical study will hopefully 'provide a more complete understanding of a man who did not seek the major roles he was given, but undertook them in obedience and loyalty to the best of his ability'.

While I would not suggest that this book could be used as a 'How to be a bishop' manual for any new or potential appointees to that office, many of its chapters do give a rare and useful insight into what the Catholic Church in Australia (or at least in Sydney) was truly like in the period before Vatican II. Among the many Catholics today lacking any personal experience of that era (they are now a large majority), some belong to either one of two mistaken extremes: those who, having nothing positive to say about the preconciliar church, would demolish all that survives from it; and others who hold it up as a model to which we must return, abandoning the erroneous path taken by and since the Council. One lives in a possibly forlorn hope that both groups would benefit from and be changed by a book such as this. Nevertheless it is heartily recommended to them and to anyone else with an interest in Australian Church history and one of its major and hitherto not fully understood participants.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bonded through Tragedy, United in Hope – The Catholic Church and East Timor's Struggle for Independence: A Memoir

Author: Hilton Deakin, with Jim and Therese D'Orsa
Publisher: Garratt Publishing, 2017
ISBN: 9781925073324
Paperback, 328 pages, \$29.95

Imagining the Ecumenical: A Personal Journey

Author: John D'Arcy May
Publisher: Morning Star Publishing, 2016
ISBN: 9780994470768
Paperback, 192 pages, \$24.95

Books reviewed by Michael Costigan*

In the wake of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Abuse and its final report, the morale of Australian priests is under more pressure than ever before. This is in spite of the blameless and praiseworthy record of most priests and all they have done and continue to do in the spirit of the Gospel.

While much of this work is hidden from public view, it should give the clergy as a whole a lift when their attention is drawn to internationally hailed achievements, like those described in these two memoirs, by present or former Australian clerics.

Of Bishop Hilton Deakin's account of the remarkable role he played in contributing to the liberation of East Timor I have written previously in *The Swag*, the quarterly of the National Council of Priests (Spring 2017 issue). Here, as promised in that article, I will repeat or summarise what I

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said in applauding what the now retired Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne did for and with the East Timorese. I will then respectfully add a few observations suggesting that some of his comments, mainly about differences he had with other Church authorities over attitudes to the new nation's freedom campaign, may be in need of qualification if not correction.

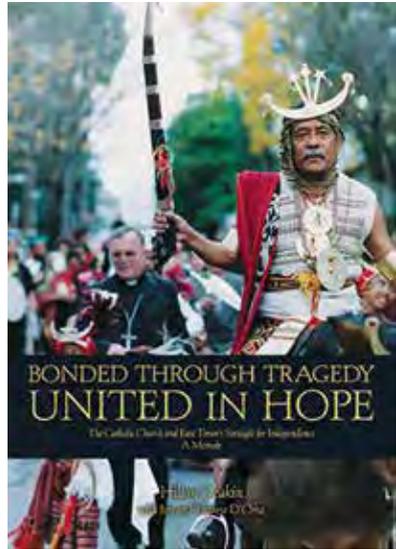
The other author, Dr John D'Arcy May, formerly a priest member of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) congregation and now married with a family and living in retirement in Melbourne, has produced a shorter but no less impressive account of his widely praised career, with stages in different

parts of the world, as an ecumenist and theologian. For reasons of space, his memoir, well deserving of attention, cannot receive here the comprehensive treatment that it warrants.

Two skilled Catholic educationists and researchers, Jim and Therese D'Orsa, husband and wife, collaborated with Bishop Deakin in the writing of his memoir, the main focus of which is all he did as an Australian advocate for the country's painful and tragedy-filled struggle for independence from Indonesia.

Together, the joint authors have produced a detailed and absorbing account of the Bishop's many (virtually annual) visits to East Timor over 25 or more years and of the many ways in which he supported such heroes as Xanana Gusmao, José Ramos Horta, Bishop Carlos Belo and Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes. They became his friends, with Gusmao, the new nation's first President and later Prime Minister, calling Deakin 'an incredible man' who 'gave us a voice in Australia, at a time when our struggle was largely forgotten or ignored'.

The move for independence and the ways in which he was able to support its eventual achievement, after hundreds of thousands of lives had been lost or seriously damaged, are graphically described by the Bishop and the D'Orsas, who also make good use of other relevant publications in summarising historical events and their consequences.



The principal author is rightly proud of the high honours bestowed on him by the first nation created in the 21st Century and by his own country. He has been labelled ‘an intrepid Melbourne priest’ (by Bishop Vincent Long Van Nguyen of Parramatta), ‘a larger-than-life voice’ (by Father Frank Brennan SJ), ‘an elder statesman of social justice’ (by Emeritus Professor Gabrielle McMullen) and ‘a man whose life embodies the best of Catholicism’ (by Xanana Gusmao).

Hilton Deakin pays tribute to the Archbishops of Melbourne under whom he served as Vicar-General and then, from 1993, as one of their Auxiliary Bishops. They included Frank Little and George Pell, who did not block his work in and for East Timor, even if their own views might have differed from his.

Most warmly he gives thanks for Archbishop (later Cardinal) James Knox, who gave him the rare chance for a young diocesan priest to graduate as an anthropologist and to give particular attention to the Aboriginal ministry, which took him, with his superior’s blessing, to live and observe for several years in small Kimberley communities. The university qualification and the Kimberley experience stood him in good stead when East Timor became his major preoccupation after grieving refugees brought its massacre-affected plight to his notice, as Vicar-General, late in 1991. This was also the case at a later time when his work while chairing Caritas Australia exposed him to such horrors as the genocide in Rwanda.

In spite of the good will shown towards him by fellow members of the hierarchy, it is Bishop Deakin’s contention that, in opposing the attempt to bring about small and impoverished East Timor’s integration with Indonesia, he was at odds with most of the thinking of other Church leaders in Rome, Australia and Indonesia itself. They, he believes, gave precedence to the future wellbeing of some seven million Indonesian Catholics over the fate of several hundred thousand East Timorese co-religionists, many of them recent converts.

Given the complex background to what was a momentous dispute, clarifications or qualifications seem to be required about certain debatable statements made in this in many ways remarkable memoir. In the interest of a difficult search for historical accuracy, I thought it necessary to provide information about particular personal relationships, while offering relevant details about the national bureaucratic, pyramid-like structure of the Church in this country.

My own position from 1987 to 2005, as an officer of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference (ACBC), was that of the first executive

secretary of its Bishops Committee for Justice, Development and Peace (BCJDP - renamed in 2001 the Bishops Committee for Justice, Development, Ecology and Peace, BCJDEP). This meant that I was a witness to and a sometimes minor participant in what this book recounts. I was *ex officio* for almost all of those nearly eighteen years a member of the governing bodies of the two agencies operating under the supervision of the BCJDP. These were the National Council of Australian Catholic Relief (ACR, re-named Caritas Australia, CA, in 1996) and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council (ACSJC), in the creation of which I had a key role when it was formed in 1987-88 under the direction of its founding Chairman, Bishop William (Bill) Brennan of Wagga Wagga.

In those capacities I had a friendly professional relationship with Bishop Deakin through all ten of the years (1993-2003) in which he was one of the six bishops on the BCJDP and, with me and others, on ACR's/CA's National Council – at first as Vice-Chairman and for over six years in the Chair. Having known Hilton since our seminary days in Werribee nearly seventy years ago, I took pleasure in our renewed association working for agencies of the Bishops Conference. I had also known and liked Bishop Brennan since both of us had done priesthood studies in Rome, he a few years behind me, during the 1950s.

Bishop Deakin refers a number of times in the book to his disenchantment with what he saw as Bishop Brennan's view, similar as he saw it to that of the Vatican and of other Australian bishops, preferring Indonesia's stance over East Timor's on the independence issue. He does concede that Brennan 'was strongly committed to East Timor' and 'sought to support Bishop Belo', although 'Belo could not afford to accept the support of someone known to have an agenda favouring Indonesia' (page 147). Brennan, he thinks, 'seemed incapable of understanding this and became very frustrated as a consequence'. I was a witness to this occasionally and was also conscious of an always polite Carlos Belo showing a degree of communication reluctance on the few occasions when I was present at brief face-to-face meetings in Sydney between the Bishops of Dili and Wagga Wagga or with the Council's members or staff. I did not observe the similar reluctance when Belo's fellow Nobel Peace Prize winner, José Ramos Horta, had contact a few times with Keith O'Neill and the ACSJC.

Deakin and his co-authors might have been unaware of what lay behind the fact that, from the time in 1988 of the ACSJC's birth as an active human rights advocating agency, Brennan, as its founder and Chair, had taken a special and sympathetic interest in the plight of East Timor. This

came about largely through the influence of the Council's first CEO, Juan Federer, and his East Timorese wife. It added to the strength of the bishop's and the ACSJC's supportive, grief-stricken and compassionate reaction to events like the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991.

