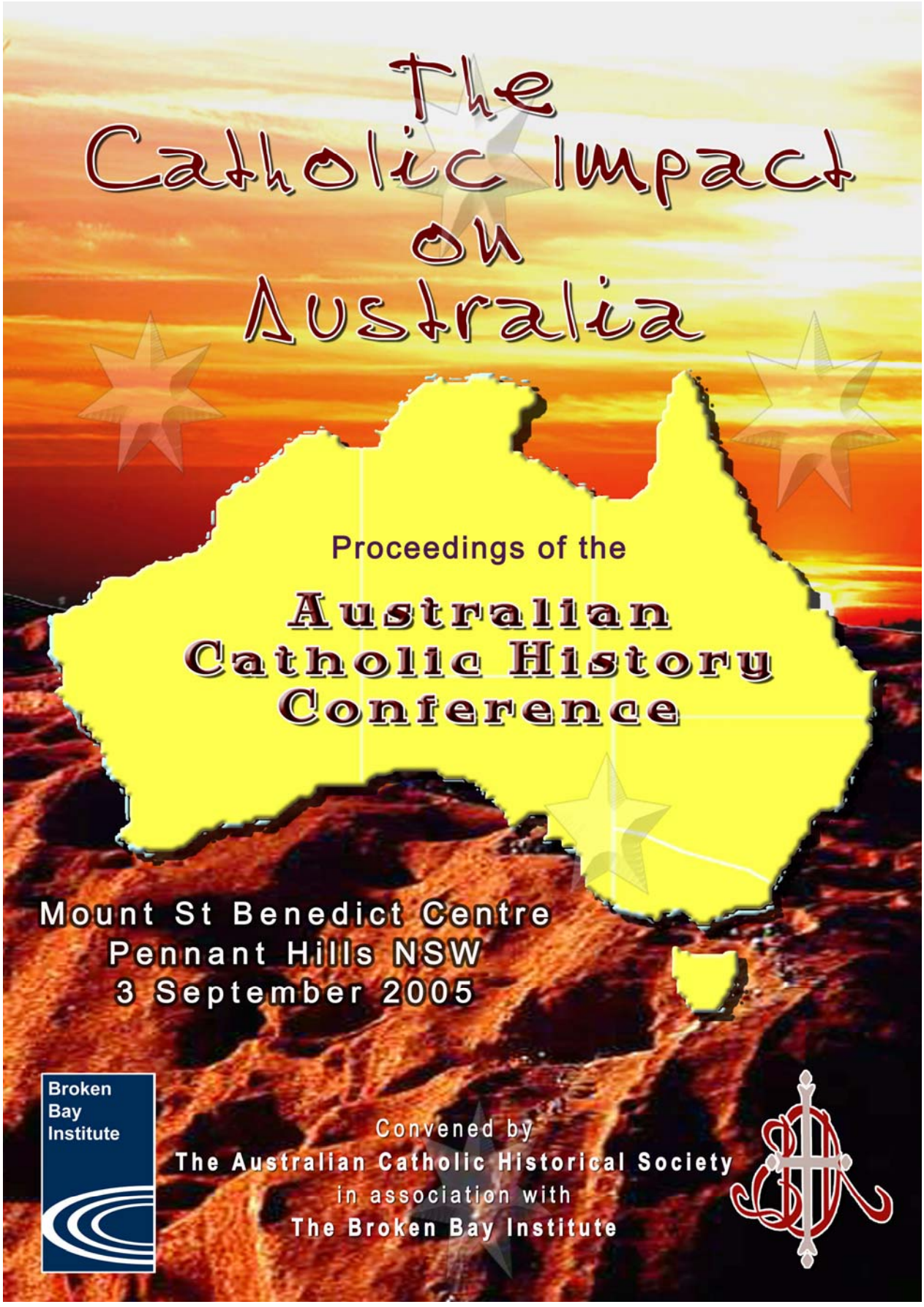
The Catholic Impact on Australia
Proceedings of the
Australian Catholic History Conference
Mount St Benedict Centre
Pennant Hills NSW
3 September 2005
Broken Bay Institute
Convened by
The Australian Catholic Historical Society
in association with
The Broken Bay Institute

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AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC HISTORY CONFERENCE

The Catholic impact on Australia

PREFACE

It is very pleasing to reproduce here the Proceedings of this conference on Australian Catholic History. The Australian Catholic Historical Society and the Broken Bay Institute were joint organisers and sponsors of the conference. We were delighted to have speakers and participants from all states.

The Broken Bay Institute is a new Catholic theological institute, which was admitted to the Sydney College of Divinity in 1991. It specialises in distance education and face to face intensive teaching. Church History is a vital component of its undergraduate and postgraduate course offerings.

Our theme for the conference, *The Catholic impact on Australia*, elicited an interesting array of papers across two centuries of Australian Catholic history. These papers, along with the keynote address by Professor Bruce Mansfield, led easily into the final panel session on 'Australian Catholic history – developing or declining?'. Almost all presenters have been able to provide the texts of their papers for this recording.

The last conference organised by the ACHS was in 1990 (for the Society's golden jubilee). We trust that the CD will provide a useful record of the many quality papers at this 2005 gathering.

John Luttrell fms (ACHS President)
Gerard Goldman (Director, Broken Bay Institute)

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC HISTORY CONFERENCE

The Catholic impact on Australia

Saturday 3 September 2005, at Mount St Benedict Centre, Pennant Hills

PROGRAMME

8.45	Registration		
9.30	Welcome gathering – John Luttrell & Gerard Goldman		
9.45	Professor Bruce Mansfield – keynote address		
10.20	Response and thanks to Professor Mansfield by Fr Cyril Hally ssc		
10.30	Morning tea		
11.00	Session 1: Concurrent papers		
	Chapter Room 1. Josephine Laffin, 'The Impact of Bishops: Matthew Beovich, the Movement and the Vietnam War.' 2. Mark Hearn, 'Containing Contamination': Cardinal Moran and Australian National Identity' 3. Fr Terrance Southerwood, 'The Catholic Impact on Australia of Archbishop Sir Guilford Young (1916-88)'	*Novitiate Study* 1. Mark Cryle, 'Duncan McNab, James Quinn and the Mission to the Queensland Aborigines 1875-1880 2. Malcolm Prentis, 'The Formation of a Passionist Presbyterian - John Enright in Ireland and Australasia'. 3. Clara Geoghegan, 'From Mass Tent to Cathedral: Catholicism in the Social and Cultural Landscape, Sandhurst 1852-1901'.	*Philomena Room* 1. Ann Maree Whenman, 'The CCD Movement in Australia: The provision of Religious Education for Catholic children outside Catholic Schools – Colonial beginnings to 1920.' 2. Graham Wilson, 'Their Lives for God and the Digger: Michael Bergin and Ned Sydes – AIF Catholic Chaplains who died on active service' 3. Jeff Brownrigg, 'The Shamrock and the Bush: Moving Images of Irish Australia'
12.30	Lunch		
1.45	Session 2: Concurrent Papers		
	Chapter Room 1. Anne Player, 'The Ex-Priest and the Actress: A Goulburn Sectarian Interlude and the Anatomy of Sectarianism in Colonial Australia' 2. Jeff Kildea: 'Where Crows Gather: the Sr Liguori Affair 1920-21'	*Novitiate Study* 1. Damian Gleeson, 'Catholic lay women's impact on professional social welfare in Australia' 2. Peter Quinn, 'In Defence of Catholic orphanages'	
2.45	Afternoon tea		
3.15	Panel session: *Australian Catholic history – developing or declining?* Panelists: Dr Tom Boland, Professor Katherine Massam, Fr Terry Southerwood.		
4.15	Thanks and closure		
5.15	Mass (Sunday vigil); celebrant Bishop David Walker; music by Grail Singers		
7.00	Conference dinner. Guest speaker Jeff Brownrigg, 'Sectarianism and Singing: Listening to History'		

Writing Religious History in Australia

BRUCE MANSFIELD

I am honoured by your invitation to give this keynote address. At the same time, I am conscious of my inadequacies for doing so. Though my interests in Reformation history, and especially in Erasmus studies, and, to a degree, in Australian religious history have obliged me to engage with Catholic history, I cannot claim to be a historian of the Catholic church. You might fairly have called on someone in that category to deliver your keynote address.

Earlier this year the conference of the Religious History Society commemorated the achievements of two eminent members, supporters and mentors of this Society, Patrick O'Farrell and Tony Cahill. Would that they were still among us today, and even, we might add, performing this function!

I have thought to begin by taking these two friends and colleagues once again as our guides and to explore through two small, occasional pieces of theirs issues that arise in 'Writing Religious History in Australia'. My selection is a rather self-indulgent one. In December 1989 the *Journal of Religious History* produced a special number, a kind of *Festschrift*, celebrating my twenty-eight years as founding Editor of the journal. Both Patrick and Tony, who was then Editor, contributed pieces; Patrick's was entitled 'Spurious Divorce? Religion and Australian Culture' and Tony's 'Cardinal Moran's Politics'.

These are characteristic pieces, though I would not for a moment suggest that they are fully representative of the two men's work. Patrick's is in essay form, highly personal and challenging in its judgments. We find similar judgments in his larger works, similar ironies and even paradoxes, but there they are embedded in books of original and summative scholarship on a grand scale. There is a greater immediacy, even rawness, to the essay form, and those confronted here might, if sensitive enough, have been set to thinking about their historiographical and cultural assumptions. Tony's piece is a more conventional learned article, one of a series of papers which, taken together, make up a very substantial, if not complete, study in Moran biography. But there are aspects of the piece which remind us that Tony was renowned among Sydney historians for the range of his reading across many fields of history and his innovative thinking about the subject. We get a glimpse of this in his historiographical reflections on the literature about Moran, to which we will come.

I want now to take these two pieces in turn and draw out from what they say points of interest for those writing religious history in Australia. Patrick early makes a shift from the place of religion in Australian culture to its presence or absence among the interests and preconceptions of Australian historians. 'Do we', he asks, not just rhetorically, 'need to investigate the historians before we accept their history?' He then, in the most sensitive part of his essay, deals with the marginalizing of Christopher Dawson by a historical profession unresponsive to the sweep of his studies of religion and culture and the sad outcome of the application by Dawson's pupil J. J. Saunders for an Australian academic appointment. To this historiographical issue, asking about the historians as well as the history, I will return in considering Tony's paper, as I have said. Patrick moves from the power relations in the historical profession, which could stand in the way of certain trends or approaches appearing or

prospering, to the realities of Australian white culture. Resettlement could involve desacralization for many migrants, separated from the sacred places and associations of home. In the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the clergy in all denominations remained more 'home'-oriented, the laity more acclimatized to Australia. The gap was plastered over, he says, in the Catholic case 'with an artificial culture of elastic Irish-manufactured consistency' and, among the denominations deriving from Greet Britain, with 'composites of flags, patriotism and various social appurtenances and rituals' of distant cultures. They, he concludes pretty negatively, 'were not creating positively a colonial religious culture or cultures, but on the contrary isolating themselves from a developing colonial culture'. He goes on to deal with the consequences of the collapse of these artificial and derivative cultures in the face of secularization in its Australian forms.[1]

I want now to take up Patrick's notion of religious cultures and perhaps suggest a conclusion less negative than his, though that is not my main aim. What are the components, or the marks, of a religious culture? (I think it best to begin with that question rather than with a definition). Let us make a list: personal piety, forms of worship, 'what occurred' (as Natalie Davis put it in an essay on religious cultures in the Reformation era) 'around the altar and what was created around the pulpit and the communion table',[2] the theological justifications or verifications of these things, the sense of the sacred (where is it to be found? what form does it take?) and devotions in families, religious communities and schools. (Katharine Massam, in her admirable work of 1996, *Sacred Threads*, has used the term 'spirituality' to cover these things. I have preferred the more secular-sounding 'religious culture', but it is the same territory).[3] I believe that, when surveyed on a broad front, religious history writing in this country has been predominantly about institutions and about individual people. Biography, sometimes on group subjects, has always bulked large. Is that especially so in episcopal churches – bishops make good copy, as the grieving journalists said of Cardinal Moran, after his death? Neither the institutional nor the biographical interest is to be regretted. But I wish to insist that they earn their stripes as religious history only if they make contact with a religious culture as demarcated above. That means, so far as it is possible, exploring the inner life of communities and persons, but this is never a self-enclosed exercise; it always leads out to a tracking of the intellectual and spiritual currents of an age. That last is not self-explanatory, either; we are carried on to antecedents and to the whole problem of continuities and disjunctures in religious life.

The concept of religious culture is useful in two other important respects. The first is the always uneasy relationship between theology and history as intellectual disciplines. It is theology's task to make a critique of religious cultures, to assess in the light of scripture and/or tradition, any tendency in them towards superstition or bigotry, towards being too accepting or too rejecting of the surrounding world. It is history's task, not to justify or defend a religious culture, but to try to understand it, its inner dynamics and, above all, what makes it hang together.

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[1] Patrick O'Farrell, 'Spurious Divorce? Religion and Australian Culture', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 15, no. 4, December 1989, pp. 519-24

[2] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'From "Popular Religion" to Religious Cultures', in Steven Ozment (ed.), *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, Center for Reformation Research, St. Louis, 1982, p. 333

[3] Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922-1962*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 1996

Let me give an example. In theological circles much is being made these days of the end of Christendom, of the era which some anyway see as beginning with the Constantinian settlement. What marked that era was a belief in the solidarity, or at least the compatibility and mutual recognition, of church and polity and optimistic expectations about the transformation of society by, or at least its openness to, Christian values. With the advance of secularization in the West and the shrinking of Christian influence, theologians are looking for other ways of describing the relation between church and world, Christians and their milieu, for other metaphors: resident aliens, exiles, pilgrims but passing through.[4] Meanwhile, the historian is trying to understand the various manifestations of the Christendom idea, their rationales and what made them seem compelling in their times, in their own contexts.

That leads me on to my second point about the usefulness of the concept of religious culture: it can protect us against anachronism, at least in its more facile forms. Let me take another example, a sensitive one for an Australian Protestant, the culture of 'wowserism', so alive and well around the beginning of the twentieth century. I suppose that I grew up, if not under its shadow, then somewhere along its edges. It seems very unattractive to us today. We can also, without much difficulty, make a theological critique of it: it tended to reduce the gospel to morality, and even to a kind of respectability; it had too restrictive a view of the value of natural life and the natural world; it was legalistic and authoritarian. Yet, if we try to understand that culture on its own terms and in its own context, it makes a certain sense and is even not entirely lacking in nobility. It was an attempt to define what a person of good Christian character would be like and what a sound and healthy community would be like. It was an expression of the Christendom idea, because of the assumption that legislation and regulation could be expected to follow Christian values as currently understood. I imagine that some forms of Catholic Action (not to mention Santamaria and the Movement?) worked to the same assumption and were in their turn expressions of the Christendom idea, perhaps the last vigorous version of it in Australian history. However that may be, we should take the distinction between theological critique and historical analysis as a working rule.

I turn now to Tony Cahill's piece 'Cardinal Moran's Politics'. The thing that strikes us first in reading this or any article of Tony's is his command of the materials, the primary sources and the secondary literature. There is a reminder, directly to us all, on which I don't need to dwell. I want to highlight Tony's introduction of the historiography of his subject, i. e. the changing views of Moran over the last century.[5] Those of his lifetime, or soon thereafter, were hagiographical. That expressed loyalty within the Catholic community, admiration for the way in which Moran's salience as a public figure enhanced the place of that community in Australian life, and the solidity then of the dogmatic and ecclesiastical structures. With the development of professional history writing, a more critical appreciation emerges, notably in Patrick O'Farrell's *Catholic Church and Community*. The change represented, not only a new sophistication and professionalism in historical work, but also changes within and surrounding the Catholic Church and community – we are in the Catholic world of the 1960s to the 1980s. (In parenthesis I might ask: how would you interpret the revived interest in Moran in these last years?). Mature historiographical inquiry is not

[4] See Clive Pearson, 'In Praise of Exile', in Ian Breward (ed.), *Reforming the Reformation: Essays in honour of Principal Peter Matheson*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2004, pp.213-35

[5] A. E. Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran's Politics', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 15, no. 4, December 1989, pp. 528-30

satisfied with tracing the passage from favourable to unfavourable judgments and back again. Its concern is to explore the delicate, easily abused (if too crudely handled) relationships between the world of the subject and the world of the observer.

Tony refers to the classic work in this field, Pieter Geyl's *Napoleon: For and Against* (French writers' reactions to Napoleon through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century), as I did at the beginning of my studies in the history of Erasmus' reputation. Excuse me for again being self-referential. In my Preface to the first of those studies, I remarked that the historiographical approach, coming at a historical subject through the interpretations of previous writers and observers, has 'its own dangers and difficulties'. The most obvious is 'the mechanical effect of stringing interpretations together one after the other', before getting on with the real business (as it seems) of exploring the primary sources.[6] But the fact is that, on a subject of any scale and complexity, a figure like Cardinal Moran, the history of the Catholic Church in Australia in the nineteenth or the twentieth century, the rise and fall of sectarianism, making a nuanced assessment of previous interpretations is as much part of the 'real business' as taking a fresh look at the sources. In my Preface to the third and last volume of Erasmus studies, I wrote: 'It is now hardly possible to go directly to the sources and arrive at a fresh, defensible view of Erasmus. The vocabulary of possible interpretations is used up'. Previous interpreters, I went on, ' provide a register of possibilities on which the new investigator can draw'. I concluded: 'Any dialogue with Erasmus must be a dialogue also with his interpreters. A breakthrough to something fresh requires breaking out of, transcending, that register. This cannot happen in ignorance or unawareness of previous interpreters'.[7]

How might this apply to one writing the history of a parish, school or religious community or the biography of an individual who has not previously attracted much historical writing? Not every subject, after all, has its historiography. But on every subject there are received opinions, commonplaces, unexamined and often unthinkingly repeated. Among recent articles in the journal of this Society, I noticed that by Brian Croke on Archbishop James Carroll, which, on the basis of both personal recollection and written sources, challenges received opinion, especially about his political commitments.[8] This reminds me of a point, simple in itself but easily overlooked: the difference between so-called primary and secondary sources is not absolute. Where do memoirs stand or oral recollections? They are closer to the original subject – event, development, personality – than a strictly professional history and so invaluable, but they are usually saturated in interpretation and the source of (often misguided) received opinion. Let me add that writing histories, especially against received opinions, takes moral courage. Anybody who has written an institutional history of any kind will know that new, better based interpretations are not always greeted with good cheer. Received opinions are comforting, even, oddly, unflattering ones, and it can be deflating, years after one has exposed some myth or other, to have it repeated in conversation as fact.