Over the following decade or more Bill Brennan, like his episcopal colleague and critic, visited the small nation a number of times in the years leading up to its independence.

Under Federer's successors as CEO, the late Keith O'Neill, a Vietnam War veteran with experience in military intelligence, Sandie Cornish and John Ferguson, the present incumbent, the ACSJC's interest in and concern for East Timor has been sustained. This was for the duration of Bishop Brennan's chairmanship and that of those who followed him - Bishops Kevin Manning, William Morris, Christopher Saunders and (today) Vincent Long.

Early in its life, in 1992, Bishop Brennan's Council issued, as its Occasional Paper Number 11, Dr Geoffrey Hull's *East Timor: Just a Political question?* Since then, it has published at least five other series papers (numbers 35, 51, 60, 69 and 74) about East Timor and its social justice and human rights issues. Their authors were Frank Brennan SJ (two papers), Andrew Hamilton SJ, Mark Byrne and Mark Green.

Meanwhile, in partnership with Caritas Australia and with Dr Hull as its author, the ACSJC in 1996 published *Mai Kolia Tetun – A Beginner's Course in Tetum-Praca*, the Lingua Franca of East Timor. Its circulation among East Timorese, aided by the Council, was a significant contribution to community cohesion after 1999, when the independent nation emerged after an agonising and tragic birth. Also in 1996 the ACSJC had organised the sending of \$20,000 from AusAID to Bishop Belo for the setting up and early operation of his human rights office in Dili. For years, the Council saw East Timor as its primary human rights concern.

Unfortunately, there is no denying the truth in Bishop Deakin's remark that, because of still not fully resolved demarcation disputes, there were 'long-standing tensions between Caritas Australia and the ACSJC' (page 271), although at times they were not evident. I am sure, however, that he is mistaken in saying his fellow bishop thought he (and Caritas Australia) 'should defer to him and to the ACSJC' (page 190).

Having known Bill Brennan and his attitude very well, I believe he thought that Deakin, as one of its members, and CA, together with the ACSJC, its two subsidiary bodies, should defer to the BCJDP. It would have been nonsense for him to hold that one of those two subsidiary agencies should defer to its equal. He understood that the Bishops Conference

required them to answer to it through the Bishops Committee set up for that purpose, among others. My own role, incidentally, as the servant of the BCJDP, was a neutral one in regard to the two agencies. I had and have enormous admiration for both but will refrain from developing here the many other reflections, criticisms and suggestions I could make about their relationship and respective roles.

With Bishop Hilton I am proud of the role we both played, with others, in the appointments of two of CA's first-class National Directors (as they were called at the time), Tom Storey and Jack de Groot. But Tom has confirmed to me that Hilton is wide of the mark in claiming that he left the organisation because of criticisms aimed at it by Brennan (page 277). He left to use his considerable financial and taxation-related gifts and experience in high-level appointments, mainly overseas in Washington but initially in East Timor.

It is surprising that hardly any mention is made in this book of the BCJDP/BCJDEP, which does not even feature in the comprehensive three-page Glossary of acronyms.

In their Introduction (page 3) the D'Orsas do refer once to the BCJDP, claiming that its 'flawed' approach regarding East Timor was to work only through official (Vatican and Indonesian) channels, something that was 'not credible to the East Timorese, and only added to the pressure on their beleaguered bishops'. This is not my recollection. I have no memory of such approaches being made by me or anyone else on behalf of the Committee, whether or not they might have been made less officially in their own name by individual bishops. Certainly the BCJDP received reports from its two agencies about their involvement in East Timor. They might also have heard more informally from particular members like Bishops Brennan and Deakin, inside or outside meetings, about some of their own activities there.

One such example of corridor chat could have given rise to Bishop Jeremiah Coffee of Sale's reported warning to Bishop Deakin (page 281, footnote 26) that Bishop Brennan was privately canvassing some of his fellow bishops 'to gain support for a complaint to Rome' about his advocacy activities. (The author indicates he heard nothing about the alleged complaint, if it went ahead.)

More astounding to me is Bishop Deakin's admission about the action he took after Bishop Brennan succeeded in 1997, after planning for over five years, in obtaining the ACBC Central Committee's approval for him to go ahead with arranging for an official Church delegation consisting of

himself, Bishop Manning, Keith O'Neill and Geoffrey Hull, to go from 2nd to 12th October of that year to both Indonesia and Dili at a crucial moment in the lead-up to the independence decision (page 191). After hearing that the visit was to take place Deakin says that he contacted people he knew in the National Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor organisation (FALINTEL – its Portuguese-language acronym). His purpose was 'to inform them that two Australian bishops were going to East Timor as part of a formal delegation of the Australian Church'. He adds that 'FALINTEL said they would track them wherever they went to keep tabs on what the Indonesians were up to'.

After summarising what was learned, which confirmed that 'the Indonesians were up to their usual tricks', Hilton Deakin concludes by voicing the very debatable opinion that 'the two bishops who went had allowed themselves and the Church here to be manipulated by the Indonesians'. He was clearly outraged that neither he nor the ACBC received access to the private report on the visit, submitted to the Indonesian Ambassador.

I will not offer a view here on the rights and wrongs of this extraordinary episode, other than to note that one bishop's action in enabling activist 'spies' to keep an eye on the travels of two of his colleagues while on such a sensitive mission outside Australia almost beggars belief. It will, of course, be argued that the well intentioned delegation failed to prevent the brutal Indonesian reprisal when the East Timorese voted for full independence in 1999.

In any case, while finding it necessary to cover this territory in my review and to express a few reservations, I do not withdraw any of my applause and admiration for the bulk of this exceptionally important and interesting volume and for what its author did for the freedom of Australia's small neighbour. I am amazed at how little attention the book has received in the general media in Australia, although Phillip Adams gave it good coverage in one fine radio interview with Bishop Deakin.

After giving what could be deemed excessive attention to the first of the two books under review, I hope that my briefer coverage of Dr May's memoir is not interpreted as meaning that I see that author and his worldwide achievements as of less significance than Hilton Deakin and his work for freedom in East Timor. On the contrary, I consider that John D'Arcy May has shown that Australia and its Catholic and religious communities have a huge amount to learn from him as a pioneer in what to many would be new and widening areas of ecumenism.

John May has in common with Hilton Deakin the fact that many of

his growing-up years were spent in regional Australia, where both their families knew times of struggle - during the pre-war Depression years in the Riverina for Deakin and, for May, in the Western Victorian country town of Hamilton while Australia was fighting to overcome Japan's threat as the war neared its end.

Afterwards, he attended the local parish's primary school run by the Good Samaritan Sisters. He has mixed memories of those early years as 'an only child, diffident and anxious' and reacting to 'the ever-present regimentation and the roughness of the other boys' by developing a stammer in his teenage years.

Most of May's higher school education in the 1950s was under the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (the MSCs) in the Monivae high school, opened in 1954 in Hamilton by that Congregation and destined to produce its share of celebrities, such as the 'Father of Reconciliation', Senator Patrick Dodson, his brother Mick Dodson and not a few renowned Australian Rules footballers. The author remembers that the MSC staff there had little or no teacher training but were 'consummate educators' who were 'intellectually curious and above all they were humane and cultured'. They encouraged promising students like John D'Arcy, successfully in his case, to see if they had a calling to be MSC religious. This led to his departure from Victoria to complete his secondary schooling in their minor seminary and to do his noviceship in buildings owned by the MSCs on their spacious and isolated property by the Nepean River at Douglas Park, NSW. He went on to do his seminary courses in Philosophy in Canberra and Theology in Croydon, the Melbourne suburb.

The late John Hanrahan gave a strongly critical account of MSC seminary life in his autobiography *From Eternity to Here: Memoirs of an Angry Priest* (Bystander Press, 2002). There are echoes of this in what May has to say, but with less vehemence, on the same topic. He speaks of 'the conditioning' to which he had been subjected, utterly without experience of the 'real world'.

By the time of his ordination to the priesthood in Melbourne's cathedral in July 1967, he was beginning to understand more clearly the implications of the Second Vatican Council for theology, for the Church and ultimately for his own future as a priest. He was also making further steps in what was to be a lifelong journey towards an ever firmer and more enlightened commitment to the idea and imagining of interreligious as distinct from just Christian ecumenism.