I am led on to a further point about approach. When we founded the *Journal of Religious History* nearly fifty years ago, we were anxious to move the focus of

[6] Bruce Mansfield, *Phoenix of His Age: Interpretations of Erasmus c 1550-1750*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1979, p. xii
[7] ibid., *Erasmus in the Twentieth Century: Interpretations c 1920-2000*, University of Toronto Press, 2003, p. xi
[8] Brian Croke, 'Politics and Prelates: The Carroll Style', *Australian Catholic Historical Society Journal*, vol. 22, 2001, pp. 31-45

studies from institutional history in the narrower sense to the history of religious cultures or mentalities (*mentalités*), to use the jargon of the so-called *Annales* school. There was an issue of historical method involved. In institutional history itself, how is the subject, i. e. the institution, to be defined? In some cases, the sources have defined it, the historian remaining within the boundaries set by the institution's own archives. The danger is that the institution will then seem more self-contained than it actually is. Further, because of the way archives are gathered, it may seem more driven from the top than it actually is. Any institution is a collection of 'communities' and the relationship between them is never fixed definitively. Similarly, the boundary between the institution and the surrounding society is fluid, and that is especially so with the movement of ideas. What we wanted to say, when we founded the JRH, was that inquiry should be directed by the questions that we wanted or needed to ask and not be confined by the self-definitions or self-images of the subject. These could well lead us into comparative studies (cross-denominational comparisons, for example) or interdisciplinary studies (take church music, for example, or legal issues or financial ones, where more than a historian's skills are required). There are limits, of course. There may not be the sources to respond to our questions, and we must stop short of mere speculation. But asking fresh questions may lead us to neglected sources, as happened strikingly in the last generation or so with historical writing about women. (You now have an ample and illuminating guide in Anne O'Brien's *God's Willing Workers: Women and Religion in Australia*).[9] They may also require looking again at the picture existing sources provide without the frame set by previous interpretations. Again, among the recent numbers of your journal, I was struck by Anna Barbaro's article drawing out, against received views, the European origins of convent education in Australia.[10]

I hope that you will not conclude from what I have said that I am, somehow, against institutional histories or biographies of bishops or, indeed, what the more refined among us reject as antiquarianism. On the contrary, I have always accepted, and indeed celebrated, the great variety of forms that historical inquiry can take. History may be distinctive among the humanities disciplines in that it may proceed, with scholarly integrity, on a number of fronts and at a number of levels. I have wanted to argue two points: we do need to think both inside and outside the frame the institution has provided for its own picture; we need always to remember that we are writing religious history. That means giving a kind of priority to the exploration of religious cultures.

I would go on to suggest to those attending a Conference on 'The Catholic Impact on Australia', who will later in the day be considering the question 'Australian Catholic history – developing or declining?' that these approaches involve us in a number of tensions. The first is the tension between the 'now' of the historian/observer and the 'now' of the subject. This is a tension in all historical work. The questions we ask are our questions; they may not be enslaved to our time and place, but they are not free of them either. But at the same time we are obliged (I use the strongest possible term) to see the subject on its own terms and in its own context. Is this especially an issue for religious historians? Faith continuities may give a deceptive air of familiarity to past religious landscapes. Is the dilemma a serious one for Catholic historians, to whom tradition matters, historically and as a

[9] UNSW Press, Sydney, 2005

[10] Anna Barbaro, 'Recovering the Origins of Convent Education in Australia', *Australian Catholic Historical Society Journal*, vol. 24, 2003, pp. 45-56

theological category? It might not be so serious for a Pentecostalist, whose temptation could well be the opposite one: seeing as a new work of the Spirit what is in fact a working of old materials. Perhaps the householder in the gospel, who brought out of his store things both old and new, is a good image for the religious historian (Matthew 13:52).

I have already touched on the second tension. I put it then in terms of the relationship between theology and history. Each has its distinctive approach to past religious cultures. Perhaps the tension is ultimately between faith and inquiry. The attempt to see past cultures on their own terms and in their own contexts cannot be closed off prematurely by faith imperatives of the here and now.

The third tension is peculiar to our contemporary culture. Should we speak of its secularizing, or its democratizing, or its fragmenting and diversifying? What seemed to be a massive flight from religion is turning out to be something more complex. From this uncertain vantage-point the religious historian is trying to analyse apparently simpler worlds that we have lost. Or will the experience of complexity open for us complexities that we have overlooked in those past worlds? Will we – to strike a final positive note – from our ecumenical experiences look for and find ecumenical aspirations even in times of bitter conflict? We are never free of this spiral of questions.

Professor Bruce Mansfield

Duncan McNab, James Quinn and the Mission to the Queensland Aborigines 1875-1880

MARK CRYLE

Writing in 1972, the historian Kay Saunders observed that "missionary activity was but another agent which the dominant European culture employed to destroy traditional forms of Aboriginal life" [1] Commenting more specifically of Catholic endeavour more than a decade later, Eugene Stockton summarised it in these terms: "on the one hand there is the record of missions established in isolated corners of the continent. On the other hand, the record of the official church is one of general apathy, with intermittent stirrings of a troubled conscience" [2] In September of 1875, the Scottish priest and campaigner for Aboriginal rights Duncan McNab arrived in Queensland and to the diocese of James Quinn. Were McNab's efforts just "another agent" in the destruction of Aboriginal life? Were Quinn's? This paper looks at McNab's activities in Queensland at this time and in particular examines the relationship he had with his Bishop. In so doing it explores some of the dynamics of the Catholic response to the Aboriginal issue in the nineteenth century – a journey through some of what Stockton called the "isolated corners", "general apathy" and "troubled consciences".

McNab had arrived in Australia in July of 1867 in the company of the Archbishop of Sydney, John Bede Polding, with a view to working with Australia's indigenous population. In the face of critical shortages of priests, especially English speaking ones, the Bishop of Melbourne, James Goold chose to retain McNab's services in parish work until 1875. McNab had applied to join Bishop Salvado's monastery at New Norcia but was refused on account of his age – he was fifty years old.[3] Finally released from parish duties, the Scotsman arrived in Queensland in September 1875 quite possibly in the belief that changes were afoot in the northern colony in the wake of a recent government commission on the Aboriginal issue. [4] The precise circumstances under which McNab came to Queensland are unclear. Yvonne McLay, James Quinn's biographer, states that he was invited by the Bishop[5]. Another study claims that McNab wrote to Quinn offering his services.[6] I suspect that the latter is more likely.

McNab duly reported to Quinn two days after his arrival and "requested" permission to work with the Aborigines in Quinn's diocese. In effect he told Quinn of

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[1] Kay Evans, "Marie Yamba, Bloomfield and Hope Vale: the Lutheran Missions to the North Queensland Aborigines, 1886-1905", *Queensland Heritage,* vol.2 no.6 (May 1972), p.33

[2] Eugene Stockton, "Maverick Missionaries : an Overlooked Chapter in the History of Catholic Missions" in Tony Swain and Deborah Bird Rose (eds), *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions,* Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Adelaide, 1988, p.202.

[3] McNab to Bishop Salvado's Assistant, 7 October 1870, N.N.A.

[4] "Aborigines of Queensland : Report of the Commissioners" reprinted in *Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly,* 1874, vol. 2, p.441

[5] Yvonne McLay, *James Quinn : First Catholic Bishop of Brisbane*, Graphic Books, Armadale, Vic, 1979, p.217

[6] Graham Hoskin, The Aboriginal Reserves in Quieensland, 1871-1885, BA Thesis, University of Queensland, 1967, Chap.4 p.2

his mission and delivered him an ultimatum. [7] As we'll see, Quinn was not usually the type who responded well to ultimatums but nevertheless seemingly received McNab in good grace and was amenable to his designs. Doubtless the Bishop was sceptical however about the likelihood of success.

Throughout the previous fourteen years of his episcopacy Quinn had shown little inclination to address the challenge of Aboriginal evangelisation. The major Catholic initiatives in the northern colony predated his appointment. There had been a Passionist Mission at Stradbroke Island from 1843 to1847. There had also been an attempt to relocate New Norcia founder Rosendo Salvado to a separate diocese for the Aborigines at Maryborough, [8] Both had been gestures inspired by Polding. Quinn had the opportunity to reconsider the Maryborough option when it was refloated by Mother Vincent Whitty for the Sisters of Mercy in 1863. He chose not to undertake the mission, stating that he "did not have sufficient priests or religious for the work already begun with the whites" [9]

The response was characteristic of Quinn and the Irish tradition in which he was steeped. It is a telling statistic that, in an institution as dominated by the Irish presence as the Catholic Church was in Australia in the later half of the nineteenth century, virtually all attempts at Aboriginal evangelisation were undertaken by non-Irish, and in most cases non-English speaking clergy. By the late 1850's more than seventy five percent of the Australian clergy were Irish. [10] A history of the Catholic missions to the Aborigines needs only draw attention to the efforts of two Irishmen, George Dillon and John Brady. [11] Dillon settled members of the Burragorang tribe on to land in his parish near Sydney between 1869 and 1877 and Brady played a part in the New Norcia mission in Western Australia. Both would appear only as footnotes however in chapters devoted to the Englishman Polding, the Scot McNab, the Frenchman Pierre Marie Bucas as well as Spanish Benedictines at New Norcia, Italian and Swiss Passionists at Stradbroke, Austrian Jesuits at Daly River in the Northern Territory, French Trappists at Beagle Bay in the Kimberleys and their successors, German Pallotines. Missions, it seems, were often staffed by non-English-speaking Europeans who could not be used elsewhere. Not only did the Irish/Australian hierarchy fail to instigate missions to the Aborigines, they frequently failed to support those which had been undertaken by others as McNab was later to complain to Rome.[12]

True, many Australian Catholic communities simply could not support the cost of missions to the Aborigines. The issue of their evangelisation, nevertheless, received a very low priority. Irish clergy, in the main, came to Australia without lofty ambitions as regards the Aborigines. Irish Catholicism emphasised the maintenance of those who were already Catholic, even if only nominally, to the exclusion of activity against those who were not. Their primary concerns were, first, their own social survival and not that of the Aborigines, and second with bidding for a colonial

[7] McNab, 'Memoir to Propaganda on the Mission to Australian Blacks 1875-1878', 10 July 1878 (sent to Archbishop Vaughan) A.C.A.S. – hereafter referred to as McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[8] Frances O'Donoghue, *The Bishop of Botany Bay,* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1982, pp. 132-133.
[9] McLay, J*ames Quinn,* pp. 217-218.
[10] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community : an Australian History,* New Soputh Wales University Press, Sydney, 1985, p.104.
[11] Michael Endicott, a History of the Roman Catholic Vicariate of Cooktown, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1984, pp. 31 (Dillon) and 16 (Brady).
[12] McNab, 'Memoria' sent to Cardinal Simeoni, 15 September 1879, S.C. Oceania, vol. 13, f.172.

respectability which did not go hand in hand with pursuing such controversial and unpopular causes as Aboriginal rights.

Quinn, it seems, had carried with him from Europe an appreciation of the Aborigines' plight. In Paris in May 1860, after he had been apprised of his episcopal appointment and six months before sailing from Liverpool, he had presented to the Central Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a paper on Queensland, largely devoted to the condition of the Aborigines and their ill-treatment by white settlers. [13] His priorities were dramatically re-ordered on arrival in Australia, however, by a sense of the enormity of his task in attending to what he called the 'spiritual destitution' of Queensland Catholics.[14] The Brisbane bishop's behaviour typified a colonial clergy preoccupied with the more temporal aspects of their religion; a clergy dealing with the practical concerns of running a parish or diocese and with demonstrating the tangible rewards for their efforts in the form of churches, schools, seminaries and orphanages. It was not an ethos conducive to meeting the elusive, perplexing and seemingly insurmountable challenge of Aboriginal evangelisation. When McNab came face to face with Quinn therefore in September 1875, he also confronted a tradition of behaviour with which he would grapple for the remaining years of his life.

McNab was not without allies in the Church. From the late 1860's, Rome had been urging the Australian bishops to greater efforts on the Aborigines behalf. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome had demanded that the issue of Aboriginal evangelisation be placed on the agenda for discussion at the 1869 synod.[15] The Australian bishops produced a strongly worded condemnation of injustices perpetrated by white colonists, but avoided responsibility for ameliorating the situation,[16] yet they took no action to implement the decree. Quinn, like most Australian bishops, was anxious to absolve diocesan clergy of any responsibility towards treating their Aboriginal charges. He argued, with some cogency, that it was demanding work for which they were not qualified or trained. It is likely, therefore, that Quinn was prepared to accommodate and even support, initially at least, McNab's roving commission, in so far as it did not make demands on the other clergy under his episcopal authority. McNab's mission was frustrated too, as we will see, by polemics, political undercurrents and personality clashes within the Australian Catholic Church.

The Irish homeland experience was a factor in the response, or some might say non-response, to the Aboriginal "problem". Equally, values transported from the old world coloured McNab's perceptions of his Irish co-clerics, in particular Quinn. In Scotland, prior to his departure for Victoria in 1867, McNab had fallen foul of his Irish parishioners. From 1848 to 1867 McNab was parish priest at Airdrie, Lanarkshire in Scotland's industrial lowlands.[17] His parishioners, like those in most lowland Scottish parishes, were almost exclusively Irish, or descended from Irish,

[13] James Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed* : *the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and Australia, 1837-1977,* Chevalier Press, Sydney, 1982, p.189.
[14] Quoted in O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* p.206.
[15] K.T. Livingston, 'Voices in the Wilderness', *Australasian Catholic Record,* vol. 16, no. 2, April 1979. p.183.
[16] ibid., p.183.
[17] Information in letter M. Dilworth (Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh) to B. Nailon, 2 June 1980 – copy in possession of author.

who had migrated from famines in their homeland seeking work. [18] The numerically dominant Irish faction within the Scottish Catholic Church was resentful of the monopoly exercised by the Scots over ecclesiastical property and senior appointments. [19] The chief organ of their protest was the *Glasgow Free Press*, later the *Free Press*. Between 1851 and 1868 Scottish clergymen, amongst them McNab, were consistently and belligerently pilloried in its columns. In 1862 one contributor to the paper commented of McNab, "I know well how he hates everything Irish". Several other letters followed to similar effect, culminating in a leader devoted to McNab's 'crimes' in 1862. [20] McNab was repeatedly attacked over the following years. He was regularly charged with financial improprieties [21] and, even after his departure in 1866, was reported as having absconded with "thousands of pounds" of parish funds. [22] The reportage was provocative, pernicious and poorly substantiated. It was typical of a style for which the paper was later to receive papal censure and for which it was eventually closed down in 1868. [23] Even had McNab been non-prejudicial to the Irish, he may have been justified in changing his views after the *Free Press* campaign. McNab however was no innocent in the proceedings. In 1866 he published a pamphlet in which he argued that the Saint Patrick had been born in Scotland. [24] While a cogent argument it was hardly a diplomatic gesture under the circumstances. Though the *Free Press*' charge of peculation seems misdirected, the anti-Irish label, was quite conceivably justified.

James Quinn on the other hand was aggressively Hibernian, to the point of actually changing his name to "O'Quinn" during the O'Connell celebrations of 1875, to honour his heritage in "the oldest, noblest and most chivalrous race in the world". [25] Quinn had also demonstrated intolerance of any freelance clergy or non-diocesan religious orders operating in his area of jurisdiction. [26] Further to this he had decisively suppressed clerical revolutions in 1862 and 1867[27] and ran his diocese like an autocrat. He was also engaged in a protracted power struggle with McNab's cousin, Mother Mary MacKillop, over control of the Josephite Sisters stationed in his diocese. The feud culminated in the Josephite withdrawal in 1880.[28] As his biographer tells us: "the bishop ruled as an absolute episcopal monarch, in a manner which met all challenges to his authority with further assertions of that authority". [29]

So here we have McNab – messianic, driven, uncompromising, seemingly impatient for change; and Quinn – authoritarian, yet a builder, someone who saw his role laying the foundations for an Irish church in Queensland; a man who valued institutions and was prepared to compromise on many counts in society at large, if not within the church itself, to promote the status of Catholicism in this new land. Thus,

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[18] Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878,* Standard Press, Montrose, Scotland, 1970, p. 249.
[19] ibid., p.292
[20] Quoted in J.E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland,* University Press, Cork, 1947, p.65.
[21] *Free Press*, 15 Oct. 1864, quoted ibid., p.70.
[22] *Free Press,* 22 June 1867, quoted ibid., p.85.
[23] ibid., p.85.
[24] Richard Snedden, The Life and Work of Father Duncan McNab, Teacher's Higher Certificate Thesis, Dept. of Education, Western Australia, 1964, p.6
[25] Quinn quoted in Yvonne McLay, *James Quinn : First Catholic Bishop of Brisbane*, Graphic Books, Armadale, 1979, p.187.
[26] ibid., p.62
[27] ibid., pp.63-65; p.74
[28] ibid., p.206.
[29] ibid., p.52

when McNab met Quinn in 1875, many of the pre-conditions for non-cooperation were already in place. It was not long before the uneasy peace in their relationship degenerated into open hostility.

On his arrival McNab had requested assistance for his mission from Quinn. In particular he asked for the services of Pierre Bucas who had gone to Queensland specifically to work with the Aborigines and who had three years experience with the Maoris [30] Quinn promised Bucas' release from parish duties on the arrival of a replacement priest in the diocese. According to McNab, "another and another and another came and yet he was still withheld". [31] McNab was disappointed by his failure to obtain Bucas' experienced assistance and sceptical at Quinn's motivation for withholding it.

Quinn, for his part, encouraged McNab to take up some land on behalf of the church and to try to settle the Aborigines upon it.[32] McNab had absolutely no intention of doing such a thing and viewed himself as a political lobbyist, a social theorist and an agitator for reform – roles which could barely be accomplished on some remote mission. McNab appreciated that the land had been violently appropriated by white colonists without compensation to its original owners and railed against the claim that the Aborigines had forfeited their entitlement to land by virtue of their failure to exploit its agricultural and pastoral potential. He advocated freehold title for Australia's indigenous inhabitants and recognised that land possession was at the root of the struggle between black and white. This was to be his outstanding contribution to colonial discourse on the Aborigines and one for which he is rightfully best remembered. In effect he foreshadowed the land rights movement which followed a century later.

In his role as advocate for the Aboriginal cause McNab was appointed in 1876 to a government commission for the amelioration of the Aborigines' condition under the chairmanship of Mathew Hale, the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane . McNab geared his efforts to the provocation of public indignation at the treatment of the Aborigines. His commitment to what he believed was their cause was fanatical. The Commission on the other hand, acted less as a prod to public conscience than as part time agent of a civil administration less than fully committed to Aboriginal rights – an administration much like Quinn's episcopacy which was taking careful, not to say timid, steps to realise limited and expedient goals.

Bucas had, in the meantime, proposed a permanent mission in the vicinity of Mackay and was preparing to obtain a piece of land for that purpose. Quinn responded in June 1876 by opening a bank account in his, Bucas' and McNab's names, without the latter's consent and borrowing money to pay for the first instalment of the purchase. McNab objected and disavowed responsibility for any debts incurred by the bishop .[33]

Quinn in fact had a reputation for indiscreet land dealings [34] and generally chaotic financial management. [35] This may have been a factor in McNab's response. It

[30] McNab to Martin Griver, 4 April 1885, A.C.A.P.
[31] ibid.
[32] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[33] ibid.
[34] McLay, *James Quinn*, pp. 111 & 175.
[35] Neil Byrne, Robert Dunne, 1830-1917, Archbishop of Brisbane: a Biography, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1989, p.182.

was probably not the foremost consideration however. Quinn wanted a show piece. He, and probably Bucas, envisaged a permanent mission for the Aborigines, conceived along the lines of New Norcia. That institution had, to date, been the singular "success" in the Catholic evangelisation effort. It had an international reputation[36] and was highly visible evidence of the Catholic presence. It would this likely have matched with Quinn's conception of the role of the church and gone a long way to pleasing his superiors in Rome. McNab's peripateticism, on the other hand, offered no such example. McNab objected to the notion of a permanent mission on the grounds that the Aborigines would not leave their own country to come to it.[37] Further to this he insisted that:

> … by thus limiting my action, I could benefit only a few individuals, perhaps one or two hundred whereas I desired to secure civil rights for all, and to succeed in conferring a general benefit. [38]

McNab was also reluctant to stray far from his base in Brisbane. [39] His ambitions could best be realised by vigorous lobbying of the government and the commissioners. For McNab, the Aborigines' plight was less a church problem, than a political one, for which he sought political solutions. He conceived of a mission unconstrained by ecclesiastical trappings. His ambition to "secure civil rights for all" transcended the then established parameters of missionary work.

It was Quinn who reminded McNab of the missionary's traditional role by insisting that he abandon his dealings with the government and undertake the task of instructing the Aborigines in the Christian faith. He pointed to the inefficacy of McNab's lobbying efforts and yet accused him of being "a mere tool or agent of the government".[40] McNab of course denied the accusation, simply claiming that 'the Blacks were in the power of the government from the beginning, and to it alone I could apply for their civil rights.'[41] McNab complained to Vaughan that Quinn was in fact 'more trammelled by the Government' than he was.[42] Despite Quinn's Irish nationalist proclivities and the authoritarianism of his diocesan administration, he pursued a policy of tolerance and cooperation in his dealings with the wider Protestant community. [43] Patrick O'Farrell concedes that Quinn's tolerance in these dealings 'sprang from conviction'. It was, however, Farrell claims, 'a tactical conviction rather than one of principle: good relations with his colonial world seemed to him necessary to the work of his church.'[44]

McNab on the other hand rarely entertained 'good relations with his colonial world'. He was much too indignant and intolerant of its social injustices. He was intolerant too of Quinn's ecumenism and his seeming preparedness to compromise on some matters of liturgy in a bid to attain his integrationist goals. McNab was also

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[36] James Griffin, "Priest and Piccaninnies : Dom Rosendo at New Norcia and Elsewhere" *Meanjin*, vol. 36, no.4 ,Dec. 1977, p.517.
[37] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[38] ibid.
[39] ibid.
[40] ibid.
[41] ibid.
[42] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[43] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* N.S.W. University Press, Sydney, 1985, pp.130-132
[44] ibid., p.132

particularly scrupulous in matters of Catholic dogma. It was just one more source of friction in a relationship which was doomed never to succeed. The ultimate victim of the failure of that relationship was McNab's scheme for Aboriginal amelioration. Marginalised from the Catholic mainstream in Queensland, McNab was unable to mobilise the weight of the Church behind his lobbying efforts. His initiatives were resisted by an almost exclusively Protestant administration whose opinion of him was, despite their claims to the contrary, doubtless coloured by sectarian prejudices. McNab thus reaped few of the benefits and most of the disadvantages of his denominational affiliation.

McNab kept himself throughout 1875 and part of 1876 on money saved from his parish work in Victoria. After this was used up, he relied on funds solicited from within the diocese [45] under the authority of a letter provided by Quinn for that purpose. [46] He was highly critical of Quinn's reluctance to fund the mission outright.[47]

He was convinced too that Quinn withheld resources from his mission unjustly and that the Irishman's budgeting priorities were askew.[48]

McNab's funds were meagre. Worse than this, their supply was tenuous. Quinn's permission to beg for money could be revoked at any time. Fully cognizant of this, McNab complied with Quinn's request that he begin the process of conversion of the Aborigines.[49] McNab was convinced, as Polding had been years before,[50] that the Aborigines' material wants should be thoroughly met before any attempt at religious conversion was made.[51] He was also hesitant to convert them for fear that their status as Catholics would further jeopardise their chances of receiving government assistance. [52]

There were other factors too which probably contributed to McNab's reluctance to evangelise. He could observe the Aborigines' material circumstances and knew something of the history of their persecution. He could thus draft a blueprint for action based on these perceptions. McNab was considerably more ignorant, however, about Aboriginal spiritual values. One analyst claims that Catholic procrastination over Aboriginal evangelisation was largely a product of an ignorance of their religious values and a lack of confidence about how to proceed.[53] The notion prevailed in the Catholic Church, as in most others, that the Aborigines had no religious susceptibilities. The absence of the signs of formal religious observance, temples and god figures was read as lack of religiosity in general. It was understandable yet critical misreading. Missionaries, in fact, confronted spiritual values as strongly held as their own.[54] Many made the mistake of believing that Aboriginal spirituality was a *tabula rasa* on which they could inscribe Christian values. Later, in 1887, McNab noted that the Aborigines held religious beliefs, the

[45] McNab to Martin Griver, 4 April 1885, A.C.A.P.
[46] Circular letter, 13 December, 1875, James Quinn Letterbook, June 1875 to July 1882, A.C.A.B.
[47] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[48] ibid.
[49] ibid.
[50] Eugene O. Stockton, "Polding and the Aborigines", *Tjurunga,* no.16, October, 1878, p.53.
[51] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[52] ibid.
[53] Michael Endicott, A History of the Roman Catholic Vicariate of Cooktown, PhD, University of Queensland, 1984, p. ???
[54] Charles Rowley, *A Matter of Justice,* A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1978, p.161.

details of which they were reluctant to communicate to outsiders.[55] This observation was informed by more than ten years experience of missionary work. There is no evidence that McNab, in 1877, was any more aware of the profundities of the Aborigines' religious beliefs than any of his contemporaries.

Despite this ignorance, McNab set about his task of conversion methodically. Prior to venturing forth he arranged for copies of his photograph to be distributed in the area in advance, in order that the local tribes would recognise him. [56] On encountering bands of Aborigines he pitched his tent in the vicinity of their encampment and commenced instruction to the young, [57] dressed in a 'clerical habit with glaring colours and crucifix'.[58] In refreshing contrast to most of his contemporaries, McNab considered the Aborigines to be 'quick of apprehension and susceptible to training'.[59] He believed that success would surely follow if they were 'reasoned with, and each point of doctrine clearly explained to them'.[60] Regrettably for McNab, his methods proved less than successful. According to Tom Petrie's account he was mocked in his absence by the blacks.[61] Reflecting on his missionary career in later years, he ruefully acknowledges that, in twelve years if labour, he had probably made no permanent converts.[62]

McNab's compliance with Quinn's request for religious instruction for the Aborigines did not mark the end of the conflict between the two clergymen. Broader political currents within the Australian Catholic Church were shifting them further into mutually hostile camps. The period of McNab's mission in Queensland was a particularly troubled one in the history of the Australian church. McNab had a bit part in a conflict played out between the Roger Vaughan and the suffragan Irish bishops in other parts of the colonies, one of whom was Quinn's brother and another his cousin. The origins of the controversy are complex. It has been suggested that it was rooted as much in the traditional tensions between diocesan and regular clergy, as in the more obvious English/Irish enmity.[63] McNab's relations with Quinn, and thus by extrapolation the efficacy of his mission, were severely prejudiced by the Scotsman's unequivocal alignment with the Vaughan and the Benedictines.

According to Quinn's biographer, 1875, the year of McNab's arrival in Queensland, was also the year in which internal disharmony within the Australian Catholic Church reached new heights.[64] In the months prior to McNab's arrival, the Archbishop of Armidale, Timothy O'Mahoney, had been reported to Rome on charges of alcoholism and sexual immorality. The charges were probably false, yet the failure of Vaughan in Sydney to support O'Mahoney against the allegations, meant that the case became a rallying point for the Irish bishops with James Quinn at their head.[65] Two years later it was Quinn who was at the centre of a controversy. At the 1877 Provincial Synod a "syllabus of Accusations" was read against him. The

[55] McNab to Moran, 29 August 1887, A.C.A.S.
[56] McNab to Vaughan, 10 July 1878.
[57] *The Advocate*, 25 June 1881.
[58] McNab to Moran, 29 August 1889, A.C.A.S.
[59] McNab "Notes on the Condition…????
[60] ibid.
[61] Constance Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland,* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1983, p.216.
[62] McNab to Tachon, 28 July 1896, J.P.A.
[63] McLay, *James Quinn,* p.97
[64] ibid., p.184
[65] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* p.221

syllabus alleged once again drunkenness and immorality as well as charging that "The Bishop of Brisbane and his Irish priests spend on debauchery what the people give them for the administration of the blacks".[66] It has its origins in a set of previously unconnected gripes and grievances recorded in letters home from Italian priests in Quinn's diocese during the early 1870's. The complaints were later collected and edited in Rome. Quinn's supporters set about organising a defence. They circularised a refutation of the accusations which all the priests in the diocese were requested to sign.[67] McNab refused.[68]

In June 1878, at the height of the fracas, Quinn chose not to renew the faculties for McNab's mission. McNab became powerless to act for the Aborigines in Quinn's diocese, which comprised most of Queensland. He was convinced that the decision was prompted by his failure to support the Bishop against the charges and advised Vaughan of such. [69]

McNab however was no innocent bystander here. Rome had called upon Vaughan, by then Archbishop of Sydney, to investigate the complaints. He did so in May 1878 by requesting information from all the priests in Quinn's diocese, except for those who were obviously favourable to the Bishop, such as his three nephews – the Horans.[70] The method of investigation has been described by Quinn's biographer, with some restraint, as 'irregular'.[71] McNab responded with relish and forwarded a list of twenty-seven specific incidents of 'improprieties' to Vaughan in July 1878.[72] McNab got his revenge but he lost his mission.

By December 1878, McNab had also resigned from the government commission and launched a vitriolic campaign against his fellow commissoners in the pages of the *Brisbane Courier.* The Commission or what was left of it closed ranks. McNab fired his volleys in a bid to ignite public outrage, but found in its stead a mixture of apathy and spite. In the later half of 1878 he worked his way north out of Quinn's diocese and into the Vicariate of Cooktown, which had been created in 1877 and which encompassed much of the tropical region of the colony. There the Vicar-Apostolic Giovanni Cani was demonstrating a rather more positive approach to Aboriginal evangelisation than Quinn in the south.[73] McNab's stay in the north was cut short by health problems and in April 1879 he returned to Victoria en route to Europe.

At the beginning of 1879 he sailed from Melbourne on an around-the-world trip which took him through Egypt, Southern Europe, The British Isles and the United States. In Rome in September of that year he drafted what amounted to a supplement to his major report to Vaughan of July the previous year. Here he broadened the scope of his attack beyond Quinn to the Australian bishops in general who were taken to task for their inertness on the matter of Aboriginal evangelisation.[74] Many of his sentiments echoed those of Propaganda and his deputation was, on the whole, well

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[66] 'The Syllabus of Accusations' quoted in O'Farrell (ed) *Documents in Australian Catholic History,* vol 1, p.343.
[67] McLay, *James Quinn,* p.198.
[68] McNab to Vaughan, 15 May 1878, Italian précis in S.C. Oceania, vol 12, 1879, fol. 605.
[69] McNab to Vaughan, 5 July 1878, S.C. Oceania, vol.12, 1879, fol 612.
[70] McLay, *James Quinn,* p.201.
[71] ibid., p.198.
[72] McNab to Vaughan, 5 July 1878, S.C. Oceania, vol. 12, 1879, fol. 612.
[73] Endicott, A History of the Roman Catholic Vicariate of Cooktown, p.302.
[74] McNab 'Memoria' to Simeoni, 15 September, 1879.

received by Cardinal Simeoni in Rome, culminating perhaps in the Austrian Jesuit mission to the Northern Territory in 1882. McNab began a tour of French, English, Scottish, Irish and later American seminaries and monasteries in what was to prove an unsuccessful bid for support and personnel for a renewed mission. [75]

By Februaury 1881 McNab was back in Victoria writing letters detailing abuses against the Aborigines, complaining about government inaction and agitating for reform. In the years which he had committed to the Queensland mission (September 1875 to 1880) McNab had raged and cajoled, badgered and bullied. He had shown unflinching commitment to his cause but had been deeply scarred by the experience. In 1881 he was 61 years old and in declining health. When in Rome he had asked to be relieved of his missionary duties, but had been ordered back to the front by Simeoni. [76] While he continued to show his zeal in his public dealings, his more intimate correspondence showed a rather different face. There spoke disillusion, fatigue and a rapidly encroaching sense of futility. One month after his return from the United States he wrote to his cousin Mary MacKillop, "My labours for the blacks seem fruitless and hopeless". His labours were ongoing however – back in north Queensland, at Rottnest Island in Western Australia and later in the Kimberleys. His health broken and he eventually returned to Victoria in 1887. Duncan McNab died in Richmond in September of 1896.

He had striven against the current. He first conceptualised and theorised on the Aboriginal situation and then proceeded frantically to attempt to actualise these theories. His approach was radical departure from the pragmatic responses or non-responses which characterised church and state policy on the Aborigines through the colonial period. McNab's was maverick figure on his roving commission in Queensland. He showed deference to his superiors, if he perceived their actions to be in the best interests of the Aborigines, and would brook no departure from doctrinal orthodoxy in the administering of the sacraments. McNab was a stickler for Catholic form, fiercely anti-Protestant who, while moulding his world view to the treatment of a colonial issue – the Aborigines – unlike his bishop was little prepared to make concessions to, and compromises with the colonial realities which confronted him.

[75] McNab to Simeoni, 11 Dec. 1879, S.C. Oceania, Vol. 13, fol 178.
[76] McNab to Bishop Griver, 1 March 1885, A.C.A.P.

From Mass Tent to Cathedral
Catholicism in the Social and Cultural Landscape, Sandhurst 1852-1901

CLARA GEOGHEGAN

The Australian goldfields of the nineteenth century were a cultural melting pot, attracting diggers of all nationalities and all walks of life. None was more colourful than the first Roman Catholic priest on the Bendigo goldfields. Henry Backhaus was the son of a boot-maker in Paderborn, Westphalia. Roman educated at Propaganda Fide, and sometime missionary in Calcutta, Backhaus was the first clergyman to attract a government salary in the role of 'chaplain to the Victorian goldfields'. He was a man of many talents: a gifted musician, linguist, civic leader, with an extraordinary eye for real estate. He was also stubborn, independent, and part of a church whose hierarchy was becoming increasingly Irish dominated.

Weston Bate writes of the gold rushes building cities 'from scratch in one generation'.[1] Henry Backhaus arrived on the Bendigo goldfields just months after the first discovery of gold. His legacy, rich both spiritually and materially, built the Church of Sandhurst, and made a considerable impact on the civic development of the city, but not without conflict with the new bishop appointed in 1874.

The appointment of Martin Crane osa, an Irish Augustinian, in 1874 was a turning point for the Church in Sandhurst. The religious agenda of the Irish Bishop shaped by post emancipation Ireland and the "devotional revolution' of Paul Cardinal Cullen was bound to conflict with the unspoken assumptions of Backhaus, whose origins were the Prince-bishopric of Paderborn, established in the time of Charlemagne and dissolved at the Council of Vienna.

The conflict between priest and bishop has been hitherto ignored as an embarrassment in the lives of two worthy pioneers. Backhaus had not clearly delineated between the Church's property and his own the result being that the bishop was in an awkward situation with regard to the administration of his own diocese. It is possible that this situation was the result of the ad hoc manner in which development had taken place, but Backhaus had been less than scrupulous in the matter by allowing the blurring of the distinction between ecclesial and personal property. Indeed, his superiors, namely Bishop Goold and his vicar-general, had also been negligent in not establishing and enforcing clear guidelines for the development of the diocese.

Backhaus owned vast tracts of land and considerable commercial properties in the city, but had, in the eyes of many, including Archbishop Goold, neglected the construction of churches and other ecclesial buildings. Where he had erected churches or schools, these were often on land to which he held the title in his own name. There were no separate bank accounts for Church business. Upon arrival in the diocese, Crane found himself with no source of funds apart from the income which he and his assistant Fr Stephen Reville osa generated themselves through saying Mass and various donations. Crane was in an invidious situation in that he governed a Church but had no legal ownership or control over much of the property. The situation was clearly a source of frustration for Bishop Crane. This frustration was voiced in his Ad

[1] Bate, W. (1978). *Lucky City. The First Generation at Ballarat: 1851-1901.* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.

limina report in 1882 where he expressed the wish that Backhaus would hand over certain land to the diocese.[2]

It appears Backhaus was not going to be forced into handing over any land or funds. After serving as vicar-general under Crane for four years, he resigned his position and retired to his mansion in Brighton in 1881. Upon his death a year later, Backhaus bequeathed almost his entire estate to the parish of St Kilian's with two provisos. Firstly that the parish priest be a secular priest and secondly that no income from the estate to be disbursed for twenty years. These two curious provisions have been glossed over for one hundred years, but it appears Backhaus' intention was to ensure that no part of the estate fell into the hands of the Augustinian bishop.

This paper attempts to explain this conflict by exploring their divergent cultural and religious worldviews and also to acknowledge that the actions of Bishop Crane would result in a lasting monument to both men: the magnificent Sacred Heart Cathedral.

In his relationship with other clergy, Henry Backhaus was a loner. He did not appear to have close clerical friends, and had numerous curates packing their bags and returning to Melbourne unable to withstand the rigorous and frugal lifestyle he imposed upon them. Yet he was greatly respected in the city of Bendigo. Having arrived on the goldfields only months after the first discovery of gold he identified closely with the struggles of the diggers and won their respect by sharing their difficulties and their successes. Backhaus lived frugally, saved money and invested wisely. He also took a leading role in establishing the infrastructure of the city. He was one of the key players in the foundation of the hospital, establishing the water supply, the Benevolent Asylum, bringing the railway to Bendigo, establishing the Industrial School for orphaned children, and numerous other civic endeavours. His involvement was acknowledged by his participation in the Old Bendigonians.

The Old Bendigonians were the keepers of the Bendigo story. They were the authorities on the 'old times.' Their success in the material, cultural and social spheres had earned them the title of 'pioneer'.[3] They saw themselves as the embodiment of the egalitarian society which enabled ordinary men to achieve success, and they maintained the myth that hard work could bring wealth in the new society although the fallacy of this myth was everywhere around them.[4] Charles Fahey, noted labour historian, demonstrated in his doctoral thesis that there was little opportunity for upward social mobility in Bendigo during the quartz mining period which followed the short lived alluvial discoveries. Wealth continued to be concentrated in the hands of a small minority, most of whom had made their fortunes in an earlier time.[5]

Backhaus' position amongst the elite first generation Bendigonians gave him an advantage in negotiating for the catholic community. He had been criticised for the effort he placed in his business endeavours and indeed they were many and varied, but it cannot be suggested that he neglected his pastoral duties. The sheer number of baptisms preformed and marriages over which he presided attest to his reputation as a

[2] Relazione delle cose ecclesiastiche della Diocesi di Sandhurst, 1 Febbraio 1882,(*Ad Limina report, February 1, 1882)* Scritture Rifferite dei Congressi Oceania, Vol.14, 1882-4, f.109

[3] Roper, M. (1986). Inventing Traditions in Goldfield Society: Public Ritual and Town Building in Sandhurst 1867-1885. *History*. Melbourne, Monash.