The stages in that journey included a period of theological study in

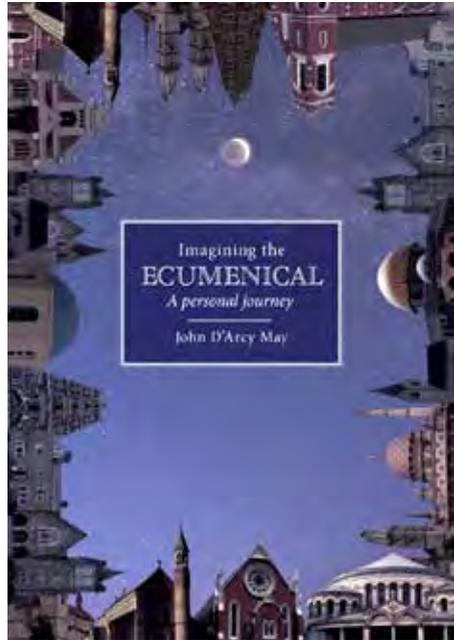
Rome, a short taste of pastoral work in London and a much longer and more intellectually challenging stay in Germany, where he gained two doctorates, in Ecumenical Theology (1975) and History of Religions (1983), came under the influence of some of its outstanding theologians, led by Cardinal-to-be Walter Kasper, and where, in August 1974, after being dispensed from priestly vows, he married Margareta (Margret) Klopp of Munster.

Finding that his new status brought with it fresh challenges, like those related to employment and income, he was still able to continue his academic life, now as a lay theologian, and his still evolving special interest in dialogue with the

world's great religious faiths. This was further stimulated, particularly in relation to Buddhism, in 1979, when he was able to spend a month in Sri Lanka learning from the Jesuit Father Aloysius Pieris at his dialogue centre on the outskirts of Colombo. Twelve years later, after having a busy time at the 1991 World Council of Churches Assembly in Canberra, his knowledge of the various forms of Buddhism was enhanced on a productive visit to Thailand.

Through all of his sixteen or more years in Germany, John May benefited from associations with some of that country's most renowned theological and ecumenical scholars, Catholic and Protestant. At the same time, his own reputation as a scholar (a generalist rather than a specialist, he considers) was growing.

In 1983, the Mays, now with a 12-year-old daughter, left Germany to spend four years in Papua New Guinea, where John took up the position of ecumenical research officer, with different titles, for the Melanesian Council of Churches. He describes colourfully in four lively chapters his and his family's time there, with its frustrations and consolations, as they strove to understand and adjust to Melanesian ways of doing things. It was all another



major contribution to their education. The author comments perceptively on conclusions he reached, one being: 'If Germany had allowed me to explore the theory of ecumenical communication in considerable depth, PNG introduced me to the reality of putting it into practice.' And another: 'The ecumenical movement in Melanesia is not ecumenical enough because it is not Melanesian enough.'

By 1987, when he took up his final and longest appointment in Dublin, as Director of the Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College, John May, as an academic with the kind of background he had in different parts of the world, was uniquely qualified for that prestigious role. He devotes another four fascinating chapters to his twenty-three years spent in the Irish capital, which he grew to love after overcoming inevitable occasional problems in a country where the ecumenism he promoted so fervently faced its own troubles.

After retiring in 2007 at 65 and remaining in Dublin for a few more years, John and Margret returned in 2010 to Australia, where they now have their home in Melbourne. Through his part-time association with Australian Catholic University and in other ways, John D'Arcy May has continued what has become his life's mission, helping to foster interfaith dialogue as one essential way of bringing about world peace. His memoir is a good resource for anyone wishing to know more about that vital task.

BOOK REVIEW

*Planted in Congenial Soil: the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph Lochinvar
1883-1917*

Part 1: Of the People, For the People

Author: Robyn Dunlop

Publisher: Sisters of St Joseph Lochinvar, 2016

ISBN: 9780994556004

Format: Paperback, 146 pages, illustrations, portraits

Price: \$24.95

Book reviewed by Janice Garaty*

This history has been written in the “late life” of the congregation of the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph, Lochinvar as its author has noted. In common with many other congregations of religious women and men, there has been more recently a realisation that the sacrifices of past generations can and should be inspiring to present and future generations. It is also significant that there is now a pool of well trained historians who can write comprehensive and very readable histories as “outsiders” free of preconceptions.

This history stands as a fitting memorial to those women and girls who served their institute and the communities within which they lived a simple life in the mainly rural and working class towns of the Maitland Diocese. The origins of the Lochinvar Diocesan Sisters are complex and it is to the author’s credit she can succinctly narrate the story of the establishment of the Sisters of St Joseph at Perthville (near Bathurst NSW) under the patronage of Fr Julian Tenison Woods, the power plays of Bishops, the final ultimatum to become subject to the authority of the diocesan leader and the larger picture of Rev Wood’s falling out with Church hierarchy. The context of the invitation of Dr James Murray, Bishop of the Maitland Diocese, to the Perthville community, is examined in terms of the New South Wales colony’s Public Instruction Act of 1880. The Act had a profound impact on Catholic schools which to then were mostly run by lay teachers paid by the colonial government. His approach to the Perthville Sisters of St Joseph

* Dr Janice Garaty works as an independent scholar. Her commissioned work, *Providence Provides: Brigidine Sisters in the NSW Province*, was published in 2013.

displayed a keen intelligent political wit. As a diocesan congregation, the Lochinvar Sisters of St Joseph were completely under the command of their Bishop (as were the Perthville Sisters). They were fortunate that Murray was generous in his material support. They fitted well into Murray's grand plans for Catholic schools to cater for all social classes and he valued them as such.

The original four, who arrived from Perthville in September 1883, were quick to attract potential postulants and the author is informative in explaining the particular attractions of the Lochinvar Sisters. The geographical spread of convent schools and applications for admission to the Institute indicate a successful institution. When the new Lochinvar convent was opened in June 1893, there were 46 Sisters and 10 branch convents; seven Sisters had died, mostly from tuberculosis, a common disease of the time. The original Lochinvar convent was an old inn opposite St Patrick's Church on the road from the river port of Morpeth to the upper Hunter; it was purchased with a loan from Bishop Murray, renovated and enclosed with a two metre high fence. Under their strict vow of poverty, the Sisters of St Joseph were not allowed to own property.

The reader is offered an unromanticised picture of the everyday living and working conditions of these pioneers. The amount of detail given makes this history an invaluable source for any students and researchers of congregational and educational history as well as family and local historians. Their differences with the other congregations of religious women in the Maitland Diocese (the Dominicans and the Sisters of Mercy) help to explain their phenomenal success in those early decades. Their closeness to the local community and the degree of support they received as well as their flexibility in adapting to the local needs were their greatest strengths. Being unenclosed they could freely move on visitation, an important part of their overall mission to educate the children of the working class and rural workers.

Does this history bring these women/young girls to life or do they remain fixed in time as static as an official photo taken on profession? The major "voice" they have is the daily Diary which the Sisters of St Joseph must keep according to their Rule and this has been a pivotal source of facts to the author. Nevertheless, individual desires, goals, reactions and obstacles are revealed only as the diarist wishes and the spotlight is on the congregational leadership. The difficulty of giving a "voice" to religious women is common to all congregational historians.

The extreme isolation of the Sisters living at some of the branch houses

is evocatively threaded through the narrative. Krumbach and Cundletown involved a boat trip north and Merriwa was two days travel away from the mother house. The train system was crucial to movement between the branch houses. Travel was kept to a minimum even when serious illness and deaths of family members was involved. There was little money to spare for fares, even when the Sisters' income was boosted by boarding fees. The greatest expense was feeding the boarders and the Sisters would deny themselves if needed. Music tuition had been introduced immediately to supplement the very low and intermittent school fees. Poverty was ever present; medical and dental attention was stingingly given, notably when Patrick Dwyer became Murray's co-adjutor Bishop. Dr Murray died in 1909; he had been a "special figure" to the Sisters.

The Sisters' annual mid-year gathering at the Lochinvar Mother House for a Retreat, the taking of temporary or permanent vows, an appointment of leadership (later on election was possible as numbers increased) and announcement of placements was their focal point of the year. Between 1911 and 1915 there was a "broader influx of visitors" to Lochinvar and there was greater movement across the diocese but the Sisters did not visit other dioceses. Some Sisters joined the Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph in Tasmania. The strong sense of identity which is evident within this history and has remained in the Institute until today was forged at this time. When the Lochinvar Diocesan Sisters of St Joseph were ordered to adopt a new habit to distinguish them from the "centralist" Sisters of St Joseph they had to change from their distinctive brown habit to a black habit (similar to the Singleton Sisters of Mercy) and people were understandably confused.

The text would have been enhanced by a map showing the branch houses, their location on the Hunter River and tributaries and the rail lines. Both physical and economic geography played an important role in this unfolding history. These Sisters brought God's Word and basic education to the children of the coalfields and the farms of the rich alluvial soils of the Hunter. They also brought culture through their music and elocution tuition. Their story deserves to be told and Dr Dunlop has done this in a simple, chronological, narrative style which is a valuable addition to the history of Catholic educational institutions in New South Wales.

BOOK REVIEW

The Cross: History, Art, and Controversy

Author: Robin M. Jensen

Publisher: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2017

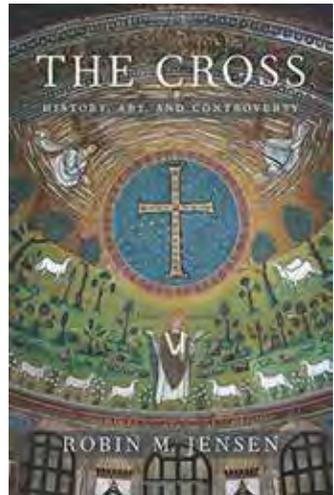
ISBN: 9780674088801

Format: Hardcover, 280 pages

Price: \$35

Reviewed by: Lawrence Qummou*

Robin Jensen's book, *The Cross: History, Art and Controversy* offers an engaging and broad examination into the development of the cross as the central symbol of the Christian faith. Through a dynamic historical tour— using thematic rather than chronological chapters— Jensen traces the transformation of the cross from a symbol of humiliation and degradation to the pinnacle of Christian devotion and a figure universally representative of Christ's ultimate glory. The path that this radical transformation takes requires Jensen to tell a story by bringing together a diverse mix of elements: theological controversy, historical circumstance, political influence, archaeological discovery, mythological conjecture, personal and communal devotion, art and literature. The accompaniment of numerous illustrations including images of reliquaries, iconography, artefacts, paintings, and sculptures, provides the reader with a visual sense of the complexity of the cross's evolution over the past two thousand years.



It is well known that crucifixion was considered a scandalous form of capital punishment in classical antiquity, an excruciating method of execution reserved for those deemed to be enemies of the state (insurrectionists, rebellious slaves, thieves etc). Due to this fact, the early church faced the conundrum of how to reconcile this degraded form of execution with the

* Lawrence Qummou is a graduate student at the University of Notre Dame Australia, Sydney.

divine plan of the messiah Jesus. Both Jews and pagans alike scoffed at the notion of death by crucifixion as appropriate for royalty let alone claims to divinity. This is supported by the *Palatine graffito*, a second century scratching onto the walls of a room near the Circus Maximus in the Palatine Hill that appears to mock the belief of Christians in worshipping a crucified God. Jensen provides examples of how both the New Testament authors and several of the early church fathers (Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen) instead point to the death of Jesus on the cross as the mysterious culmination of his act of salvation. To these early Christian writers, the crucifixion of Christ fulfils the prophecies of the Old Testament. In wilfully taking on the “curse of hanging on a tree,” Christ redeems humanity from the Adamic transgression — also involving a tree— and completes a cosmic victory over death.

Despite all of this, Jensen notes that it is not until the fourth century and pivotal events in the life of the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena that the cross becomes a common symbol in Christian iconography. The traditional belief in the discovery of the relic of the True Cross in 324/5 by Helena triggers widespread popularity in the veneration of this relic for its supposed healing properties and the ability to ward off supernatural enemies. This period also sees the emergence of festal celebrations of the cross in liturgies throughout Christendom. Interestingly, imagery of the crucified Christ suffering does not appear until the early fifth century and more commonly from sixth century onwards. Jensen touches upon the theological reasons that impacted upon the visual depictions of the suffering Christ in the third chapter titled *Crux Abscondita*. Although the precise relationship between Christ’s divinity and humanity were resolved at Chalcedon in 451 and then reiterated at Constantinople II in 553, ambiguities remained including how the agony of the crucifixion affected each of Christ’s natures. Following the eighth century Iconoclastic controversy in the Byzantine East, images of a sunken, suffering Christ became common. As an example, Jensen provides an image of the crucifixion panel from the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai, believed to be one the earliest representations of the wounded Christ with eyes closed and blood and water pouring from his side.

Although the artistic representations of the cross in the Middle Ages continued to emphasise the suffering torment of Christ and his Passion, Jensen provides an account of how the cross as a symbol of divine protection and the “heroic saviour” came to prominence during the Crusades. The notion of the Christian warrior carrying the symbol of the cross into battle,

tracing its beginning back to the Constantinian era finds its zenith in the figure of the Christian Knight, the medieval soldier recapturing the rightful belongings of Christendom back to their rightful custodians. Interestingly, during the theological battles of the Reformation, depictions of the cross oscillated between a bare minimalism that deemed any pictorial art including images of the crucified Christ to be idolatrous worship and the ostentatious artworks produced by the Catholic reformers after the Council of Trent as a call to arms against the Protestant iconoclasts. Jensen portrays a brief yet lucid account of this period and provides examples of the masterpieces created as a result. Following this section, the book moves quickly through the relatively uneventful history of the cross in the modern period.

In its attempt to show the complexity and development of the cross through an engaging historical narrative, Jensen's book is a success. It provides both an informative and engaging insight into a transcendent symbol often taken for granted in the cultural milieu of today.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trapped in a Closed World: Catholic Culture and Sexual Abuse

Author: Kevin Peoples
Publisher: Garratt Publishing, 2017
ISBN: 9781925073409
Paperback, i-x/314 pages
Price: \$24.95

Where Did All the Young Men Go? – Life stories from 1960s student Catholic Priests

Editor: Paul Casey: email: pjmecasey@gmail.com
Publisher: FeedARead Publishing, 2015
ISBN: 9781786101310
Paperback, i-vii/596 pages
Price: paperback: \$18.95, postage \$13.06; hardback: \$27.90 postage \$15.78

St. Columba's College Springwood – The Story of a Local Landmark: A History of the Seminary Years and Beyond

Author: Victor Michniewicz
Publisher: Victor Michniewicz, PO Box 100, Hazelbrook NSW 2779
ISBN: 9780646979854
Soft cover, A4, on full gloss paper, i-iv/228 pages
Price: \$40, postage \$10

Books reviewed by Michael Costigan*

This is not a full-scale review of these three volumes, which together total 1,138 pages. The article is more in the nature of an extended notice drawing attention to them in the light of their historic value and current importance, with a few reflections about that.

They are considered together because so much of their content is about

*Michael Costigan was Associate Editor of *The Advocate* (Melbourne); founding Director of the Literature Board of the Australia Council; and first Executive Secretary of the Australian Bishops Committee for Justice, Development and Peace. He is an Adjunct Professor of Australian Catholic University.

life in a seminary that no longer exists, St Columba's College, Springwood. One of them, the hefty 596-page volume edited by Paul Casey, also presents reminiscences about the other NSW seminary now also consigned to history, St Patrick's College, Manly.

First, a word on terminology. As is the custom, the article will refer simply to 'Springwood' and 'Manly' rather than spell out the full names of the two institutions located in those Sydney suburbs. And when I speak of 'ex' or 'former' seminarians, I mean those who left the seminary without becoming priests, even though all the ordained clergy were also once seminarians. Furthermore, when I use the term 'ex-priest', for convenience, it is not because I reject sacramental theology's traditional view that, with ordination, one becomes a priest forever, 'according to the order of Melchizedek' – something that orthodoxy would affirm does not change with a dispensation from vows or obligations.

The appearance of the three books and the amount of attention given in them to Springwood means that by now it must one of the most written about seminaries in the world, in spite of it having been neglected to a degree by official Church archives since its closure in 1977. The trio have been preceded by not a few memoirs and biographies containing stories about life there, most notably Chris Geraghty's *Cassocks in the Wilderness* (*Spectrum*, 2001), which deals exclusively and some would say harshly with his time there in the 1950s.

The three books' significance is increased at this time for two reasons – the release in December 2017 of the Final Report of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse; and, in its light, the urgent need for the Catholic Church to review seriously the way in which the clergy have been or are now trained and indeed the future of the priesthood itself.

The first two books listed above appeared while the Royal Commission was taking place. Some of the ideas canvassed in them came to the Commissioners' attention, partly perhaps but not necessarily from that source, and are reflected in the Final Report. The publication of the other book in the trio, Victor Michniewicz's *History*, with its positive evaluation of life at Springwood over nearly seven decades, took place, like the Final Report, in December 2017. It could be seen as a pity that the Commissioners did not have the chance to read it, since it might have tempered some of their more absolutist conclusions.