[4] Fahey, J. C. (1981). Wealth and Social Mobility in Bendigo and North Central Victoria, 1879-1901; Ibid., University of Melbourne.

[5] Ibid.

hard working priest. He also had a reputation as a healer, and probably practiced homeopathy. His participation in this emerging elite grouping was most probably due to his business interests and civic involvement rather than his role as a clergyman, but whatever the context his religious affiliation was never ignored.[6] Indeed, Backhaus himself did not compromise his religious standing in order to earn the favour of his fellow Bendigonians and there were numerous instances where he challenged the widely held assumptions in order to assert the place of the Catholic Church. Whether his attempts were successful is arguable, but as Catholics were over-represented in the poorer sector of society, Backhaus' standing within the community provided a platform for the positioning of the Catholic Church within the emerging social structures of Bendigo.

It can be argued that he might have viewed his role as a civic leader was an extension of his role as a religious leader. One aspect of his business developments was the purchase of large tracts of farming land along the Campaspe River, including large sections surrounding the township of Axedale. His intention was to lease this land to families and enable them to eventually purchase the farms. In correspondence to the Vicar general, Fr Fitzpatrick, he writes of his desire to establish a 'catholic yeomanry'.

Backhaus demonstrated a vision of Catholicism which drew on both an older understanding of the place of the Church in society, but which would also find expression in the documents of Vatican II. It was a vision which sought a more universal and inculturated Catholicism which engaged with society and contributed to shaping social structures. His Catholic heritage placed the church as an integral, if not dominant, protagonist in the cultural landscape. Further, the Church was not bound to any particular manifestation of culture, but sought to adapt its understanding of humanity to the existing and developing cultural mores. Backhaus was not alone in this view amongst what might be termed 'the first wave' of Catholic missionaries to Australia. Archbishop Polding of Sydney, while motivated by a desire to transplant in Australia the high culture of the Church, was wary about identifying the Church with nationalist, especially Irish, sentiment. Polding's fellow Benedictine, Rosendo Salvado, demonstrated a respect for aboriginal culture and a willingness to engage with it in his mission at New Norcia. It was not until the 'second wave' of episcopal and clerical appointments to Australia, beginning in the 1860s, that Catholicism began to be identified with a particular cultural manifestation. Identified as 'Irish Catholicism' it was a new and hybrid variety born out of two cultural developments: ultramontanism, and Catholic emancipation in Ireland which after centuries of oppression, gave rise to new possibilities for both religious and political expression and the two became inextricably linked.

Unlike the integrated view of religion and society which existed in pre-revolution Catholic Europe, Catholicism in Anglo-protestant society was portrayed as a foreign imposition with loyalty to the Papacy rather than the crown. Much of the debate and perceived results of ultramontanism reinforced this view. It was difficult even for the ecumenically minded Backhaus to escape the ensuing manifestations of sectarianism which accompanied this. By the mid 1870s the deep community divisions over education funding brought sectarianism to a head in Bendigo. Enter the

[6] Roper, M. (1986). Inventing Traditions in Goldfield Society: Public Ritual and Town Building in Sandhurst 1867-1885 Ibid., Monash.

new bishop Martin Crane bringing his experience of the Irish Church under the leadership of Cullen.

Whatever the difficulties between Crane and Backhaus, Crane showed himself ready to commence building up his diocese. His task was one of building up the Church infrastructure and instructing the Catholics in his dioceses in the teaching of the faith. He lost no time in applying himself to building and to fundraising. He had demonstrated an aptitude for both during his time as Provincial in Ireland and prior at John's Lane so he would seize upon the opportunities presented in Sandhurst. His first project, although criticised by some, was the building of a Bishop's palace for himself and the priests of Sandhurst and following upon the palace was the acquisition of a property for the Sisters of Mercy to function as both a convent and as a school. However building was not his sole focus. In January 1876 he welcomed the Sisters of Mercy to Bendigo and blessed their new convent. The arrival of the Sisters marked the beginning of the expansion of Catholic education. He was also active in establishing new parishes and enabling the building of new schools and churches. If the diocese had only four parishes at the time of his arrival, these soon doubled. By 1882, Crane was able to report to Rome that they had increased to ten, and were steadily growing.[7] This growth was only contained by the shortage of clergy.

Crane also began a process of pastoral visitation to all areas of his diocese as a way of getting to know his people, making the sacraments available to them and passing on to them his vision for consolidating their faith. This focused on the building of churches which would become the focus of a worshiping community. In many ways what he would encounter in the Victorian countryside was not dissimilar to the experience of the Irish Church in the post-emancipation period.

Universally, he was warmly welcomed as the Catholics in remote areas of the diocese were eager to meet their bishop and to avail themselves of his pastoral care. The majority were Irish and they strongly identified themselves as Catholic, but often, due to both their isolation and to ignorance they were not well formed in their faith. For many, the distance from a centre of worship meant that the practice of their faith was irregular and the reception of the sacraments was difficult. There would have been couples, in some areas, whose marriages needed to be regularised, children to be baptised and to be confirmed. Despite these difficulties there were also heroic attempts to keep the faith alive, with many women offering their services as catechists to educate children in the absence of a priest or of religious schools. Crane encountered all these people during his visitations. The experience of these visitations was often one of mutual encouragement. For the bishop it encouraged his efforts to provide priests and schools. For the laity a visit from the bishop reawakened their interest in the faith and engendered enthusiasm in building churches and providing material assistance to the diocese. A visit from the bishop ensured that those who sought the sacraments were able to avail themselves, but it often provided the impetus for further development of the community. These tangible spiritual benefits provided further motivation required for a community to build a church or a school, activities Crane encouraged when he did not provide the initial suggestion. As in Ireland, the focus was to make the parish church the centre of worship.

In 1882 Crane left the diocese for Rome for his Ad Limina visit, but there was a secondary purpose to his visit. He had been experiencing problems with his eyesight

[7] Figures from Ad limina report 1882, Scritture Riferitte dei Congressi Oceania, Vol.14, 1882-4, f.109

and while in London consulted an eye specialist who advised the removal of cataracts. The operation was unsuccessful, resulting in his loss of sight and delaying his return to the diocese until 1985.

Upon his return, he encountered another scenario, the death of Backhaus and the vast fortune of £76,000 bequeathed to St Kilian's. Crane saw the opportunity for building a Cathedral – a focus for the worshipping community of the diocese.

There is probably scope for a thesis on the psychology of church builders. There appears to be a human need to make faith manifest in tangible and concrete ways. And this need was nowhere more evident than in the Irish priests and bishops appointed to Australia in the years following 1860. This was a period of realignment for an Irish Church and an Irish people who were emerging out of a period of famine and oppression and were beginning to reassert their faith and their identity. Crane's desire to build a Cathedral of the dimensions of Sacred Heart Bendigo was not an isolated event but a consequence of the 'devotional revolution' which was carefully orchestrated in Ireland by Paul Cardinal Cullen and in Australia by bishops who shared his vision.[8] The difference for Bendigo was the opportunity afforded by the Backhaus bequest.

It is impossible to approach the modern city of Bendigo and ignore the Sacred Heart Cathedral which features so prominently on both the physical and historical landscape. While noting the stature and role of cathedrals in the religious landscape, Sacred Heart is still surprising. No visitor to the town can ignore it. The scale of the building is beyond compare with other cathedrals in suffragan dioceses. It is on a scale only comparable with the metropolitan cathedrals of Sydney and Melbourne. Perhaps the only other noteworthy example in a country diocese is the cathedral in Geraldton, but that is in a category entirely of its own. Sacred Heart is vast and imposing from the outside. From the inside it is utterly surprising in its sense of light and space. Not the usual dark imposing gothic interior but with internal walls covered in white marble both capturing and reflecting the light. It is somewhat incongruous to find such a building in even a wealthy regional city, especially one where Catholics did not feature amongst the wealthier inhabitants.

It was Martin Crane, the first Bishop of Sandhurst who, though blind in the last fifteen years of his life, proposed the building of the Cathedral and organised the finance for it. The manner in which the finance was raised was controversial. The diocese mortgaged considerable land to quartz mining magnate George Lansell for a loan of £36,000 at 6 percent compound interest. He then restructured the diocese in a manner which would allow the funds from the Backhaus estate to pay out the loan to Lansell. The Cathedral does not govern its own parish, but is part of the parish of St Kilian's. He appointed a trustworthy priest, Fr Barry Sylvester, as parish priest of St Kilian's. He also managed to ensure that upon the death of Fr Tierney Fr Sylvester would replace him as one of the three trustees of the Backhaus estate. At present, the Bishop of Sandhurst is also parish priest of St Killian's, enabling him to have control of the continuing income of the estate.

That Bishop Crane's health was so precarious that he had to be taken from the Cathedral during the consecration ceremony and died a mere six weeks later leads one

[8] Larkin, E. (1972). "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75." *American Historical Review* **LXXVII**(3), Bowen, D. (1983). *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism*. Dublin.

to speculate that, in the opening and consecration of the cathedral he saw the completion of his life's work.

In 1901, at the time of its consecration, only the central nave had been built. The lantern towers were added by Crane's coadjutor and successor Bishop Stephen Reville but was not until the time of Bishop Bernard Stewart (1950-1976), 4th Bishop of Sandhurst, that the building was finally completed in 1976.

The irony is that if you ask a Bendigo Catholic about Sacred Heart Cathedral and they will tell you it was built with funds from the Backhaus estate. Credit for its existence is given almost exclusively to Henry Backhaus the pioneer priest of the Bendigo goldfield who built up enormous wealth, which he bequeathed to the Church. This is only part of the truth. Yes, income from Dr Backhaus' estate did fund the construction of the cathedral, but Backhaus himself left no specific directives as to how his estate was to be used, only some curious restrictions on how the estate could be managed and income from the estate disbursed. It could, in fact, be said that the cathedral came about despite Henry Backhaus.

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Containing 'Contamination': Cardinal Moran and Australian National Identity

MARK HEARN

In May 1888 Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran, the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, gave a press interview in which he declared that the Australian colonies acted in an 'arbitrary and unchristian spirit' by prohibiting Chinese immigrants from landing in Australia.[1] A month earlier, the SS *Afghan* had arrived in Melbourne with 268 Chinese immigrants. The Victorian Government refused to allow it to disembark its passengers, and when the *Afghan* sailed on to Sydney its arrival provoked riots and deputations to Parliament demanding legislation restricting Chinese immigration, demands in which most of the colonies subsequently acquiesced.[2]

While Moran conceded that Chinese arrivals in Australian tended to be of a 'low type … we get few but the scum and the lower classes' – he nonetheless told the *Advertiser* that they were 'useful to us … what we want in Australia is population.' Moran added that a great deal of the anti-Chinese agitation was 'fictitious', propagated by 'loafers' who refused work at good wage rates, because of their obstinate attachment to 'trade union principles and … higher wages.' Notwithstanding his concerns about scum, the Chinese were by comparison 'models of industry and thrift', representatives of a civilisation which, if it received 'the impress of Christianity' would become 'one of the greatest powers and the greatest peoples in the world.'[3]

Moran's pro-Chinese immigration statements, made four years after his arrival as Archbishop of Sydney in 1884, was a controversial attempt to influence the Australian character and national identity to conform to his ideals of social and religious progress. Moran seemed undisturbed at the consequences of increasing Australia's population with perhaps large numbers of Chinese immigrants, despite the evident anxieties that such immigration stirred in the vast majority of Australians. Davison has described the events of April-June 1888 as '…possibly the most concerted attack of xenophobia in Australia's colonial history.' A xenophobia based not only in a fear of the Chinese taking the jobs of white workers or undercutting pay rates, but in a belief that the Chinese were 'unassimilable to the Australian way of life', with 'their pagan religion, their strange tongue, their supposed immorality, their opium addiction', poor living standards and alien physical appearance. The Chinese represented a threat to a homogeneous white Australian national identity.[4]

Andersen has described the nation as an imagined community, 'a deep, horizontal comradeship' paradoxically shared by members of a nation who might never meet one another, 'yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'[5] The problem for the advocates of the Australian national community in

[1] *South Australian Advertiser*, 14 May 1888.
[2] Graeme Davison, 'Unemployment, race and public opinion: reflections on the Asian immigration controversy of 1888', in A. Markus and M.C. Ricklefs, *Surrender Australia?*, George Allen and Unwin Sydney 1985.
[3] *SA Advertiser*, 14 May 1888.
[4] Davison, pp.103-5.
[5] Benedict Andersen, *Imagined Communities*, Verso London 2000 pp.6-7.

the late nineteenth century was what sort of identity should Australians embrace, as the colonies moved towards Federation in 1901. To construct a shared sense of identity meant also defining its unacceptable forms. Greg Dening has argued that 'marking the boundaries of difference' is one of humanity's 'main preoccupations': 'no-one, individually, socially, culturally is without … a signified Other.'[6]

Such was the price Moran paid for stirring the racial anxieties of the Australian colonies: in September 1888 Moran was represented in the *Bulletin*, one of the most aggressively anti-Chinese periodicals, as 'the Chow's Patron'. In an unusually large illustration, occupying a full two-page spread of the tabloid size *Bulletin*, Phil May's cartoon portrayed Moran parading before a startled audience of white Catholic clergymen with his hair braided into a Chinese-style queue. Moran arrives in Australia with a number of new clergy: 'Now bhoys', he announces in a crudely satirised Irish accent, 'O'Ive brought wid me some chape Chinese taytotal prastes.' Moran's identity is blurred in Chinese, Catholic and Irish caricature – a representation of the Other.[7]

The tense and ambiguous development of personal or national identity - and the two are often strongly interlinked - is expressed in narrative, confirmed or contested in text, speech and cartoons. The construction of narrative identity often represents a struggle 'with the threat or promise of transformation'.[8] O'Farrell observed that in nineteenth century Australia Irish Catholics, already feeling marginalised in terms of employment and social status as they struggled for rights and acknowledgement as citizens, resented comparisons with the unacceptable Chinese.[9] Exposing himself to mockery and vilification through his pro-Chinese views, Moran unintentionally highlighted how an apparently secure identity – his own role as leader of Australia's Catholic community – could be dramatically recast as suspect and ambiguous.

Historians have accounted for Moran's pro-Chinese statements on the basis of Moran's desire to use Australia to 'Christianise' the enormous population of China. Towards this end, Australia had to develop, as O'Farrell observed, 'as a bulwark of civilisation and a home of freedom.'[10] To promote his ideal of Australian national identity Cardinal Moran walked a difficult path from the 1880s to 1911, complicated by his sympathy and ambitions in regard to the Chinese, and by his religious leadership at a time of sectarian tension between Catholics and Protestants: and Moran was a 'willing sectarian warrior'.[11] Moran's ambitions were also complicated by a more insidious threat represented by the challenge to religious faith by secular and scientific rationalism, and the threat Moran felt was posed to the development of the liberal Australian state by radical political ideas imported from Europe. Against these threats Moran also emerged as a willing warrior, aggressively constructing a

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[6] Greg Dening, *The Death of William Gooch*, Melbourne University Press Melbourne p.16.
[7] *Bulletin*, 8 September 1888.
[8] Brian McHale, 'Talking Narrative: A Conversation with David Antin', *Narrative*, Vol.12 No.1 January 2004 p.96. White argues that narrative is a central element in the production of a national consciousness: 'collective identities' are formed through narrative practice. Geoffrey White, "Histories and Subjectivities", *Ethos*, Vol.28 No.4 December 2000 p.501.
[9] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, University of NSW Press, Sydney 1987 p.71.
[10] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, Thomas Nelson Ltd Melbourne 1972 pp.174-5; A. E. Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran and the Chinese', *Manna,* No.6 1963 pp.98-99.
[11] A. E. Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran and Australian Federation', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol.78 No.1 2001 p.8.

caricature of an unacceptable Other against which his vision of faith and the nation could be vividly contrasted.

Moran's Alliance of Church and State

Moran's pro-Chinese attitudes, and his attitude towards the development of the Australian nation and its identity, were also fundamentally influenced by another concern that he expressed in 1888. A few weeks before the controversy over his pro-Chinese remarks, Moran was quoted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* regretting '…that outside the Catholic communion the prevailing spirit of the age throughout Australia is indifference to all religion', remarks interpreted as a sectarian slight directed at the Protestant denominations.[12] Within three years it was apparent that Moran was deeply concerned that the prevailing spirit of indifference might spread to the Catholic community, a concern that fuelled Moran's regular attacks on foreign political radicalism and influenced his support for the developing Australian labour movement.

In 1891 Moran delivered his influential address, 'The Rights and Duties of Labour'.[13] Most attention to the address has focused on Moran's controversial support for the emerging Labor Party and the right of workers to organise in unions at a time of industrial conflict and the distress imposed by the economic depression of the 1890s.[14] Cahill took up this theme, and rejected Ford's argument that Moran's political interventions were preoccupied with a 'strategy' for containing foreign radicalism, particularly Marxism, of which Moran was only vaguely aware.[15] This historiographical dispute was a product of the Cold War and its focus on Marxism obscures Moran's motives. Moran's 1891 address, and his subsequent consistent warnings against foreign radicalism, were driven by a desire to protect the Catholic working class from influences that could promote indifference or hostility to the Church, and to guide them towards non-radical forms of political participation through the labour movement – addressing their economic and social needs and promoting a sense of inclusion in the emerging Australian nation.

Unless, as Moran stressed, Australian society ensured that even the humblest labourer enjoyed 'all the privileges of citizenship', then desperation and injustice could drive Australian workers into 'secret and criminal organizations', and into the arms of 'demagogues', 'those disturbers of society…who boldly preach the gospel of anarchy, socialism or nihilism'.[16] Against this dark fate Moran advocated in 1891 the 'moral advantages' of the trade unionism he had denounced in 1888. Crucially, union organization would encourage self-discipline. Moran urged workers and unionists to cultivate temperance and to faithfully keep the law. By shunning strikes and cherishing patriotism, the unionised working class would develop both industrial rights and civic virtues.[17]

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[12] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 and 28 April 1888.

[13] Cardinal Moran, 'The Rights and Duties of Labour', Finn Bros. & Co. Sydney 1891. Mitchell Collection State Library of New South Wales.

[14] Eris O'Brien, 'Cardinal Moran's Part in Public Affairs', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.XXVIII part 1 1942; Patrick Ford, *Cardinal Moran and the A.L.P.*, Melbourne University Press Melbourne 1966; A. E. Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran's Politics', *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol.15 No.4 December 1989.

[15] Cahill, 'Cardinal Moran's Politics', pp.528-9.

[16] Moran, 'The Rights and Duties of Labour', pp.5, 19-20.

[17] ibid., pp.17-19.

Religion had a strong role to play in this development: combined with the 'benign influence' of religion, unionism 'would confer a lasting benefit on countless families and on society in general.'[18] The urgency that Moran felt about this mission was conveyed in a final troubled prophecy. 'Without this quickening element of religious life the efforts of the most powerful statesmen will be vain to save the world from the tide of anarchy and to avert the gathering storms which threaten ruin to the institutions of civilisation in an unchristianized world.'[19] Like his pro-Chinese views, Moran's advocacy of the rights and duties of labour was defined by an imagined alliance of Catholic evangelism and nation building, stimulated by the fear of an unchristianized world.