Kevin Peoples, who appeared at the Royal Commission, is the writer on Springwood in this threesome who most directly and outspokenly addresses

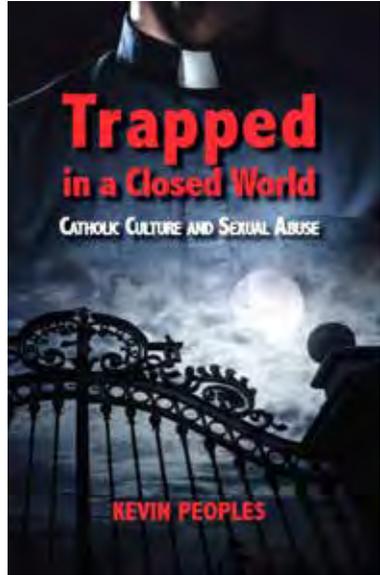
its concerns, with his attempt to prove there is a causal connection between priests' celibacy requirement, inculcated in what he sees as a badly deficient seminary system, and the shocking phenomenon of massive clerical sexual abuse. His argument deserves respect and attention, but my view is that it does not in the end advance his case very far beyond the conclusion that celibacy may be the main cause of some of these shameful crimes, while it could well be just one among several factors in many others.

In *Trapped*, Peoples covers his close to two and a half years at Springwood, from 1964 to 1966, when the Francophile historian Monsignor Thomas Veech, after many years of teaching at Manly, was in the early stages of his eleven years

as Rector and teacher there. He remembers Veech as one of three (in his opinion) 'eccentrics' on the staff, the others being Dr George 'Anyway' Joiner and Father Noel 'Say' Carroll. He quotes opinions about Veech from the memoirs of Paul Crittenden (favourable) and Chris Geraghty (less so), both indicating that he was a very private, anxiety-ridden man and a theatrical lecturer with a unique pedagogical style.

Another alumnus of Springwood and Manly, the ex-priest and historian Dr Peter Price, suggests in passing in his *Australian Catholic Bishops at the First Vatican Council* (Morning Star, 2017) that something like the neurological condition Tourette's Syndrome could have been behind Veech's tics, verbal outbursts and odd mannerisms. Price gratefully attributes much to the influence of his old teacher, who 'inspired in his students a burning love of history and a deeply compassionate approach to the colourful characters who populated his lectures'. Appreciation of that kind of inspiration prompted the priest historian Edmund Campion to dedicate the first of his many books to Thomas Veech, whom Peoples himself should thank for introducing him to Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Talleyrand, Samuel Johnson and other cultural icons.

Kevin Peoples, a Victorian from Terang attending a NSW seminary as a priesthood candidate for the Wagga Wagga diocese after Bishop O'Collins

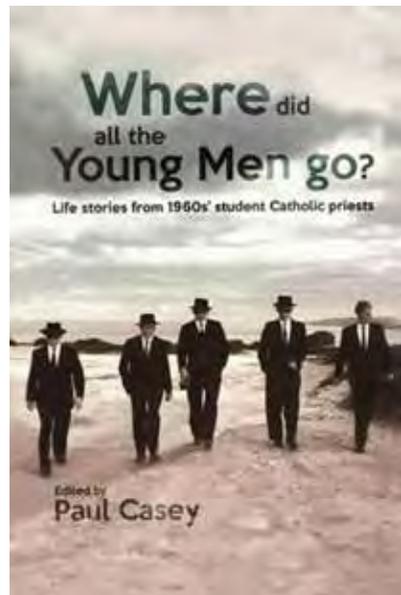


of Ballarat had declined his application, was in his late twenties when he joined mostly younger men in the lower Blue Mountains in 1964. He was testing a late vocation, finding the process so agonising that his Springwood time, as he recalls, was unhappy for him in a number of ways.

Because of its references to current legal issues in Victoria, *Trapped* cannot be sold there until those matters are resolved. Meanwhile, it has been publicised effectively through book launches in some other States and the ACT. It has been hailed in launching speeches and in the words of other commentators quoted in its two opening pages, where Bishop Patrick Power says he finds that the author 'enables his readers to see what has gone wrong'. Summarising the book's message, Pat Power adds that 'clericalism, misogyny and mandatory celibacy are demonstrably major factors in this unfolding tragedy'.

The book is partly but not wholly an autobiography. It is a passionately written manifesto. The further and higher education provided for Kevin initially by a generous Bishop Henschke at Chevalier College, Bowral, and Springwood, rounded out later at university, has left him a polished writer, a good learner and a diligent researcher, at ease quoting from an extraordinary range of past and present experts in many fields. He makes dogmatic assertions, some well open to challenge, on almost every page.

In general, the twenty-three other Springwood 'old boys' who have told their life stories in *Where Did All the Young Men Go?* write frankly but with more restraint than Kevin Peoples when voicing criticisms of aspects of seminary life as they knew it in the 1960s. Most of them say good things about their Springwood experience, while not overlooking defects. The editor's own essay is an example of both firmness and moderation. After expressing measured agreement with Chris Geraghty's 'disparaging' remarks about seminary education in his three-volume memoirs, Paul Casey acknowledges that education at Springwood nevertheless 'set me on the path of life-long education'.



Casey deserves praise for his initiative and success in organising this volume. He invited fellow survivors of the sixty-seven students who spent all or part of the period from 1960 to 1967 at Springwood and Manly to write about their lives before, during and after those years. Most of the twenty-three resulting essays, of greatly varying length but with a mean average of about 9,500 words, tell fascinating life stories. Inevitably there are a few factual repetitions as well as a rich diversity of stories and viewpoints in the 596 pages.

In presenting the work of the essayists, the editor has divided them into four categories: ex-seminarians who left from Springwood (four in number); those who left from Manly (seven); ex-priests (nine); and priests who remained in the ministry (three). In his Introduction, Casey refers to James Franklin's seminal paper *Memoirs by Australian Priests, Religious and Ex-Religious*, published in the 2012 issue of the ACHS's *Journal*. Noting that Franklin's 'very useful' list contains only one work by a seminarian who did not proceed to ordination (Gerard Windsor's *Heaven Where the Bachelors Sit*), he must be pleased that as many as eleven ex-seminarians wrote articles for inclusion in his collection.

In addition to his own model 48-page essay, Casey, an ex-priest of the Maitland Diocese, wrote a six-page Introduction and a 23-page wrap-up Conclusion, in which he attempts a preliminary analysis of the contents. Presumably he was also responsible for putting together, as Appendix 1, the 21 pages of notes about all 67 original members of the class, listed in alphabetical order. This section contains what for me is the jewel in the whole volume – the expanded eulogy for the late Father Dennis 'Killer' Corrigan by his friend and last carer, Shane Melmeth. Corrigan, also a Maitland priest, whose uncompromising radicalism, compassion, abhorrence of legalism and yearning for peace took him to many different places in Australia and elsewhere, from Tasmania in Archbishop Guilford Young's day (he was Dr Young's friend and *bête noir*) to the Philippines during the Marcos dictatorship. In a career with multiple tribulations, he survived one of the worst when a law court found him innocent of a child sex abuse charge.

In a short review of a collection like this it is not possible to do justice to what so many essayists have said. While it may be invidious to single out some of them, I will take the risk of naming several of my favourites. They are the ex-seminarians Geoff Hicks and Casimir Zawaszki; the ex-priests Bill McMahan, Tom Moore and Tom Fox (who took the wonderful photo on the book's front cover); and the still ministering priest Frank Devoy.

But perhaps the most moving, rare and educational story comes from the Dutch-born ex-priest Adrian Van Klooster, who battled alcoholism and was suspended '*a divinis*' by Pope John Paul II while spending over four years in a Western Australian gaol for child sexual abuse.



St Columba's Seminary, Springwood, 1925.
Courtesy Victor Michniewicz

This book should be classified as a collection of first-class sociological and historical data, available for careful analysis, not least by all those advocating, advising on or seeking to implement church reform.

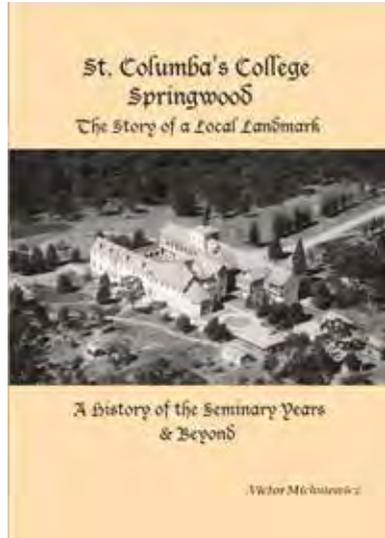
The picture of life in Springwood grew much broader for me when, late in the day, Victor Michniewicz's monumental *History of St Columba's College*, covering all the years since Cardinal Moran blessed its foundation stone in 1909, appeared.