Moran's Discourse on Anarchy

Within a few years Moran's fears about the rising tide of anarchy seemed to be realised. In July 1894 Moran presided at solemn obsequies in St Mary's Cathedral for Sadi Carnot, the President of France who had been assassinated by an anarchist. Moran's eulogy, or 'discourse' as it was described, was a savage denunciation of the 'satanic enmity' of anarchism. Anarchy '…rebels against Heaven', assailing the Church. While 'our Australian colony' represented …the home of liberty and patriotism', teaching respect for the rights and happiness of others, by contrast anarchy exulted selfishness, and '… ignores alike the rights of the individual, of the family, of the state'. Moran specifically repudiated the right of anarchists to speak on behalf of the working class. 'The Catholic Church has received from her Divine Founder the privileged mission to be the Church of the working man, the Church of the people.' Again, Moran invoked 'the sacred alliance between law and liberty', sanctified by religion, 'whilst anarchy endeavours to sever that alliance the better to accomplish the ruin of both.' Reflecting his concerns, Moran's discourse was published as a pamphlet and distributed to the Catholic laity and the public.[20]

Moran's alarm at the threat posed by anarchism to Australia was probably heightened by the fact that the same day the Sydney newspapers reported the death of President Carnot, they also reported the trial of the Sydney anarchist John Arthur Andrews, who was subsequently found guilty and gaoled over the illegal publication of a pamphlet called *The Handbook of Anarchy*.[21] Only a few weeks prior to Andrews trial, the leaders of another radical sect, the Active Service Brigade, had also been sentenced to gaol terms over the criminal libel of NSW Justice Minister Thomas Slattery, a prominent Catholic lawyer and Protectionist politician. The ASB also condemned 'churchianity' and organised a theatrical disruption of church services and a 'blasphemous' religious march, complete with a large crucifix, through Sydney, invoking Christ's suffering to dramatise the plight of the unemployed, a stunt which attracted considerable coverage in the press.[22] It was perhaps with the trials of these radicals in mind that Moran told the journalist Tighe Ryan, in an interview published a few days before the Carnot obsequies, that while the 'enemies … of all religion … the social scum of Europe', had made their way 'in thousands' to America, where

[18] ibid., p.14.
[19] ibid., p.22.
[20] Cardinal Moran, 'President Carnot. Discourse by the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney at the Solemn Obsequies for the Late President of the French Republic in St. Mary's Cathedral, 20 July 1894.' MC SLNSW.
[21] *Daily Telegraph*, 30 June 1894.
[22] Mark Hearn, 'A Wild Awakening: the 1893 Banking Crisis and the Theatrical Narratives of the Castlereagh Street Radicals', *Labour History*, No.85 November 2003.

they spread their message, in Australia, by contrast, 'we have a strong government to deal with these scoundrels.'[23]

The anarchist Andrews had attacked the Catholic Church, taking a particularly conspiratorial view of the Jesuit order. Andrews saw the Jesuits as enemies of modernity and by extension enemies of freedom. Bent on a plan 'to enthrone again the Pope in Europe', the Jesuits '…most intensely hate the modern spirit, the spirit of science and of freedom…Anarchy is to them the fiend incarnate. And they are doing all in their power to frighten the rulers of the nations, to make them believe that freedom means chaos and destruction.'[24] Andrews reversed the accusation Moran made against anarchism: the state-sponsored liberty that Moran recommended to the working class was another form of enslavement. 'The Anarchists propose to teach the people how to get along without Government' – of either the Church or the State.[25]

Moran persistently warned of the common threat to both religion, and citizenship harmonious with Catholic belief, posed by political radicals, religious dissidents and scientific rationalists. In the interview with Ryan he lumped together the advocates of 'irreligion or socialism, or impiety – by whatever name it may be called.' European socialism, which he said 'corresponds to communism in France and Nihilism in Russia', had 'impiety…at its root, and its fruit present all the bitterness of that impiety.'[26] 'Hostile' scientists who challenged the basis of Church teaching and Christian theology also subverted a lack of reverence for God, as Moran lamented in 1905: 'Now the whole body of supernatural teaching is assailed. The enemy marshals his cohorts under the banners of rationalism and agnosticism, and puts forth all his strength to undermine and subvert the very foundations on which all religion rests.'[27]

Moran and Modernity

From the late 1890s Moran's focus turned from political radicals, whose threat seemed to lapse over the course of the decade, to the more insidious challenge posed by changes in scientific thinking. In an address delivered at the commemoration of St John's College at the University of Sydney in 1898, 'The Catholic Church and Modern Scientific Research', Moran asserted that '…Divine truth marches onward' with 'a certainty of advance', and refuted the 'stupid … idea of an antithesis between science and religion'. Moran claimed that over the previous twenty years 'a great many scientific men' displayed 'a spirit of reverence towards the religious side of life.'[28]

Moran acknowledged that the foundations of Catholic faith had been disturbed by science when he considered the challenges posed to the first chapter of Genesis, or what Moran described as the 'Mosaic narrative'. Moran conceded that the seven days of the world's creation could not be taken as literal truth. 'When the word day is first

[23] J. Tighe Ryan, 'The Attitude of the Catholic Church, Special Interview with Cardinal Moran' Geo. Robertson & Co. Sydney 1894 p.37. MC SLNSW.
[24] Anarchist Movement Papers 1893-97, 'Comments by the Anarchist', c1896 (John Arthur Andrews), p.51. ML MS 124 SLNSW.
[25] Anarchist Movement Papers, 'Notice – For Truth and Right', undated.
[26] Ryan interview p.16.
[27] Cardinal Moran, 'The Aims of the Catholic Church in Australia', Sermon at the Third Plenary Synod of Australia, 10 September 1905, *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol.12 October 1906 p.466. MC SLNSW.
[28] Cardinal Moran, 'The Catholic Church and Modern Scientific Research', *Australasian Catholic Record* Vol.4 1898 pp.514-5. 519.

used in the Mosaic narrative, the sun, which is our measure of time, was not as yet created, and hence the day cannot be supposed to be measured by our limit of 24 hours. So also the seventh *day* is manifestly an indefinite period.' A period which could stretch, Moran argued, to include the two thousand year existence of the Catholic Church, 'the day of the Church's life.' The preceding six days of Genesis should be interpreted to mean 'six periods representing so many phases or cycles of the creative work.' The 'sacred text', Moran added, 'does not require that such periods be consecutive or successive'.[29]

The sacred text no longer contained such literal requirements, because such requirements could no longer be sustained by rational explanation or by the observable facts of the universe. Moran might invoke the certainties of faith, but in his reinterpretations of sacred text he struggled to prevent the basis of faith from sliding into relativism – a contestable and uncertain narrative. Later in his address, when Moran considered a range of scientific interpretations of the Mosaic narrative, he quoted approvingly of views which argued that Genesis 'exhibits an *ideal picture* of the successive stages by which the earth was formed', and that 'the Mosaic days … are nothing more than mental pictures of the universe at select stages of its evolution.' The first chapter of Genesis was not 'an historical narrative' but 'a ritual hymn'. Moran concluded that 'to me it seems that the picture which the sacred text presents is drawn on lines sufficiently wide to embrace many of those opinions'.[30]

Over the course of his long and detailed address to the students of the College, Moran sought to close off all possibility that modern science provided a basis for religious doubt. Moran refuted scientific challenge to the notion of the fall of man – man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden – by insisting that the origins of the human race could not be traced further back more than 10,000 years. Some scientists, Moran observed, had suggested that the beginnings of man were 'lowly and ignoble …confounding us in our origin with the ape or other like irrational representative.' In response Moran quoted one scientific authority, a Dr Zahm, who declared that 'the earliest inhabitants of the earth were a more perfect race of men than the world has since known.' Reflecting on Schliemann's archaeological research at Troy, Moran found evidence of man's Fall: 'the more remote civilisation is found to be the most perfect.' Moran concluded: '…it may safely be asserted that, in so far as scientific investigation has been able to disclose to us the habits and character and genius of the nations of antiquity, the history of the human race is not one of progress and development, but of retrogression and decay.'[31]: Moran dismissed the charge of the Darwinist Thomas Huxley that such an interpretation of human origins overlooked the evidence of evolution and the age of dinosaurs: Moran argued that these creatures 'may have long been extinct' when Moses wrote. 'The sacred writer was content to designate the various species of created things with which the sons of Israel were familiar, and all such he proclaims to be the work of the Creator.' Man, Moran confirmed, had been created in the image of God.[32]

Moran concluded by triumphantly quoting Herbert Spencer and Huxley. The rationalist Spencer conceded that some 'unknowable' force seemed to dwell beyond 'material phenomena'; through his microscope Huxley had discerned the hand of a

[29] ibid., pp.526-7.
[30] ibid., pp.530-32.
[31] ibid., pp.536-37.
[32] ibid., pp.534, 544.

'hidden artist', and the strange possibilities that lay 'dormant in that semi-fluid globe.' Moran agreed with Plato, that to explain these mysteries 'we must await a messenger from Heaven.' These modern scientists seemed to Moran to be conceding that 'agnostics we may be, we can no longer be atheists.'[33]

Moran saw the threat posed by scientific irreligion as both a threat to faith and nation. Moran's 1905 warning about the threat posed by rationalism and agnosticism was delivered as an address called 'The Aims of the Catholic Church in Australia'. Moran warned that subversive scientific ideas seemed to insidiously combine with the material distractions increasingly overwhelming the daily lives of Australians: 'the mania for pleasure', 'corrupting and sensational literature' 'secularism in education' and the 'terrible havoc that results from the social evil' – sexually transmitted disease – all revealed a people 'infatuated with the attractions of the passing hour run along the paths heedless of eternity.' The intensifying pace of modern life colluded in eroding faith and moral behaviour.[34]

While reciting this list of evils, Moran stressed, as he had in 1888, that this materialistic indifference to religion prevailed 'outside the Catholic fold'.[35] Yet Moran's concern over rationalism was also stirred by the threat posed by 'modernism', which represented the insidious threat that rationalism might pose to the Church by its infiltration of Catholic theology and practice. Moran's list of evils included 'the material spoliation of the Church', with its property confiscated and religious education scraped in 'almost every country'.[36] In the early 1900s the Church was particularly alarmed by the vigorous anti-clerical campaign conducted by the French government. In 1907 Moran and the Australian bishops wrote to the Pope, lamenting 'the present crisis of the Church in France.'[37] The *Australasian Catholic Record* regularly included reports discussing what one article described as 'The Religious Persecution in France' conducted by the Radical – and ardently rationalist - government of Emile Combes, which closed 2,500 Church schools. As Rene Viviani, Minister for Works declared in 1906, 'we have rescued men's consciences from belief … we have put out the lights in heaven and no one will turn them on again.'[38]

In 'The Mission of the Catholic Church' Moran indicated that it was his task to ensure that the Pope's 1908 encyclical 'On the Doctrines of the Modernists' was enforced in Australia.[39] Theological 'Modernism' embraced the kind of views that Moran had struggled to defeat in his 1898 address on the Church and Modern Science. French Catholic modernists argued that the Church's interpretation of Christ's messages could not be treated as absolutely true; they also criticised the Church's failure to come to terms with modern science or with the needs of working people.[40] Moran argued that such theological modernism as cultivated in Italy and France would foster '…the countless errors already condemned in various heresies and in Rationalism … This new-fashioned Modernism has been justly styled the Synthesis of

[33] ibid., pp.549-51.
[34] Moran, 'The Aims of the Catholic Church in Australia', pp.466-67.
[35] ibid., p.466.
[36] ibid., p.463.
[37] 'Letter to His Holiness Pope Pius X from the hierarchy of the Australian Commonwealth', *Australasian Catholic Record* Vol.13 1907 p.394.
[38] Count de Man, 'The Religious Persecution in France', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol 13 1907 pp.416-17; Vincent Cronin, *Paris on the Eve, 1900-1914*, Collins London 1989 pp.202-3.
[39] 'On the Doctrines of the Modernists, Encyclical Letter of our Most Holy Lord Pius X', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol.14 1908 p.115.
[40] Cronin, pp.192-3.

all the errors and fallacies that hitherto have been marshalled against the Church.'[41] Modernism was the vehicle by which the forces represented by anarchy and rationalism could directly infiltrate the Church.

In Australia theological modernism proved a negligible threat to the Catholic Church. O'Farrell argued that 'Catholic life in Australia provided a too intellectually thin, too alien a ground to give root to such a subtle, thoughtful heresy.' Although O'Farrell also observed that Moran's instinctive 'pragmatism' led him to underestimate 'the growth and vigour of secularism and rationalism, of intellectual alienation generally'.[42] The evidence of Moran's speeches and writings suggests that Moran was concerned by the threat of rationalism and secularism throughout his tenure as Cardinal and Archbishop of Sydney. There is no doubt that Moran and the Australian Church hierarchy were preoccupied with the practical affairs of running the Church, and that Moran often reflected in his public statements considerable optimism about the future of the Church, the Australian nation and its people. But to conclude, as O'Farrell does, that the tenure of the Australian Catholic Church under Moran reflected 'mindless pragmatism', is to miss the undercurrent of tension and intellectual ferment at work in Moran's mind.[43] It also underestimates the intellectual life of the Church in this period, as indicated in the contributions to the *Australasian Catholic Record* (which Moran founded[44]) and the transmission of ideas and philosophical anxieties that Moran shared with the wider community.

Marking the boundaries of difference

In the late 1890s Moran addressed a 'Federation Fair' in the Sydney working class suburb of Balmain. In his address Moran hailed Australia's progress. Australians could soon look forward to the 'diadem of a united Commonwealth', in 'the full noon-time splendour' of 'this great country's 'blessing and peace'. Religion had played a vital role in drawing the Australian colonies towards federation, and Moran was proud to observe that religion flourished in Australia; then the tone of Moran's address subtly shifted. Moran warned against the 'vain and pretentious science which declared war against religion'; he warned of 'libertinism', as it manifested 'under the name of Communism in France, Anarchism in Germany, or Nihilism in Russia'. Moran reassured his audience that these troubling forces 'had run their course'. Nonetheless, Moran felt compelled to cast before them the sceptre of these threats, and that Australian material and spiritual progress rested upon shutting its doors to the contamination of these vaguely defined but potent foreign and extreme views, as he had warned in 1891, and continued to warn until his death in 1911. It was in defence of this blend of insular nationalism and Catholicism that Moran spoke out in support of the Labor Party's practical reformist program in 1905. As Cahill observed, Moran could find no evidence that Australians would be 'contaminated' with 'extreme socialism' by Labor, as some of its opponents had claimed. Moran's encouragement

[41] Moran, 'The Mission of the Catholic Church' Catholic Book Depot Sydney 1909, p.11. MC SLNSW.
[42] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia*, p.193.
[43] ibid., p.194.
[44] A. E. Cahill, 'Patrick Francis Moran', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.10 Melbourne University Press Melbourne 1986 p.578.

did not extend to support for Labor politicians travelling overseas, where they might be contaminated with 'socialistic or revolutionary ideas'.[45]

Moran's lessons helped the Catholic laity mark the boundaries of difference. Mary Malone, a young Irish catholic woman who lived in Marrickville, took note of the Cardinal's warnings, as she did of many of his statements and activities, preserving copies of newspaper accounts of his speeches and activities in an old school exercise book. Mary kept no record of her response to Moran's views, but it seemed that a real and dynamic exchange of ideas and values was taking place, tending to confirm her faith; we do know that Mary became a nun in 1896.[46] Other Australians looked upon Moran's public statements and activities and saw a threat to the very social stability and national progress that he apparently championed. When Moran stood for election as a delegate to the federal convention in 1897 he attracted predictable sectarian hostility; he also stirred memories of a more troubling threat to Australian national identity that Moran had first unwittingly incited in 1888. A 'Hop' cartoon in the *Bulletin* reminded its readers that Moran continued to speak out on behalf of the colony's Chinese community, and would presumably represent their interests at the federal convention – at a time when most Australians expected, with considerable justification, that a key attraction of federation would be to provide a means of permanently excluding Chinese and other non white immigrants from Australia.[47]

In July 1903 the anarchist Andrews died of tuberculosis in a Melbourne Hospital. On his death bed Andrews received the final rites of the Catholic Church. One of Andrew's anarchist friends, 'Chummy' Fleming, lamented that 'poor Andrews died an R.C. He sent for the priest the night before he died … when he was well and his mind sound he was an anarchist.'[48] Like Fleming, Moran was determined to set the identity and values of anarchists against the identity and values of Catholics. What the Cardinal and the anarchist Andrews shared were anxieties that obscured both their common search for freedom and justice, and at times a common source and metaphors of their moral values. Andrews looked forward in 1896 to 'the coming brotherhood' which religion had failed to encourage, 'despite the laps [sic] of 1900 years, since the only true Gospel was preached by a man called – Christ – who preached communistic co-operation and the abolition of property, with all the viguor [sic] of his manhood, the strenght [sic] and sincerity of an agitator, and with the gigantic heart of a great man, he died a martyr, killed by the religious and superstitious Jews of his time.'[49]

Andrews was prone to presenting an angry caricature of the Church. Cardinal Moran, in his aggressive caricatures of anarchists and his prejudicial language – references to 'scum' - also revealed a language of denial, a mind closed to alternative ideas and identities. Many white Australians in this period echoed this language of denial in the fear and loathing they expressed of the 'mongrel' Chinese race that

[45] A. E. Cahill, 'Catholicism and Socialism – The 1905 Controversy in Australia', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 1 No.2 December 1960 pp.95, 98.
[46] Mark Hearn, 'Mary Malone's Lessons: a narrative of citizenship in Federation Australia', *Gender & History* Vol.16 No.2 2004.
[47] *Bulletin*, 6 March 1897
[48] J.W. Fleming to John Dwyer, 14 December 1903, John Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/18.
[49] Anarchist Movement Papers 1893-97, p.50.

might contaminate Australia with 'loathsome diseases'.[50] It is a telling point that the tense and angry discourse expressed by Moran, anarchists, rationalists and anti-Chinese campaigners is often a disconnected exchange – they do not directly appeal to each other. Caricatures are constructed as totems of fear, each narrative marking the boundaries of difference, identifying an enemy that could validate their beliefs and identities. Their narratives reflect the intense anxieties troubling the development of an Australian national identity in an age of political, scientific and spiritual ferment.

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Mark Hearn

[50] *Age* 2 June 1898 and *Bulletin* 22 June 1901 quoted in R. Evans *et. al*., *1901, Our Future's Past, Documenting Australia's Federation*, Pan Macmillan Sydney 1997 pp.51, 211.

Where Crows Gather: The Sister Liguori Affair 1920-21[1]

JEFF KILDEA

The story of Sr Liguori is a remarkable tale which, if written as a novel, would be considered too far divorced from reality to be acceptable as a serious work of fiction. Yet it is a true story, full of tragedy and farce, in which a young Irish nun flees her convent at Wagga Wagga, fearful she is about to be murdered by her Mother Superior, and places herself under the protection of the Orange Order. Arrested as a lunatic at the request of her bishop, she is declared sane by the Lunacy Court, which orders her release. There are fisticuffs in parliament over the affair and she sues her bishop for false imprisonment. If that is not enough she is also kidnapped off the streets of Kogarah by her brother.

The title of this paper, 'Where Crows Gather', derives from the meaning of Wagga Wagga in the local Wiradjuri language. But it also conveys a sense of the perilous predicament in which Sr Liguori found herself when she made that fateful decision to leave the convent and became caught up in the most bitter sectarian conflict in Australia's history.

The story is set in early twentieth-century Australia, when Catholics were mostly Irish by birth or descent, the Irish were mostly Catholics, and Irish Catholics were mostly on the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder. This three-fold identification of religion, ethnicity and class had been a feature of Australian society since the nineteenth century,[2] and from the earliest days of European colonisation Irish Catholics had perceived themselves as a persecuted minority. Whether or not Catholics were ever subject to persecution in Australia is debatable.[3] Nevertheless, whatever may have been the reality, perception shaped the attitude that Catholics held as to their place in the wider community, and in early twentieth-century Australia, persecuted Catholicism was the orthodox Catholic historical interpretation.[4]

If ever there was a particular time in the history of Australian Catholics when this interpretation seemed justified it was during the early 1920s, a period in which a series of sectarian controversies, piled one upon the other in quick succession, threatened to tear the fabric of Australian society. In the words of NSW Attorney

[1] The events described here are derived largely from contemporary reports appearing in Catholic, Protestant and secular newspapers and from the papers of Bishop Joseph Dwyer in the Wagga Wagga Diocesan Archives. An account of the Sr Liguori affair is in Jeff Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric: Sectarianism in Australia 1910-1925*, Citadel Books, Sydney, 2002, pp. 218-226. *Tearing the Fabric*, p. 218 fn 97 cites other secondary sources which describe the affair.

[2] Michael Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, 1987, pp. 28-29. The last generalisation, though conventionally accepted, may need to be revised in the light of Judith Brett's 'Class, Religion and the Foundation of the Australian Party System: A Revisionist Interpretation', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 37, 2002, pp. 39-56.

[3] See James Waldersee, *Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788-1860*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1974; Mark Lyons, Aspects of Sectarianism in New South Wales circa 1865 to 1880, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1972; C.J. Duffy, 'The Origins of Anti-Catholicism in Australia', *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, Vol 1 Part 2, 1960, pp. 1-12; Mansfield, Joan and Bruce, 'Australian Religious History: 21-23 August 1975', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol 8, 1975, pp. 412-420.

[4] Waldersee, *Catholic Society in NSW*, pp. 1-41.

General, Edward McTiernan, there was at this time 'a veritable hurricane of sectarianism'.[5] And at the eye of the storm was Sr Liguori.

Born in 1890 at Newbridge, Co. Kildare, Bridget Partridge was the daughter of an English soldier and his Irish wife. She had three sisters and a brother, Joseph. In 1908 Bridget joined the Presentation order at St Bridget's Convent in Kildare town. Within three months she was on her way to Australia where in 1911 she was professed at Mt Erin Convent, Wagga Wagga, taking the name Sr Liguori.

At first she worked as a teacher. However, after an adverse report in 1918, she was relegated to domestic duties. Resentful of her demotion and suffering poor health, she came to the view that she no longer had a vocation, but, preferring to avoid the moral pressure which she feared would be brought to bear on her should she apply to be released from her vows, Sr Liguori brooded, allowing her resentment to grow.

Eventually, a paranoid fear that she was about to be murdered by her Mother Superior triggered the nun's sudden departure from the convent. When the Mother Superior realised that Sr Liguori was missing, she alerted the police who organised a search. However, the search was in vain as Bridget had taken refuge in the nearby home of a Protestant family and within 24 hours she had been spirited out of town and was on her way to Sydney in the company of Mr R. E. Barton, the Grand Master of the Loyal Orange Institution.

After a few days, the Bishop of Wagga Wagga, Joseph Wilfrid Dwyer, who was responsible for the nun's welfare, realised that Sr Liguori was no longer in the district. Acting on the advice of her doctor that she was 'mentally unhinged', the bishop instituted proceedings under the *Lunacy Act* for her arrest. Within a short time the police ascertained where she was staying and just before midnight on Saturday, 7 August 1920 they called at the Kogarah home of Congregationalist Minister Rev. William Touchell and took Bridget into custody, lodging her at the Darlinghurst Reception House.

On the following Monday Bridget appeared at the Reception Court where T. J. Ryan KC (the former Queensland Premier and, at that time, a member of the House of Representatives) announced to the magistrate that he appeared for Miss Partridge. Ryan had been retained by the prominent Catholic layman, P. J. Minahan MLA, who claimed to be a friend of Miss Partridge. However, Mr F. B. Boyce of counsel, who had been briefed by solicitors retained by the Orange Order, also claimed to appear for Miss Partridge. When Boyce challenged Ryan's right to appear for the nun, the magistrate remanded her in custody pending receipt of a psychiatric report.

On the following Friday the Chief Medical Officer reported to the Court that in his opinion Bridget was sane and the magistrate thereupon ordered her release, allowing her to leave the court in the company of Rev. Touchell and his wife. Outside the courtroom a large crowd had assembled, and when news of the magistrate's decision was conveyed to them it was greeted by cheers and boos from different sections of the gathering, with much heckling and pushing and shoving. This was only the beginning of what would build up to be a major public controversy, lapped up by an enthusiastic press eager to inform a scandalised public of the salacious details.

[5] This was the term used by E. A. McTiernan, at a prize giving at the Marist Brothers' High School at the end of 1920, when describing recent events to Archbishop Kelly who had returned from overseas (*Australian Christian World* (ACW) 4 February 1921, p. 11).

That month the Address in Reply debate gave parliamentarians an opportunity to air their views on the Sr Liguori affair, with Protestant members speaking in support of Bridget's right to liberty, railing against Catholic institutions and demanding government inspection of convents to prevent young women being held against their will. Catholic members, in an equally strident manner, refuted the allegations made against the convents.[6] In September, Thomas Henley MLA called on the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire regarding women in convents,[7] and in November he sought leave to introduce a private member's bill 'to provide security against detention of persons against their will, in any institutions, or by any persons'. Catholic members responded with derision to Henley's thinly disguised attack on the convent system and, at times the debates became very heated, with P. J. Minahan declaring, 'If you in any way interfere with these Catholic institutions there will be a 'mess-up' here worse than that which occurred on the plains of Flanders.' At the close of one of the debates, members had to intervene to prevent physical violence between Henley and C. C. Lazzarini.[8]

While the politicians made what they could out of the affair, Bridget's private life was in turmoil. Bridget's younger brother Joseph lived in Hong Kong. In response to a cable sent to him by the Mount Erin convent, Joseph arrived in Sydney on 7 September 1920. His arrival in Australia was accompanied by the sort of intrigue that might be expected in a John Le Carré novel. To avoid his falling into the hands of the Orange Order, Joseph was taken off the ship at Townsville and transported by train to Brisbane, where Charles Lawlor, secretary of the Catholic Federation, met him and accompanied him to Sydney. All the while, Archbishop Duhig kept Bishop Dwyer informed of Joseph's movements using coded telegrams.[9]

The Catholic Federation, which was acting in the affair on behalf of Bishop Dwyer, took charge of Joseph, and made use of him to gain publicity in its campaign against Barton and Touchell, whom it accused of detaining Bridget against her will. The Federation also launched a public appeal for funds to assist Joseph to recover his sister.[10] Joseph, who was an accomplished musician, performed at many of these functions. There were some in the Federation who opposed these tactics, believing that because Joseph had come to Australia to return his sister to Ireland, he should not be paraded like a 'show puppy' at publicity stunts. It was also being suggested that the Federation had in fact prevented Joseph from taking his sister home.[11]

Although by the close of 1920 publicity surrounding the affair had died down, it was re-ignited, in the following year when, on 30 June 1921, Justice David Ferguson of the Supreme Court commenced hearing an action for damages brought by Bridget against Bishop Dwyer in which the former nun alleged that the bishop had

[6] See, for example, *NSW Parliamentary Debates* (NSWPD) Vol 79, pp. 420-425; 452-455 (25 August 1920); 534-541 (31 August 1920). Father J. M. Cusack wrote a lengthy article for the *Freeman's Journal* (FJ) in which he defended the convents against such attacks (FJ 19 August 1920, pp. 16-17).
[7] *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) 2 September 1920, p. 6; 4 September 1920, p. 13.
[8] NSWPD Vol 81, pp. 2902-2913 (30 November 1920); Vol 82, pp. 3215-3222 (7 December 1920); 3971-3974 (21 December 1920); *Daily Telegraph* (DT) 1 December 1920, p. 9; 8 December 1920, p. 10; 22 December 1920, p. 8; SMH 8 December 1920, p. 14.
[9] For example, a telegram dated 6 September 1920 to Bishop Dwyer states, 'Bringing Perdriau tyre train arriving Sydney Tuesday splendid condition' (Wagga Wagga Diocesan Archives).
[10] *Catholic Press* (CP) 16 September 1920, pp. 11 and 20.
[11] Letter 2 December 1920 from Charles Lawlor to Bishop Dwyer (Wagga Wagga Diocesan Archives). The Diocesan Archives contain a number of letters from Lawlor reporting to the bishop on the latest developments.

procured her arrest and imprisonment without just cause. On the opening day of the hearing, a long line of men and women stood in the rain in King Street outside No. 5 Jury Court waiting for the gates of the court house to open. When they did there was a rush for seats and the gallery quickly filled, and those who could not get into the court waited outside, hopeful of being admitted at some stage during the day.

The parties were represented by the leading King's Counsel of the day and over ten sitting days each side called a string of witnesses, including Bridget and the bishop, to narrate the sorry saga. During that time verbatim accounts in the daily papers maintained the public's fascination with the case. At the end of the evidence, and after addresses by counsel and the summing up by the judge, the jurors were sent out to consider their verdict. After seven hours deliberating on three questions put to them by the judge, they returned, finding on the first two questions that the bishop had not taken reasonable care to inform himself as to the true facts of the case, and that he had not honestly believed the case which he had laid before the magistrate. The outcome seemed inevitable. Surely Bridget had won. But notwithstanding the first two answers, the jury found, in answer to the third question, that the bishop had not been actuated by malice. This finding was critical to the outcome of the case, as malice was a necessary legal element of Bridget's claim, so that, despite the jury's findings on the other two questions, the judge was bound to enter judgment for the bishop. The *Sydney Morning Herald* described the reaction to the verdict of the huge crowd that had gathered outside the court: 'Volley after volley of cheers were given for the Bishop, whose sympathisers could be estimated at about ten to one in the sea of faces out in front of the court.'[12]

On the following Monday night, Sydney's Catholics, numbering upwards of 10,000, filled the Town Hall for a meeting to celebrate the victory.[13] Organised by the Catholic Federation and presided over by Archbishop Kelly, the meeting opened with the singing of 'Faith of Our Fathers'. When Bishop Dwyer appeared on the platform he was greeted by an outbreak of applause that lasted for several minutes, after which P. S. Cleary, president of the Catholic Federation, moved, 'That this meeting of citizens records its appreciation of his Lordship, Dr Dwyer, Bishop of Wagga, and of the manner in which he has vindicated the dignity and responsibility of his position.' The motion was enthusiastically carried. Father Maurice O'Reilly, Sydney's answer to the demagoguery of Archbishop Mannix and never one to pass up an opportunity for hyperbole, hailed the result as a victory for the Catholic Church of Australia. Clearly the crowd lapped up the rhetoric, subscribing more than £1,500 to defray the bishop's legal costs.[14]

Apart from the occasional verbal forays by one side or the other, the affair appeared to subside once again.[15] But Joseph Partridge was determined to remove his sister from the company of Barton and the Touchells and return her to Ireland. On 26 October 1921, while Bridget was walking along Chapel Street, Kogarah in the company of the Touchells, after having attended a Home Mission Festival, she was snatched from the street, bundled into a motor car and driven away.[16] In the car was her brother. They were driven to the house of Dan O'Callaghan at Ashfield where

[12] SMH 14 July 1921, p. 9. The Catholic papers carried triumphant editorials: FJ 21 July 1921, p. 20; 28 July 1921, p. 20; CP 28 July 1921, pp. 24-25.
[13] FJ 21 July 1921, p. 14.
[14] SMH 19 July 1921, p. 7; FJ 21 July 1921, pp. 14-15.
[15] For example, SMH 12 August 1921, p. 9; 13 August 1921, p. 13.
[16] SMH 27 October 1921, p. 7.

Joseph spent the night trying to persuade Bridget to leave her Protestant friends and return with him to Ireland.

The next morning, an alert policeman spotted Bridget in the city in the company of O'Callaghan. They were taken to police headquarters where a meeting was arranged among various interested parties. At that meeting Bridget made clear her desire to remain in the company of her new friends.[17] This seemed to satisfy Joseph, who shortly thereafter departed Australia, leaving in his wake a further controversy which rekindled sectarian passions. Parliament once again became the scene of bitter exchanges across the denominational divide, with Sir George Fuller, the Leader of the Opposition, moving a censure motion alleging that the Government had acted improperly in not having the kidnappers charged.[18]

Wagga Wagga was deeply divided over the affair. In July 1921 division turned to violence when Rev. Touchell visited the area to establish branches of the Protestant Federation, a counterweight to the Catholic Federation. At meetings held at Marrar and Coolamon Touchell was assaulted and had to be rescued by police. A number of men were later convicted of riotous behaviour and assault.[19]

It is difficult today to understand how such passions could have been aroused. But at the time Australian society comprised two communities: one was British in origin and Protestant in faith, the other Irish and Catholic. At a functional level the two communities generally co-existed and co-operated peacefully and effectively, but viscerally they were quite distinct and often in a state of tension.

Competition between religions reflected not only theological differences but also complex ethnic rivalries, particularly those between Irish Catholics, on the one hand, and English Anglicans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians on the other stretching back centuries.[20] These chronic rivalries became acute in 1912 due to two factors. Firstly, with the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill in the Westminster parliament the monumental political and constitutional struggle going on half a world away captured the enthusiastic interest of Australians of all religions. The 'Irish Question' had been played out in Australia in one form or another for over a century, so it was not difficult to arouse passionate debate on the issue.

Yet, at the same time, Australian Catholics had gone on the offensive over the state aid issue, establishing Catholic federations to pressure governments in four states. The two issues soon became intertwined, intensifying interdenominational tensions. However, before the situation had escalated out of control, events in Europe in the summer of 1914 overshadowed the local conflict and the outbreak of the war saw Australians across the religious divide unite for the sake of the war effort. For Australian Catholics, the war offered hope that as a result of the shared blood sacrifice they would gain acceptance.

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[17] SMH 28 October 1921, p. 9. A detailed account of these events is in ACW 4 November 1921, p. 10.
[18] SMH 3 November 1921, p. 7; 8 November 1921, p. 9; 16 November 1921, p. 14; 17 November 1921, p. 9. NSWPD Vol 84, pp. 1179 (27 October 1921), p. 1268 (1 November 1921), p. 1328 (2 November 1921), p. 1479 (8 November 1921), pp. 1724-1742 (17 November 1921); Vol 85, p. 2422 (6 December 1921).
[19] *Wagga Wagga Daily Express* 14 July 1921, pp. 2-3; 29 July 1921, pp. 1, 2; ACW 5 August 1921, p. 9. James Logan, 'Sectarianism in Ganmain: A local study, 1912-21', *Rural Society*, Vol 10, 2000, pp. 121-138.
[20] For a discussion of the meaning of 'sectarianism' in the Australian context see Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, p. ii, Hogan, *Sectarian Strand*, pp. 4-8; Lyons, Aspects of Sectarianism, pp. viii-xxi.

For the first 20 months of the war this hope held, symbolised on the first anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli by the enthusiasm with which Catholics and Protestants together embraced the idea of Anzac Day as a symbol of national unity.[21] But on that very day news was spreading throughout the land of a rising in Dublin the day before – Easter Monday. At first Catholics joined with Protestants in condemning the rebels.[22] But when the British government responded to the rising by executing the leaders, Catholic criticism of the rebels turned to outrage directed at the British government resulting in a Protestant backlash.[23]

If the Easter rising inserted the wedge between Catholics and Protestants in Australia during the war, it was the debates over conscription in 1916 and 1917 that drove it home. Research has shown that it was considerations of class rather than religion or ethnicity that led Catholics to oppose conscription.[24] Nevertheless, Prime Minister Hughes and many of his supporters chose to blame Irish Catholics in general and Archbishop Mannix in particular for the defeat of the two plebiscites. Increasingly, Protestant leaders called into question Catholic loyalty, especially after Pope Benedict XV issued a peace note in August 1917 and Archbishop Kelly in May 1918 appeared to link continued Catholic support for the war with the provision of state aid.[25]

With the war's end interdenominational tensions once more subsided, only to increase again in 1920, especially in Sydney, with the decision of the Catholic Federation to stand candidates at the State elections. Protestants who already believed Catholics had taken over the Labor Party, saw the decision to run candidates as additional evidence that the threat of Rome rule was real. Adding to the tension was a series of overlapping events which unleashed a round of sectarian bitterness prompting McTiernan's meteorological metaphor. These events included: the deportation of Father Charles Jerger in July following months of agitation around Australia which had been led by Catholics and which included a monster meeting at Moore Park in Sydney on 30 May that attracted a crowd of 150,000 people;[26] the British navy's arrest in August of Archbishop Mannix on the high seas while he was on his way to Ireland,[27] and the expulsion of Hugh Mahon from the Federal Parliament in November for speaking out against England's policies in Ireland.[28] Earlier in the year the British government had deployed the Black and Tans in Ireland, and their campaign of terror and reprisals against the Irish population to counter the IRA's campaign of terror against forces of the Crown reignited the local debate on British rule in Ireland. In addition, the years following the Great War were a time of industrial turmoil with disputing factions contesting for control of the political and

[21] FJ 27 April 1916, p. 22.
[22] FJ 4 May 1916, p. 25; CP 11 May 1916, p. 21. Peter Overlack, '"Easter 1916" in Dublin and the Australian Press: Background and Response', *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 54/55, 1997, pp. 188-193; R.P. Davis, 'Tasmania and the Irish Revolution, 1916-22', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: Papers and Proceedings*, Vol 21 No. 2, 1974, pp. 69-88. Even Archbishop Mannix initially described the rising as deplorable and its leaders as misguided (*Advocate* 6 May 1916, p.25).
[23] Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, pp. 134-136.
[24] This is certainly the case with the vote in October 1916. The situation is more complex in 1917. See Jeff Kildea, 'Australian Catholics and conscription in the Great War', *Journal of Religious History*, vol 26, no 3, October 2002, pp. 298-313. See also Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, chs 8-9.
[25] Kildea, *Tearing the Fabric*, pp. 164-165, 187-189.
[26] Gerard Henderson, 'The Deportation of Charles Jerger', *Labour History*, No 31, 1976, pp. 61-78.
[27] B.A. Santamaria, *Daniel Mannix: The Quality of Leadership*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1984, pp. 103-123.
[28] L.F. Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger 1914-1952*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1979, pp. 452-456.

industrial wings of the working class movement. The very fabric of Australian society was under threat. It was against this background that the Sr Liguori affair was played out and must be understood.