This is a love story if ever there was one. Michniewicz is himself an ex-seminarian who spent three full and joyful years, 1971 to 1973, at Springwood, before he decided he was not called to be an ordained priest. He went on to train as a teacher in a period in which it was decided to reopen St Columba's, keeping that name, as a high school serving the Lower Blue Mountains community. To his delight, Victor received a teaching appointment there from the founding Principal, Sister Anne Henson, in 1984, five years after its reopening. He remained there until retirement, for close to thirty years.

Researching the history of St Columba's became Michniewicz's part-time labour of love for several decades. Handicapped by the disappearance or destruction of many of the seminary's records, he nevertheless was able to unearth more than enough material to enable him to complete and self-publish this superb, handsomely produced publication. The *History*, printed on full gloss A4 paper, features fifteen informative chapters as well as hundreds of historic photographs, many made available by past students and most never before made public.

Michniewicz recounts in detail, with illustrations, the story of all the

College's buildings, erected progressively as the need arose, and its other landmarks. He traces the seminary's history, with some of what he would regard as setbacks, like the presence in the Springwood complex, from 1942 to 1957, on Cardinal Gilroy's insistence, of a minor seminary. This was in accord with Rome's newly adopted understanding of the previously used term, altered to mean a school-level institution aimed at cultivating vocations in boys as young as twelve. The end of the experiment after fifteen years opened the way for Springwood to revert to being the kind of place it had been before the Cardinal's apparently ill-considered decision.



Chapters with marvellous photographs and sketches on some of the students' cultural and outdoor activities away from the classroom and the chapel give a clue to why so many who lived in the college, even if briefly, retain affectionate memories.

In a chapter of special interest, the author paints pen portraits of some of the personalities on Springwood's staff from the beginning, including all of its ten Rectors, one of whom was Dr Justin Simonds, a future Archbishop of Hobart and Melbourne. Standing out in the not always positive memories of those past students who knew him would be the legendary Monsignor Charles Dunne, who had a record thirty-four years' association with Springwood, including fourteen (1948-62) as Rector. More than half a century after his death, Charlie Dunne still has a mixed reputation with ex-students but is recalled as a fine teacher in spite of his allegedly autocratic, sadistic and omniscient style. He is praised in words quoted by Victor Michniewicz from one anonymous 'old boy' as 'a Rector of whom any ecclesiastical college could be proud'. Present-day critics who knew him may dispute that.

The author of the *History* is another who speaks fondly of Dunne's successor, Tommy Veech, and his teaching methods as well as his success in bringing about changes in seminary life in accordance with Vatican II's requirements. Such changes were also occurring around the same years, not always with the enthusiasm of some of those in charge, at Manly and

elsewhere, including Corpus Christi College in Victoria and Propaganda Fide College in Rome.

Past students may be expected to welcome the several pages devoted by the author to the heroic services given to Springwood by the Sisters of Our Lady Help of Christians and ancillary staff. It invites questions, of course, as commentators like Kevin Peoples would suggest, about the involvement of women in general and female religious in particular in old-style seminaries.

Any attempt to return to the way candidates were prepared for the priesthood in the era covered by this praiseworthy *History* and the other two books, whatever the mistakes and virtues of that way, will surely fail. It is desirable that we learn as much as possible about it now. But it is gone forever.

Those who produced the three volumes, each in his own manner, have performed a service to those responsible for making or applying future policy on the priestly ministry. They do this by supplying information and questions needing to be taken into account both in reacting to the challenge of the McClellan Royal Commission and in planning for root and branch Church reform.

BOOK REVIEW

The Tempest-Tossed Church

Author: Gerard Windsor

Publisher: Newsouth Publishing, Sydney, Australia, 2017

ISBN: 9781742235318

Format: Paperback, 256 pages

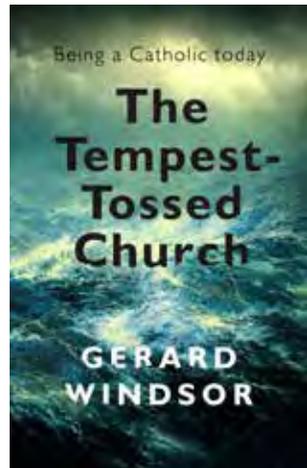
Price: \$29.99

Reviewed by Chis Geraghty*

As an almost eighty-year-old Roman Catholic who has been part of the institution all his life, albeit on the outer fringes for a great deal of that time, reading Gerard Windsor's book on being an elderly Catholic today opened up for me a world of nostalgia and reverie. I found myself experiencing a sense of loss, feelings of shame and anger – but most of all a sense of deep sadness and of soul-destroying, mindless waste – of female talent, of young lives like mine was fifty and sixty years ago, of enthusiasm, of energy and innocence.

Memories of growing up in a Catholic family, attending the nuns in the Neutral Bay parish, getting souls out of purgatory, processing as a page-boy with silver buckles and white gloves in front of the embroidered canopy shadowing a transubstantiated Presence, walking every morning with my sister to St Joseph's Church to attend Archbishop Eris O'Brien's daily Mass, learning the Green Catechism by heart – it all seemed so normal at the time, so far away now and surreal, so foreign to the world I presently inhabit.

Gerard Windsor is also an old man who was brought up in a local Catholic family. Over his lifetime and since leaving the Jesuit seminary, he has carved out a great career as an author of excellence. He has dedicated his latest book to six men who have enriched his life – his four brothers and



* Chris Geraghty is a former priest, a theologian, a retired judge of the District Court of New South Wales and the author of three memoirs and a number of theological essays. His forthcoming publication is entitled *Jesus - the Forgotten Feminist*.

two sons. They will be pleased to learn so much about their brother, their father, about what has made him tick, what he regards as important, about the world in which he has lived his inner life.

The title of his book is lifted from an old Catholic hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary - "O, purest of creatures, sweet mother, sweet maid" whom we used to call on to protect a tempest-tossed Church when "the banners of darkness" had been "boldly unfurled" and our Church was under attack – from Communists, Protestants and Pagans.

With rare and raw honesty, Windsor tackles dangerous subjects – subjects like death, the perennial, unsolvable problem of Evil, religious dogma, faith, God, Jesus and mankind's deeply religious search for even a fleeting contact with the transcendent – with what the mystics and poets (and the author) have referred to as Glory. The author is not afraid to take up the challenge of man's long, tormented search for meaning. His book is an engaging, amusing and sometimes confronting mixture of stories and word portraits woven in and out of deadly serious reflections on the subject of religion and the Catholic Church.

Windsor describes the feeling many Catholics experience for their Church of yesteryear as "an ache of sweet longing". He quotes "a lovely sentence" from a letter Tom Shapcott wrote to Randolph Stow as they were both approaching their seventieth birthday.

"Ah, Mick, but there were good times. It is amazing how the soul clings on to them, fondles them and makes them glow."

Windsor has the uncanny ability to cling on to the memories of his youth, to fondle them and make them glow. Between the covers of his book there are many little treasures to be found and fondled – a wondrously simple few pages in praise of the Gospels, for example, and a few pages on the mysterious sayings and enchanting parables of Jesus – an essay on prayer – What is it? How does it work? Who's listening? The author takes a friendly, affectionate and nostalgic look at many aspects of the old Roman Catholic Church. Liturgical bells and whistles – transubstantiation – the Immaculate Conception – papal infallibility – contraception among them. He tells us about some of the best features of the institution – and some of the worst. – and in the process, he paints an image of his Church which has been torpedoed by its own clergy – a ship taking on water out in the deep – its cruise passengers and crew jumping overboard – bow in the air and beginning to disappear.

As I was reading a sunny, optimistic section about the urbane and

pastorally savvy Monsignor Doherty (like Windsor, another Jesuit-trained boy from Riverview along with Anthony Abbott and Barnaby Joyce), I couldn't block from my mind the victims of clerical abuse and their families; the memory of being stolen from my family at the age of twelve to become one of the chained oarsmen on a Roman galleon; of the Catholic girls' school which forbade its nubile pupils to receive communion when they were contaminated by their menstrual period – and other equally painful memories. For many it has proved difficult, for some impossible, to pay their annual subscription and renew their membership in an organization which Windsor describes with such penetrating frankness yet with much affection.

The tempest that Windsor speaks of continues to threaten a Church dear to him and still dear to me – one that was at times a great institution, doing much good, but that is now being buffeted in a storm of paralyzing uncertainty and in a cyclonic loss of dogmatic faith, in a loss of hope for the future, a serious loss of numbers, of trust and enthusiasm, of integrity, of moral status. What pervades Windsor's book is a deep sense of loss of what he thinks is essential to our human existence – a sense of wonder, of simplicity, of mystery – and I agree. He confronts with uncommon honesty and a lightness of touch the real questions of religion – God, Evil, Jesus, prayer, faith and death.