By the end of 1920 organised Catholicism and organised Protestantism were lining up for a showdown, with some Protestants predicting a violent conflict: 'Australia will be embroiled in a war such as that now being waged in Russia; in other words Australia will have a bloody time with Bolshevism and Sinn Feinism arrayed on one side and constitutionalism and Protestantism on the other,' opined one correspondent to a Protestant newspaper.[29] The *Australian Christian World* published an account of an organised plot to have Roman Catholics take over Australia by having priests form federations in the parishes so as to train Catholics and to infiltrate trade unions and the Labor Party. It alleged that twenty priests were sent out from Ireland for this purpose.[30] Mr W. Copeland Trimble, a prominent newspaper owner of Enniskillen and a member of the Ulster Unionist Council, told a Protestant Federation luncheon that the Irish rebels were being financed by Bolshevik and German money and that large numbers of priests were coming to Australia to organise the disintegration of the Empire.[31] At a Protestant Federation rally at Bondi on 9 November 1921 Rev. James Green warned:

> There is a determined effort afoot to establish a Romish Government in Australia. Those behind the movement are establishing themselves in strategic positions with much skill and forethought. Every hill in and around Sydney is in their hands. They are all within easy signalling distance of each other. Every country town and railway station between Sydney and Melbourne and Brisbane had the surrounding hill dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.[32]

Soon the once notorious Sr Liguori affair faded from public sight and eventually from social memory. By the mid-1920s the flames of sectarianism had died down sufficiently so that only the embers remained, occasionally flaring up from time to time over the ensuing decades but never again reaching the intensity of the early 1920s. For the most part the two communities have since worked together to build the Australia we know today, where sectarianism (between Christians at least) has little if any influence over public discourse, and the labels 'Irish Catholic' and 'British Protestant' no longer functionally define sections of the Australian people.

As for Bridget Partridge, she remained a member of the Touchell household for another 40 years before being admitted to Rydalmere Psychiatric Hospital, where she died on 4 December 1966.[33] She is buried in an unmarked grave at Rookwood Cemetery.

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[29] Letter from 'A Justice' published in ACW 12 November 1920, p. 10.
[30] ACW 12 November 1920, p. 10.
[31] ACW 24 June 1921, p. 11.
[32] ACW 18 November 1921, p. 16.
[33] Sheila Tearle, 'I Remember Sister Ligouri', *Footprints*, April, 1977, pp. 9-10.

Dr Jeff Kildea

The Impact of Bishops: Matthew Beovich, the Movement and the Vietnam War

JOSEPHINE LAFFIN

What impact should Catholic bishops have on Australian public life? The 1917 Code of Canon Law offered little guidance on the public role of bishops and members of the Australian hierarchy developed markedly different styles. Not long after becoming archbishop of Melbourne in 1917, Daniel Mannix expressed the view that his predominantly working-class flock 'looked for leadership and guidance not only as regards purely spiritual matters, but also as regards their temporal interests and wellbeing'.[1] Accordingly, until his death in 1963 Mannix did not shy away from political controversies. He has, as a result, been both extolled for his 'outspoken fearlessness' and condemned as a divisive demagogue.[2] Mannix's contemporary, James Duhig, developed a more conciliatory style as archbishop of Brisbane from 1917 to 1965. A patriotic Australian and fervent royalist, Duhig exemplified the rising social status of Catholics when, in 1959, he became the first Catholic bishop in Australia to receive a knighthood.[3] This paper is concerned with a member of the next generation of bishops, Mathew Beovich, archbishop of Adelaide from 1939 to 1971.[4] It will focus particularly on his response to the 1954-5 split in the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Vietnam War.

The Split was triggered by federal ALP leader H.V. Evatt's denunciation of the secretive anti-communist movement led by B.A. Santamaria.[5] In the absence of

[1] From a transcript of a speech which Mannix gave to students at the Urban College of Propaganda Fide in Rome on 10 April 1921. One of the students was Matthew Beovich. He kept it in his diary which is now in the Adelaide Catholic Archdiocesan Archives. All archival material referred to in this paper can be found in the ACAA. At the request of the archivist no box numbers will be given as the archives are being reorganized.

[2] For a positive interpretation of Mannix, see Michael Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix: Wit and Wisdom*, Freedom Publishing, Melbourne, 2004, and B.A. Santamaria, *Daniel Mannix: The Quality of Leadership*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1984. For another perspective, see T.P. Boland's biography of Mannix's predecessor, *Thomas Carr: Archbishop of Melbourne*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1997, pp. 367-383, and James Griffin's entry on Mannix in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 10, ed. Bede Nairne and Geoffrey Serle, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1986, p. 400.

[3] For Duhig, see T.P.Boland, *James Duhig*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1986. Boland also contributed the entry on Duhig to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 8, ed. Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1981, pp. 357-8.

[4] Matthew Beovich was born in Melbourne on 1 April 1896. His father was a Croatian migrant, his mother of Irish descent. He was ordained to the priesthood in Rome on 23 December 1922. He returned to Melbourne in 1923 and worked largely in the field of Catholic education until he was ordained archbishop of Adelaide on 7 April 1940. He retired in 1971 and died on 24 October 1981.

[5] There is considerable literature on the Split and the role of the Catholic Church. The most comprehensive recent work is Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy? Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2001. See also Ross Fitzgerald, *The Pope's Battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism and the Labor Split*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 2003; Gerard Henderson, *Mr Santamaria and the Bishops*, St Patrick's College, Manly, 1982; Paul Ormonde, *The Movement*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1972; and Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970. Edmund Campion quotes from Beovich's diary in 'A Question of Loyalties', *50 Years of the Santamaria Movement. A Conference Held at the State Library of New South Wales, 2 May 1992*, Eureka Street Papers no. 1, Jesuit Publications, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 7-21.

Santamaria's patron, Mannix, Beovich (a former priest of the archdiocese of Melbourne) was one of Santamaria's key supporters at the meeting of the Australian hierarchy in 1945 which endorsed what became known as the Catholic Social Studies Movement.[6] This was a time when Catholic newspapers were full of stories of the persecution of the Church in Eastern Europe, making Catholics particularly susceptible to the Cold War crisis mentality which was spreading through the general community.[7] After Evatt's attack, Beovich strongly praised the Movement's fight against communism,[8] but he declined to endorse the reconstructed organization which became known first as the Catholic Social Movement and then as the National Civic Council (NCC). He also refused to support the offspring of the Split, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP). In his memoirs, Santamaria attributes this apparent about face to left-wing politicians threatening Beovich with a sectarian backlash.[9] South Australian ALP powerbroker Clyde Cameron claims he warned Beovich this would be the case.[10] In *The Great Labor Schism: A Retrospective*, published in April this year, Malcolm Saunders and Neil Lloyd conclude that Beovich was forced into disavowing the Movement by the need to protect 'not only the foothold the Catholic Church had established in South Australia but the enviable reputation the state had enjoyed for religious harmony'.[11]

Beovich certainly cultivated good relations with the state's civic leaders and the heads of others Christian churches. After he was installed as Archbishop of Adelaide in 1940, Mannix paid tribute to the 'quiet, tactful' way he had operated as Director of Catholic Education in Melbourne:

> I express my appreciation of him for doing things which I could not possibly accomplish myself. He has a way of making friends all around him, and I do not think he made any enemies. I may have made some friends, but I have made many enemies. You can understand how much I feel the loss of Dr Beovich.[12]

Nevertheless, Beovich firmly defended the interests of his Church when he felt it necessary. During the Second World War he protested so vigorously at the compulsory borrowing of Catholic school buildings for military use that the army backed off.[13] He also held a public rally to decry the bombing of his beloved Rome by Allied forces in 1944, and does not seem to have been perturbed by the predicable

[6] B.A. Santamaria, *Santamaria: A Memoir*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, p. 74.
[7] A Gallop Poll in 1948 indicated that 67 percent of Australians expected another war to occur within ten years, and 80 percent thought that the Soviet Union wanted to dominate the world. See John Warhurst, '"The Communist Bogey": Communism as an Election Issue in Australian Federal Politics, 1949-1964', PhD Thesis, Flinders University, 1977, pp. 39-42.
[8] See, for example, *Southern Cross*, 20 March 1955, p. 7; Warhurst, 'Communist Bogey', p. 318.
[9] Santamaria, *Memoir*, p. 167.
[10] Clyde Cameron, *The Confessions of Clyde Cameron, 1913-1990*, ABC Enterprises, Sydney, 1990, p. 104.
[11] Malcolm Saunders and Neil Lloyd, 'Remembering the Past and Hoping for the Future: why there was no Labor split in South Australia in 19554-56' in Brian Costar, Peter Love and Paul Strangio, ed. *The Great Labor Schism: A Retrospective*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2005, p. 81.
[12] *Southern Cross*, 12 April 1940, supp. p. iv
[13] For Duhig's very different approach, and opposition to Beovich's attempt to get the Australian hierarchy to take a united stand, see Boland, *Duhig*, p. 302.

sectarian reaction.[14] Five more factors need to be taken into account when assessing his refusal to support the NCC and DLP.

First, in 1945 Beovich supported an organisation designed primarily to combat Communist influence in trade unions.[15] He later realised that involvement in the ALP was a logical consequence of success in the industrial sphere,[16] but in 1945 he seems to have been too concerned about the situation in the unions to appreciate the danger that the Movement could become an ALP faction or aspire to dominate the party.[17] Before and after the Split, he maintained, in line with some of the best Catholic political thinking, that while the Church was entitled to speak out on matters of faith and morals, Catholics should participate in party politics as individuals and not as representatives of the Church.[18] Moreover, even when he encouraged Catholics to become involved in trade unions, he insisted that the most effective weapons against Communism were spiritual ones: prayer and penance.[19]

Second, Beovich assumed that the Movement was a Church organization. He had seconded the motion at the 1945 meeting that it 'be controlled, both in policy and finance, by a special committee of bishops'.[20] Such control never amounted to much, but the finance provided was considerable.[21] Accepting his share of the responsibility for an organization which he helped fund, Beovich unsuccessfully tried before and after Evatt's attack to rein in the Movement's political activities.[22] He thought the

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[14] For the rally, see *Advertiser*, 10 April 1944, p. 6; *Southern Cross*, 14 April 1944, p. 1. Duhig, on the other hand, blamed the Italian government for not making Rome an 'open city' and accepted that the Allies had tried to avoid bombing Rome's historic sites. See Boland, *Duhig*, pp. 306-8.

[15] Beovich related his understanding of the Movement controversy in a letter to the apostolic delegate, Romolo Carboni, dated 9 October 1956.

[16] In notes prepared for a bishops' meeting, circa 1957, Beovich jotted down the 'mistakes' of the Movement, including that 'it was inevitable that either (a) it would dominate the Labor party or (b) it would become its own political party'.

[17] On 11 December 1952, after the ALP's landslide victory in the Victorian state election, Santamaria wrote to Mannix that 'the Social Studies Movement should within a period of five to six years be able to completely transform the leadership of the Labor Movement, and to introduce into Federal and State spheres large numbers of members who . . . should be able to implement a Christian social programme'. For Santamaria's political ambitions in the early fifties, see Duncan, pp. 182-204; Henderson, pp. 159-161; Andrew Campbell, 'Politics as a Vocation: A Critical Examination of B.A. Santamaria and the Politics of Commitment', PhD thesis, Deakin University, 1989; and Phillip Deery, 'Santamaria, the Movement and the Split: A Re-examination', *Australian Catholic Historical Society Journal*, vol. 22 (2001), pp. 47-58.

[18] This is evident in his annual lectures to the Newman Institute. Transcripts for 1953 and 1954 are in the ACAA. The 1956 lecture was reported in the *Southern Cross*, 25 May 1956, p. 7. Beovich established the Newman Institute in 1948 'to equip Catholic men and women with a knowledge of industrial and economic problems based on the social teachings of the Catholic Church' (see *Southern Cross,* 14 April 1948, p. 7). It was run by the Movement's senior officer in South Australia, Ted Farrell.

[19] See, for example, his addresses to the Catholic Railway Workers' Association, *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1944, p. 11 and 11 May 1951, p. 7.

[20] For the 1945 meeting, see Duncan, pp. 82-3.

[21] The bishops approved an initial grant of £10 000 in 1945. The quota for the Adelaide archdiocese in 1955 was £975.

[22] The minutes of the annual meeting of the hierarchy on 17-19 April 1951 record that:

> The archbishop of Adelaide said that in setting up the movement the Hierarchy had done a most important service to the Church and Australia by offering a very effective counter to the heresy of atheistic communism. It was essential, however, that great care be taken lest the Church and the Hierarchy be involved in purely party politics. The meeting agreed that this could be achieved and that the movement could be properly directed by frequent meetings of the 'Committee to control the Industrial Movement'.

national executive's response in 1956, that the Movement was essentially a lay organization, contradicted the assurance the bishops had been given in 1945 that 'the Movement within a particular diocese is in all things subject to the will of the Ordinary and it exists only by his permission'.[23] When Santamaria began reconstructing the Movement in 1956, making it clear that decisions of the national executive would be binding on all members, he told Beovich that the new organisation would not establish a branch in the Adelaide archdiocese without his permission.[24] Soon afterwards, Beovich found that two of the three local Movement officials, had, as Santamaria later admitted in his memoirs, 'stayed with the national body'.[25] An annoyed Beovich deprived them of diocesan support, and as a result the NCC never made much headway in South Australia.[26]

Third, Beovich regarded the DLP as 'the closest approach to a confessional party one could imagine'.[27] On principle he thought Catholic electors should be free to vote according to their conscience for any party but the Communist Party, and in 1957 he welcomed instructions from Rome which advised against the creation of a confessional political party or the Movement assuming a political role.[28] He deplored the support which the DLP received from sympathetic bishops and priests in Victoria.[29] He made it clear in his diocese that while anybody could stand for parliament if they wanted to, they could not claim the support of the Church, and priests were not to give advice on how to vote from the pulpit.[30] When Mannix intervened in the 1958 federal election campaign, asserting that 'every Communist and every Communist sympathizer in Australia wants a victory for the Evatt Party', Beovich reiterated that Catholics could vote for any party but the Communist Party.[31] His refusal to back the DLP is undoubtedly one of the main reasons why it had little electoral success in South Australia.[32] In Senate elections from 1955 to 1970, the

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This did not happen. At the hierarchy's April 1955 meeting Beovich was a member of a group which considered the controversy over the Movement. As a result of its deliberations, the bishops unanimously agreed that a new committee would be established to control it. On 24 March 1956 Beovich was pleased to record in his diary the committee's decision that the Movement should confine its activities to the industrial field and education, not politics.

[23] Beovich to Carboni, 9 October 1956. In the margin of the national executive's response to the decision of the above committee, dated 24 March 1956, Beovich commented: 'No. The bishops are closely bound up with the Movement. They finance it in great part and gave it a specific mandate. They can hardly escape some responsibility'.

[24] Santamaria to Beovich, 5 September 1956.

[25] Santamaria, *Memoir*, p. 167

[26] Henderson, p. 119.

[27] Diary, 2 April 1958.

[28] Diary, 3 September 1957; Beovich to Gilroy, 3 September 1957. In January 1958, at the next meeting of the hierarchy, Beovich moved the motion which pledged that the 'authoritative directives' from Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi would be implemented.

[29] Diary, 2 April 1958. He heard about support for the DLP in Victoria from Justin Simonds in a letter dated 29 March 1958.

[30] Diary, 25 November 1955. See also his address to the Knights of the Southern Cross, 21 December 1955; Ormonde, *The Movement*, pp. 118-9.

[31] For the 1958 election campaign, see Henderson, p.136 ff. and Duncan, pp. 353-358.

[32] John Warhurst, 'The Australian Labor Party (Anti-Communist) in South Australia, November-December 1955: 'Molotov' Labor Versus 'Coffee-Shop' Labor', *Labor History*, vol. 32 (1977), p. 74; Dean Jaensch, 'Democratic Labor Party (DLP)' in Wilfred Prest (ed), *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2001, pp. 146-147.

South Australian result was the lowest or second-lowest for the party in Australia, and the state branch never won a parliamentary seat.[33]

Saunders and Lloyd argue that 'the relatively small proportion of Catholics in South Australia and the refusal of the archbishop of Adelaide to support the NCC and DLP do much to explain why the state branch of the Labor Party did not split in two in the mid-1950s'.[34] They also acknowledge the relatively healthy state of the local ALP branch, and point out that memories of the bitter schism in the 1930s, and a realistic hope of winning government in the not-too-distant future, encouraged members to stay in the ALP.[35] This brings us to the fourth factor which should be taken into account when analyzing Beovich's reaction to the Split. He realized that there was no internal crisis in the South Australian branch of the ALP comparable to that in Victoria. He accepted the legitimacy of the old Victorian executive, disbanded by federal intervention, and believed that there was some justification for the schism in that state. However, in Australia generally, and particularly in South Australia where Catholics only made up about 16 percent of the population, he thought that a strong, moderate ALP offered a better bulwark against Communism than a predominantly Catholic political party could ever hope to achieve.[36]

Finally, Beovich looked on the ALP as the party most in tune with the Church's social justice teaching. In 1949 he mused in his diary that it was his 'strong opinion so far as party politics is concerned: the Church does not take sides, but she assumes a benevolent neutrality to that side which is most concerned with the workers and the poor, and the less privileged of the citizens'.[37] He exercised such 'benevolent neutrality' well before the Split when he entered the debate over the federal Labor government's bank nationalization policy in 1947. In response to attacks on the policy by several Catholic critics, he pointed out that Pope Pius XII had accepted that in certain circumstances nationalization could be in the interests of the common good.[38] The following year, amidst heated controversy over the meaning of socialization in Labor's policy platform, Beovich affirmed that a Catholic could, in conscience, subscribe to the Labor platform.[39] When the Movement publication *Newsweekly* criticized Labor politicians for campaigning for a 'no' vote in the 1951 referendum to ban the Communist Party, Beovich refused to direct Catholics how to respond.[40] His Labor sympathies were typical of many Catholics of his generation. There were a number of Catholics in the state branch of the Labor party, but none in the Liberal and Country League government. Beovich, however, was not blindly partisan. He enjoyed a cordial relationship with Premier Thomas Playford, and the fact that a Catholic lawyer was pre-selected for a winnable Liberal seat in 1953 has been attributed to his influence.[41]

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[33] Saunders and Lloyd, p. 89; P.L. Reynolds, *The Democratic Labor Party*, Jacaranda, Brisbane, 1974, p. 54.
[34] Saunders and Lloyd, p. 88.
[35] Saunders and Lloyd, pp. 88-90.
[36] Beovich to Carboni, 9 October 1956.
[37] Diary, 9 November 1949.
[38] *Sunday Mail*, 13 September 1947, p. 1. Beovich also advised Gilroy against issuing a 'panicky and drastic' condemnation of nationalisation. See Duncan, pp. 115-16.
[39] *Advertiser*, 12 October 1948.
[40] See Jenny Stock, 'The Role of Religion in the 1951 Referendum to Ban the Communist Party: the South Australian Example', *Australian Religion Studies Review*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1988), pp. 49-51.
[41] Stewart Cockburn, *Playford: Benevolent Despot*, Axiom, Adelaide, 1991, p. 223; David Hilliard, 'Religion in Playford's South Australia', in Bernard O'Neil, Judith Raftery and Kerrie Round, (ed.)