Under the chapter headings “Scandal” and “Sexual Abuse”, Windsor addresses the gut-churning challenge for contemporary Australian Catholics. We have been horrified by the criminal behaviour of so many of Jesus' “vessels of election” and by our Vatican appointed leaders' failure to respond to the crisis in any half-convincing manner. Windsor observes, however, that “the criminality and hypocrisy of Christian Church officials doesn't seem a decisive reason to jettison the Christian message.” The presence of scandal and scandalous officials seems to him irrelevant to whether one believes or not.

Of course, on one level he's right. It's the same message I have kept telling myself – the same reply I give to those of my friends who care enough to enquire why I keep turning up on Sundays at Star of the Sea and contributing to the support of my pastor. But I'm not entirely convinced by my own message.

First, it all depends on what Windsor means by “the Christian message” that one might be tempted to jettison. Is it the kingdom message of Jesus to care for the poor, the blind, lepers and widows, to visit the sick, attend the frail and to fight for justice for the underdog – “whatever you do to the

least of my brethren you do unto me”? Or is it the message sent out to the world by an institutional Church intent on policing its rules and regulations, on declaring dogmas and enacting prohibitions, organizing extravagant ceremonies and dressing up in regal paraphernalia. This institutional message is not so difficult to jettison.

And secondly, “criminality and hypocrisy”, however heinous, does not capture the whole sorry story. The presence of scandal and scandalous officials is bad enough, but for many Catholics the whole story extends so much further – centuries of misogyny; the appointment of bishops and local parish priests behind doors closed to those with an interest in the matter; a top-heavy bureaucracy concentrated in Rome; the pathetic implementation of and heavy-handed resistance to the rather temperate suggestions which came out of the Second Vatican Council; the institution’s links to power, to monarchies and dictators, to money and the top-end of town; its lack of social courage to confront the wrongs of our society; its failure to contribute to big issues like poverty, refugees, the population explosion, greed, the unequal distribution of wealth in the community, and its determination to survive whatever the costs. If Jesus ever meant to start a Church movement, it is hardly likely that this is the one he would have set out to establish.

The anxiety of Roman Catholics goes even deeper than the terrible shame of abused children and the crass attempts to cover up the scandals. This sexual storm has come at the end of a protracted period of disillusionment at the base end of the pyramid of power. Maybe the real Christian message has been lost in the dirty corridors of ecclesiastical power or so contaminated that it is no longer recognizable as the message of Jesus. Without energetic, courageous and gifted leaders, Catholics are cursed with a sense of hopelessness.

So why continue? - In the final analysis, it’s a mystery.

Many members have made the decision to throw in the towel. The pews in the local parishes are being vacated. The exodus is well advanced. The local clergy have largely disappeared off the scene and those at the wheel seem to have no Plan B. Steady as she goes, right in the eye of the storm.

So why stay and agonize? Why not call it quits?

Who knows why? It’s the world I’ve lived in for almost eighty years, and the world I inherited from my mother and father of happy memory. It’s a world full of stories of heroes and villains, a world of poetry, music and metaphor – full of the elements that make the human experience worth living. This is the institution that has preserved the biblical library and the stories of Jesus. It has had a long, colourful history. It’s not easy to turn my

back and start again. Perhaps I am hoping that things can't get any worse – that things will get better. This is my spiritual family. Maybe I've been brainwashed beyond redemption – I'm sure many are nodding their heads in furious agreement. On the other hand, maybe it's grace at work in my life. I don't know – I can't help it – I just don't want to leave, at least not just at the moment, though my impression is that I'm feeling even more alienated than Windsor.

It was a joy to sit quietly in the solitude of my backyard in Crows Nest, to become part of Gerard Windsor's world for a few hours and to have someone help me reminisce about my own religious journey – to share his memories of our troubled church, to indulge in moments of nostalgia, to feel his sense of loss and sadness. He writes about the Catholic Church with grace and deep affection, and I loved the simple elegance of his work.

BOOK REVIEW

Enjoy the Good News, A New Testament Guide

Author: Alan Hogan

Published: ATF Theology, Adelaide 2016

ISBN: 9780646934433 (paperback)

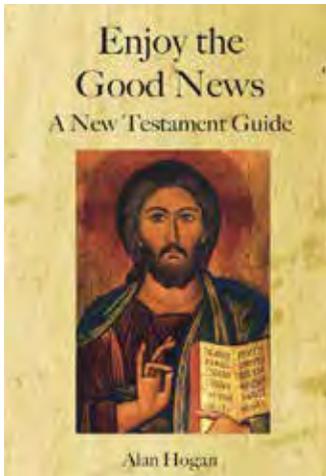
Format: Hardcover \$71.90, paperback \$53.35

Reviewed by Helen Scanlon*

Alan Hogan has written this guide to the New Testament for the general reader wanting to deepen their knowledge and understanding of the scriptures. Alan's education was in the seminary first at Springwood, then Propaganda College, Rome. He left there before ordination and returning to Australia became a successful barrister and later a judge. In his retirement he gained an MA in Biblical Studies, and his teacher Sr Michelle Connolly rsj has written the forward to the book.

As Alan wrote in his introduction: "The purpose of this work is to convey basic information and background to each book, to enable readers to understand when, why and in what circumstances it was written, and what message the author intended to convey."

* Helen Scanlon attended Sydney University 1953-6, was influenced there by university chaplain Roger Pryke and attended Newman Graduate summer schools at Sancta Sophia in the early 60s. She is secretary of the ACHS.



In this aim Alan was very successful. He writes with a simple, relaxed style, belying the extensive scholarship of his work.

The first three chapters outline the origins of the New Testament, the historical background and how the various writings became recognised by the church as the canon. There are maps of the regions although I found that using a biblical atlas with larger print was more satisfactory. The historical background covers the politics, the geography and the peoples of the region. He also deals with manuscript evidence for the texts.

The second section contains a programme of study of each of the individual books, arranged by Alan in the order of writing, after they are given context by an introduction to the Acts of the Apostles. This is followed by some of St Paul's letters, preceded by a chapter "The Letters of Paul" in which he details which epistles are now believed to be by Paul and which were penned by his followers after his death in 64. As each of Paul's letters is introduced, Alan refers the reader back to the relevant section of the Acts.

Alan has a chapter on "Paul's Attitude to Women", and one on "How to read a Gospel". There are detailed introductions to the three synoptic gospels, interspersed by the other epistles. The book concludes with the Book of Revelation, the Johannine literature, the letters of John and finally the Gospel of John.

I found much in the book that deepened my understanding and knowledge of the New Testament. Alan has been able to share his understanding of contemporary biblical studies. I recommend this book to all.

BOOK NOTE

Father Paul Gardiner SJ: A long journey

Author: Margaret Muller

Publisher: Penola: Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, 2016

ISBN: 978064695768

Paperback, 104 pages, \$20

Note by James Franklin*

Fr Paul Gardiner is best known as Postulator of the cause of Mary MacKillop in the 1980s and 1990s. He came to that task on superiors' orders at the age of 59, with little previous experience in that kind of work. As historical work goes, showing someone is a saint has the unique difficulty that in addition to establishing positive virtues, it is necessary to prove a negative – that no unsavoury details are going to emerge. That is especially difficult when one's subject has fought with church authorities and been excommunicated (even if with doubtful validity). Gardiner's energy in reviving the cause of canonisation after decades of stop-start progress and documents "lost" in Vatican archives paid off. His work was crowned by MacKillop's beatification in 1995, which laid the ground for her canonisation in 2010.

Gardiner's earlier work was mostly academic in seminaries and schools, with occasional pastoral work. His main fields were classics and philosophy, his doctoral thesis being on 'The coming of Greek philosophy to the Western world'. Like many teachers of philosophy in the old style, he regretted what happened after Vatican II. Muller writes "Towards the end of his ten-year tenure at Loyola, Paul detected in his students a diminishing dedication to serious intellectual study and an increasing lack of interest in the solid and tried *Philosophia Perennis* – the Wisdom of the Ages – which he felt was no longer as highly prized by some as it has once been."

Muller was able to interview Gardiner before his death and her account of his life is lively and accompanied by many useful photos.

An obituary of Fr Gardiner by Roderick O'Brien is included in this issue.

* James Franklin is the editor of the *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*.

BOOK NOTE

In Black + White: Race, Politics and Changing Australia

Author: Warren Mundine

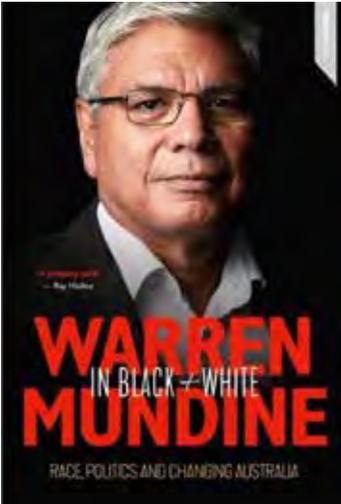
Publisher: Neutral Bay: Pantera Press, 2017

ISBN: 9781921997662

Hardback, 512 pages

Price: \$45

Note by Irene and James Franklin*



The autobiography of leading aboriginal politician, Nyunggai Warren Mundine, is dedicated “To my parents. Their Catholic faith in God and family carried me throughout my life.” The early sections on his upbringing give a rare insight into a corner of Australian Catholic history that is rarely explored, indigenous communities in settled areas.

His maternal great-great-grandfather Donovan left County Cork in the early 1800s and settled on the NSW South Coast with a Yuin woman. Their son married a Yuin woman and had thirteen children. One of them, Warren’s grandfather John Donovan, married Florrie, a woman of Dharawal and possibly Wiradjuri ancestry. They moved to Nambucca Heads, where John became a sawmiller in charge of white as well as aboriginal workers. He borrowed money to buy a house. In some ways, life was less restricted than during the later regime of the Aborigines Protection Board, which under the 1909 Act had the power to control movement and remove children.

Warren’s mother Olive, born in 1919, married his father Roy Mundine, a Bundjalung man from the North Coast. He converted to Catholicism a few years later.

Both sides of Warren’s family had self-belief. It was important for them to work and be responsible for the welfare of their families. They borrowed

* Irene and James Franklin are ACHS members.

to buy a house, though it was more expensive for them as banks were unwilling to lend to them. As Warren was the ninth of eleven children, money was very short, not to mention space in the house. They insisted on the importance of education. They always voted and a number of people in the family were active in aboriginal causes. He writes “Mum ran our home with discipline and order. When she and Dad got married, my grandmother Nan Donovan’s wedding gift was a leather strap.” It does not seem to have caused harm or resentment.

The family moved to Western Sydney for better opportunities and Warren went to high school at Marist Brothers, Auburn. At one point in his mid-teens he got into trouble after knocking a man down in a pub and appeared before the Juvenile Court. His headmaster and parish priest wrote letters about his decent, hardworking family and the magistrate said “This is a serious crime. You’ve obviously got strong support from those who believe in you. I hope you take the opportunities of this and do something better with your life.” He did.

Warren’s family background guided him to a life as a politician, family man, advisor to Prime Ministers on indigenous affairs, journalist and author. It is a source of his present strong views on the evils of welfare dependency and the need for genuine work opportunities and home ownership in remote communities.

His is a great story for our time. It is very readable and thoroughly recommended.

BOOK NOTE:

Cardinal: The rise and fall of George Pell

Author: Louise Milligan

Publisher: Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2017

ISBN: 9780522871340:

Paperback, 384 pages, \$34.99

Note by James Franklin*

This book is not all rubbish. Milligan has interviewed a considerable number of people and written down what they said. The accounts by some victims of clerical sexual abuse whom she spoke to have not been heard in detail before and add to our understanding of that story. Perhaps the most interesting story is Michael Costigan's recollection of what Bishop Mulkearns told him about his meeting with John Paul II. Mulkearns, by then mired in the sexual abuse scandal in Ballarat, asked for some guidance on what to do about it. The Pope turned and walked away.

The problem lies with the interpretations of evidence. The obtuseness of Milligan's understanding of human interactions is especially clear in her account of Pell's cross-examination in the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse over the case of Father Searson. Pell had been Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne and had some dealings with Searson, whose bizarre behaviour included stabbing a bird. Pell is asked about this on oath. He is aware of the event but not every detail. Counsel assisting, Gail Furness, says "There is a reference to Father Searson stabbing to death a bird in front of the children." Pell has sworn to give evidence of the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He says carefully, "I don't know whether the bird was already dead." Milligan takes Furness to have caught Pell out in a case of gross lack of empathy when she asks "Does it matter whether the bird was dead, or it was stabbed when it was dead?" Pell says "Not really." Indeed. To see a "gotcha" moment in someone taking normal care under cross-examination is pure tendentious invention. The rest of Milligan's spin on the evidence from alleged victims and from Pell is along the same lines. Some more detailed examination of her case, written in a polemical style similar to Milligan's own, can be found in Julia Yost's

* James Franklin is the editor of the *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*.

article, ‘The case against Cardinal Pell’.¹

Milligan’s allegations of abuse against Pell cannot be discussed in print as yet since they are *sub judice* in Victoria.

¹ Julia Yost, The case against Cardinal Pell, *First Things*, 3 July 2017, <https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2017/07/the-case-against-cardinal-pell>

OBITUARY

Paul Bernard Gardiner (1924-2017)

Roderick O’Brien (Adelaide)

On the top of my reading list is the two-volume biography *The Life of Saint Mary of the Cross MacKillop 1842-1909*, published as “The official biography written by the Postulator of the Cause for her Canonisation, Paul Gardiner SJ, and presented to the Holy See by the Relator”. Few historians could put their name to such a work, so critical to the cause for St Mary’s canonisation. But few historians can claim such a varied life as Paul Gardiner, Jesuit, priest, scholar, postulator, and chaplain.

Paul Gardiner was born in Melbourne, and educated there, including his honours arts degree from Melbourne University. He entered the Jesuits in 1940, and was ordained in 1955. Fr Paul spent much of the next thirty years teaching a diverse range of subjects in the humanities and the classics at secondary and tertiary levels in Australia and New Zealand. His scholarship flowed into his daily prayer: each day he would read the scriptures in Greek and Latin. From 1978 to 1982, he worked in the Jesuit General Curia in Rome.

Then in 1983, he began work on the cause of canonisation for Mother Mary of the Cross MacKillop. This work took him to Rome, and in 1985 he became postulator of Mary’s cause. The case, or *positio*, was approved by the Vatican in 1993, leading to Mary’s beatification in 1995. In 2008, Fr Paul handed on the baton as postulator to Josephite Sr Maria Casey. Sr Maria took the cause through to completion with St Mary’s canonisation in Rome in 2010.

Fr Paul’s work was not simply a labour of scholarship. As he came to know Mary MacKillop, he became more certain that she was a holy person.

His work became his passion and his life. In 1999 Fr Paul moved to Penola and became chaplain to the Mary MacKillop Centre there. Gradually ill-health forced him to accommodation at the Pinchunga Hostel in Penola, but as long as he could he would ride his gopher in his pilgrimage with St Mary. The people of that small town took him to their hearts, and cared for him. Fr Paul wanted to be buried in Penola, and his friends gathered around his grave there.

For his work on Mary MacKillop, Fr Paul was honoured with the Order of Australia Medal. His friend Margaret Muller in 2016 published his own biography: *Father Paul Bernard Gardiner SJ: A Long Journey 'ad maioram Dei gloriam'*, by Margaret Muller, is available via the Mary MacKillop Penola Centre, PO Box 231, Penola South Australia, 5277. To order a copy phone (08) 8737 2092, or email mackillop@penola.limestonecoast.net. A booknote on it appears in this issue. Because this biography is readily available to members of the Australian Catholic Historical Society, I will conclude not with formal history but with a personal anecdote.

A few years ago, I asked Fr Paul if he would lead me in a retreat on the spirituality of St Mary MacKillop and her co-founder Fr Julian Tenison Woods. He replied cheerfully that he didn't do "those Jesuit retreats" but that if I liked to come to Penola he would talk to me each day. So each day I would go to his house, and make coffee. Then Fr Paul would cheerfully talk for about an hour and a half. Because of his great knowledge and passion, he rarely looked for a reference or sought a note. Fr Paul could talk easily (at his funeral a local friend told me that he sometimes crossed the street to avoid Fr Paul if he didn't have half an hour). Fr Paul insisted that my retreat should finish with a good dinner and Coonawarra wine at the Royal Oak Hotel, where Mary MacKillop had first come to Penola as governess for the children of her Aunt Margaret and Uncle Alexander (Sandy) Cameron. Of course, Fr Paul knew everyone at the hotel. My only task was to sit at his feet, and occasionally call him back from some interesting digression. I think that this was the best retreat that I have had. It was like having a personal guide to those early days in Penola, a guide with gentle enthusiasm and a joyful heart, a historian with an unparalleled opportunity, lovingly fulfilled. Now all I need to do is find time to read Fr Paul's two-volume work, his gift to the Catholic community in Australia.



St Columba's Catholic College

Looking towards the Main building (former Seminary) from the quadrangle.
Wikipedia Commons, Rhys Barrington-Smith, see Book Review page 187.



Grave of Rev Myles Athy OSB, in the priests' section of the Field of Mars Cemetery, Sydney. Photograph, Anne Wark, see Book Review page 138.