Although supporters of the DLP and NCC were aggrieved by Beovich's refusal to support their organizations, they were only a small minority. Overall, his response to the Split ensured that the majority of South Australians did not experience the level of bitterness and hatred which wracked the Church and the ALP in Victoria.[42] What then was his role in the Vietnam War? The Australian Catholic bishops are said to have 'lapsed into almost total silence on Vietnam'.[43] In fact, the strong element of anti-communism within the Church in Australia, and the presence of a significant Catholic minority in Vietnam, encouraged some of the bishops to defend the federal government's decision to send troops to Vietnam in 1965 as 'a morally correct action'.[44] This was not only true of bishops associated with the NCC, which strongly supported the war, but also of Cardinal Gilroy, no friend of Santamaria.[45] As a result, the Catholic peace groups which were formed in Sydney and Melbourne received little support from their bishops and encountered some open hostility.[46]

In his diary Beovich referred to 'the ghastly war in Vietnam'.[47] In public he confined himself to praying for peace. In September 1966 he responded to Pope Paul VI's call for an immediate end to hostilities by intensifying prayer throughout his diocese and energetically promoting the pope's encyclical, in spite of the risk that this could be deemed unpatriotic at a time when opinion polls indicate that the war still quite popular.[48] In April 1967 the Australian bishops issued a statement on the war

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Playford's South Australia: Essays on the History of South Australia, 1933-1968, Association of Professional Historians, Adelaide, 1996, p. 255.

[42] When Beovich died in 1981, John Bannon, then leader of the Opposition in the South Australian House of Assembly, recalled in a letter to Bishop Philip Kennedy:

> . . . the special significance that the late Archbishop Beovich has for the Australian Labor Party in this state. He is remembered very warmly indeed by very many people in our Party, particularly for the crucial role he played in the 1950s when sectarian divisions were beginning to emerge. Not only the Labor Party, but I believe, the political and social life of this state, has benefited greatly from the fact that there was no split within our Party, nor any real bitterness of a type that occurred, for instance, in Victoria.

Cited in Margaret Press, *Colour and Shadow: South Australian Catholics, 1906-1962*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1991, p. 214.

[43] Henry Albinski, *Politics and Foreign Policy in Australia: The Impact of Vietnam and Conscription*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1970, p. 128.

[44] Bishop Arthur Fox of Melbourne, quoted in the *Advocate*, 4 August 1966, p. 7. See also Val Noone, *Disturbing the War: Melbourne Catholics and Vietnam*, Spectrum, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 126-8.

[45] For Gilroy, see John Luttrell, 'Norman Thomas Cardinal Gilroy as Archbishop of Sydney', PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, 1997, pp. 252-259.

[46] For accounts written by former priests who were involved in the peace movement, see Noone, *Disturbing the War,* and C.F. Bowers, 'The Catholic Church in Sydney & the Vietnam Conflict', *Australian Left Review*, vol. 71 (1979). pp. 30-37. For the peace movement in general, see Malcolm Saunders, 'The Vietnam Moratorium Movement in Australia: 1969-73', PhD thesis, Flinders University, 1977, and Saunders, 'Opposition to the Vietnam War in South Australia, 1965-73', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 10 (1982), pp. 61-71.

[47] Diary, 3 October 1966 and 1 April 1968. On 7 December 1968 it was 'that atrocious war'.

[48] A circular letter from Beovich to priests and religious, dated 27 September 1966, outlined a special programme of prayer for October. It was reported in the *Southern Cross*, 30 September 1966, p. 1. The encyclical *Christi Matri Rosarii* ('We cry to them in God's name to stop . . . ') was printed in the *Southern Cross* on 7 October 1966, page 2. The headline on page 1 was a quotation from Beovich's homily at a special Mass for peace in the cathedral on 4 October: 'End War Before It Is Too Late'. Peace was the theme of the annual Eucharistic procession on 9 October and the Marian procession on 30 October. An estimated 10 000 people took part in the latter event, 'one of Adelaide's biggest and most orderly peace marches'. See *Southern Cross*, 4 November 1966, p. 3. That there was not an

which reiterated Paul's call for a negotiated settlement. It was sufficiently different from the rhetoric of the hawkish bishops for Max Charlesworth to speculate in an article in the *Age* on the role Beovich may have had in its production as 'it is rumoured, [he] has grave reservations both about conscription and the Vietnam War'.[49] Unfortunately, neither the minutes of the meeting nor Beovich's diary shed any light on this, but it is probable that he was involved as he was vice president of the episcopal conference and a member of its executive body.

The first Vietnam Moratorium Campaign culminated on 8-9 May 1970 with rallies held around Australia. The Catholics who marched in Melbourne and Sydney did so in spite of their bishops' disapproval. Archbishop Knox of Melbourne issued a statement which attacked the campaign, saying 'it could well become a threat to public order', while a spokesman for Gilroy in Sydney described it as 'hardly worthy of Christian participation'. Both press statements also implied that it would be wrong to abandon the South Vietnamese.[50] Gilroy would not even countenance a prayer vigil linked to the moratorium because he believed the campaign to be 'of communistic inspiration'.[51]

The annual Marian Procession in Adelaide was scheduled to take place on 3 May 1970, and marshals wanted Beovich to make a similar statement to Knox and Gilroy to prevent the procession becoming associated with the moratorium. Beovich refused on the grounds that it would only inflame the situation further.[52] When visited by supporters of the moratorium campaign, he insisted that no 'partisan or political activity' should take place at the Marian procession, but he offered to hold a special Mass for peace in the cathedral on the day of the rally on 9 May.[53] With the 'letters to the editor' section of the *Southern Cross* showing that Catholics were bitterly divided over Vietnam and the moratorium campaign, often along generational lines, this was an appropriate *via media*. It did not completely resolve the tension—university students handing out moratorium leaflets after the procession on 3 May were abused by some of the participants—but it stopped it escalating. Interstate, the Vietnam War coalesced with the papal encyclical on birth control, *Humanae Vitae*, as the trigger which drove about fifty men from the priesthood,[54] but Beovich's benign response ensured that the archdiocese of Adelaide fared much better. No priest left over the issue. One woman wrote to the *Southern Cross*: 'I was proud to be associated with the Christians for Peace group in the moratorium march. It was a heartwarming

upsurge in sectarianism as a result of this may be due to the fact that within the Anglican and Protestant churches there was also strong opposition to the war. For a brief account, see David Hilliard, 'The Religious Crisis of the 1960s: The Experience of the Australian Churches', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1997): 224-225.

[49] *Age*, 14 April 1967, p. 5. See also Noone, pp. 134-5.

[50] Saunders, 'Vietnam Moratorium Movement', pp. 89-92; Noone, p. 248; *Age*, 20 April 1970, p. 1; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1970, p. 6.

[51] Gilroy to Rev. Michael Horsburgh, 28 April 1970, cited by Luttrell, p. 258.

[52] Diary, 1 May 1970.

[53] Diary, 30 April 1970.

[54] See Ian Moffitt and Graham Williams, 'The Angry Young Men of the Church', *Australian*, 19 September 1967, p. 9. In an unpublished manuscript cited by Saunders ('Vietnam Moratorium Movement', p. 96), Williams wrote that 'an estimated fifty priests and other clergy resigned or were forced out of the church because of their peace activities'. One of the most publicized cases involved Dennis Corrigan of the Hobart diocese. When he refused to obey Archbishop Young's request that he resign as acting chairman of the Tasmanian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, Young suspended him from priestly ministry. See Noone, pp. 272-3.

experience to be present at the Mass in the cathedral beforehand with about 200 eager and happy young people.'[55]

Human motivation is a complex thing, and clearly Beovich's response to the ALP split and the Vietnam War cannot be reduced to any single explanation. During two of the most divisive episodes in Australian history, he drew on principles, pragmatism and papal teaching. He did not always get the balance right, but by avoiding the extremes of both the confrontational and conciliatory approaches, he developed a leadership style that enabled him to make a significant and ultimately positive contribution to South Australian public life.

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Josephine Laffin

[55] *Southern Cross*, 22 May 1970, p. 13.

The Ex-priest and the Actress

A Goulburn Sectarian Interlude and the Anatomy of Sectarianism in Colonial Society

ANNE PLAYER RSJ

This paper explores an 1878─79 sectarian interlude in Goulburn, New South Wales. This interlude was occasioned by the lectures of the 70 year old French Canadian ex-priest, Pastor Charles Chiniquy, who arrived in Sydney in September 1878 and left our shores in December 1879. Chiniquy delivered five lectures in Goulburn in December 1878 and gave a final talk in the Methodist Temperance Hall on 25 January 1879.

Special attention will be given to Chiniquy's presentation on 'auricular confession' and the response to it by the Irish born Catholic actress, Joey Gougenheim, (Mrs Constable), in her two lectures. This approach will facilitate the exploration of the anatomy of this sectarian episode and its wider application by considering questions such as: Who was Chiniquy and to what did he owe his success? Why did no Catholic priest or layman in Goulburn challenge him? What were the tactics used by the actress? What were the Catholic reactions to Chiniquy's invective?

The Orange Lodges accorded him an enthusiastic welcome and organised his lecture tour.[1] At a crowded meeting in Sydney he gave the reasons he came to the colonies. He wished to testify to God's mercy to him; to inform Protestants of the nature of the popish religion and how to combat its insidious advance and to free his former co-religionists from the shackles of popery. He had no intention of abusing or insulting the Roman Catholics he loved them too well.'[2] He did not mention that he hoped to collect funds to house the Catholic priests who lacked the financial means to leave the Catholic Church.

Following his ordination as a Catholic priest in 1833, Chiniquy served in lower Canada and established his reputation as a noted preacher, temperance advocate and defender of the Catholic church. His final posting was to Illinois in 1851.[3] Five years later his bishop excommunicated him because of 'the constant sexual scandals, the complaints of female parishioners, the real misappropriation of parish funds' and his disobedience to Episcopal authority[4]. He and members of his congregation converted to Protestantism in August 1858.[5] In Australia he cleverly pre-empted any hint of scandal in his previous career by claiming that the bishops of the United States

[1] Charles Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, R. Banks, London, revised & complete edition, 1904, p. 573.
[2] *Protestant Standard*, (hereafter *PS*), 5 October 1878, p. 5. Protestant critics of Catholic practice never saw themselves as engaging in insulting behaviour, they simply preached the truth.
[3] Chiniquy, 573; Letter, 1 January 1883, Chiniquy to Editor, *PS*, 17 February 1883.
[4]Some of the documentary evidence against Chiniquy is 'dubious', but the Roman Catholic archives of Quebec holds affidavits from women testifying to his immoral sexual behaviour. Paul Laverdure, 'Creating an anti-Catholic Crusader: Charles Chiniquy', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 15, no. 1, June 1988, p. 106.
[5] These biographical details of Charles Chiniquy are from: Chiniquy, pp. 17, 119, 327and 570.

wished to destroy him and 'had accused [him] of crimes so horrible that [he could] not name them here. (Sensation).'[6] This explanation had more than satisfied his audience.

Chiniquy lectured at the Goulburn Mechanics' Institute to good crowds each night of 9−13 December (admission 1/- by ticket only).[7] His lectures followed the successful pattern used by generations of anti-Catholic Protestant preachers. Standard topics such as worship of the 'wafer God' and the Virgin Mary, celibacy as unnatural, the evils of the Papacy and the ever fascinating subjects of auricular confession and the debauchery of nuns and priests, all couched in 'sacrilegious and blasphemous language',[8] never failed to win a receptive audience.

His lecture on 'Auricular Confession' attracted the usual large audience. Chiniquy drew attention to his book on confession which he claimed he had written on his knees and when a lady, who had joined the Catholic church, read it she converted back to the Protestant faith, and sent him £25 for his mission.[9] The pastor informed the audience that he intended to concentrate on the confession of women, because twenty times as many women as men frequented the confessional. He read from a book that claimed that auricular confession led to impurity on the part of the priest and of the penitent and declared it a fact 'that, females went because they were in love with the priest. (Laughter.)' Some priests and some women kept their virtue intact, but 99 out of every 100 Catholic women who went to confession were morally corrupted by the priests. Turning to nunneries, he thought a few nuns could be described as 'pure as the angels of God', but that was the exception and the public deserved to know what really happened in such establishments. Then the Rev. W. Clarke, a local clergyman, at the request of Pastor Chiniquy, read an account of a romantic love story of a priest and a nun and other passages which related 'prurient details'. 'The Rev. Pastor [Chiniquy] said the recital was very painful but very interesting!'

Chiniquy succeeded brilliantly. He was a gifted and powerful lecturer and he used tested and proven subjects that appealed to and confirmed anti-Catholic bigotry. Consequently he found an appreciative audience among numbers of the fundamentalist Protestants. In Goulburn he also enjoyed the support of the Anglican Bishop and stayed as the bishop's guest at *Bishopthorpe*. Chiniquy told his audiences little they did not know and much of what they already believed.[10] He delivered his lectures in the appealing garb of anecdotes supposedly from his own experience of the Catholic Church for 50 years, including 25 years as a priest. As a former insider in the Catholic Church, many Protestants believed, he would know all its machinations and report them truthfully and accurately.[11] They needed no proof of any of his allegations about things Catholic.

Chiniquy did not present a case against the Catholics he engaged in abusive assertions and painted Catholics as idolaters, the enemies of Christianity and freedom and as sexually depraved. No matter what anyone said to challenge any point in the

[6] *P S*, 19 October 1878, p. 8.
[7] *Goulburn Herald* (hereafter *GH*),7 December, 1878, 4.
[8] Laverdure, pp. 104–06
[9] *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* (hereafter *GEPP*), 14 December 1878, 4. In Goulburn he advertised his popular pamphlet, *The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional* at 2/6 a copy and photographs of himself at 2/6 and 1/-.
[10] *GEPP*, 15 July 1880.
[11] Laverdure, pp. 104–06.

Pastor's lecture material, the same old stories reappeared, strengthened by repetition and embellishment.

Chiniquy had a quiet time in Goulburn. Catholics did not demonstrate against him and neither Bishop Lanigan nor any priest nor layman attempted to answer his claims. The *Freeman's Journal*, when it noted the death of the ex-priest in January 1899, provided a probable reason why Catholics, clerical and lay, in New South Wales were so quiescent under his attacks. It reported that during the Pastor's rampage through the colony 'the word had been passed along that no speaker on the Catholic side should answer him.'[12]

A Catholic woman incensed that the *Sydney Morning Herald* had reported Chiniquy's lectures *verbatim* and refused to print her defence of the priesthood and Catholic women against Chiniquy's vile slanders, resorted to giving public lectures to present her case. Mrs Constable, the former Irish actress, Joey Gougenheim, though not a local, gave two lectures to a 'thin crowd' in the Goulburn Mechanics' Institute on 18 and 19 December 1878.[13] Lanigan, his priests and many prominent Catholic laymen did not attend.

She stated that if Chiniquy had confined himself to dealing with doctrinal matters she would not have responded to him. As the 'Auricular Confession' lecture had proved one of the pastor's most popular lectures, she intended to concentrate on it. The Pastor claimed he had studied the early church fathers and confession was unknown to them. She gave examples from the fathers that could be checked, showing that auricular confession was both known to and approved by them. To support her claims that Chiniquy had misquoted scripture, she asked Protestants to read the Bible and check her assertions. Moreover, he had deceived his listeners when he claimed that St Thomas Aquinas in certain passages in his writings had urged Catholics to persecute Protestants. 'Impossible! Protestantism originated in the sixteenth century and Aquinas wrote in the thirteenth century.'[14]

'S.P.G.', a Protestant, writing in the *Church of England Messenger in Adelaide*, pointed out that the reasonableness of accepting the pastor's claims that could not be independently verified, depended upon the reliability of his statements that could be checked. By comparing the pastor's treatment of history to the test of what was known from history, it must be concluded that 'his statements from first to last are a tissue of untruths … [and] that as a witness against Roman corruptions he is utterly unworthy of credit.'[15]

Mrs Constable did not rest her case on historical evidence alone but appealed to the commonsense of her audience. While she would not be so foolish as to believe that there were no bad priests, she denied corrupt behaviour on the part of every priest. As to the claim that one priest had seduced 99 women out of 100 she merely

[12] *Freeman's Journal*, (hereafter *FJ*), 28 January 1899, p.16.
[13] Mrs Constable, an actor-dancer, was born Josephine Gougenheim in Dublin about 1843. As Joey Gougenheim she performed from 1850 on the stage with her sister in London, New York and California. They came to Melbourne in 1857 and left in 1859. Joey continued her career in London and America before returning to Victoria in 1861. She married Marmaduke Constable on 8 July 1865. In September 1871 she initially gave solo performances at the Gulgong goldfields and then formed the Star Dramatic Company, which played a nine month season at the fields. She retired from the stage and opened a boarding house in Sydney. She died in Sydney on 13 September 1900. Philip Parsons, ed., *Companion to the Theatre in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 249.
[14] *GH*, 21 December 1878, 3.
[15] *PS*, 7 June 1879, 7. Reprint of Article.

asked: 'Did a man exist in the world with such powers of fascination? She would like to see such a one – at a great distance. (Laughter)'. To believe Chiniquy's statement that a Catholic girl by the age of twelve years must 'know everything filthy and abominable' denied every vestige of humanity in all Catholic mothers and was a monstrous indictment of them. She simply asked 'Oh! Protestant mothers, was it likely? If they believed the statements of this man, they must believe not only that all priests were infamous, but that all Catholic mothers were inhuman. If these accusations were true then motherly love would have annihilated the confessional ages ago.'[16]

The *Protestant Standard* asserted that, though Chiniquy had given his audience a clear account of 'the abomination' of confessing to a priest, he did so in such a manner that not one word he had spoken 'could have offended the ear of the most sensitive person.'[17]

Other commentators held a contrary opinion. The reporter from the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* thought that Chiniquy's story of the love between a priest and a nun whether, true or not, showed 'questionable' taste in regaling an audience composed of so many young ladies with such details.[18] 'S.P.G'., expressed similar concerns and accused Chiniquy of indiscriminately indulging in 'indecencies' by relating filthy stories and cracking lewd jests in the presence of mixed assemblies of the old and young of both sexes.' Such behaviour did not promote 'the cause of morality' and neither did it advance 'the kingdom of the Holy Redeemer … among men.' [19]

The most scathing indictment of the Pastor and his audience came from the editor of the *Macleay Herald*. He described Chiniquy as 'the dirtiest of old men', with a 'depraved imagination' and as a flippant showman, who 'lick[ed] his greasy lips, and his refined and intelligent audience lick[ed] theirs' as he titillated himself and them with the portrayal of obscenities. He concluded: 'Alas! What an amount of ignorance, bigotry, and stupidity must exist in a community where such things not only can exist but thrive?'[20]

Catholics may have kept silent under Chiniquy's onslaught but a letter in the *Yass Courier* in late December 1878, from 'A Layman' to the Rev. Yarrington of the Church of England show something of the effect that Chiniquy had on Catholics. It was obvious to 'A Layman' that Yarrington had closely read 'the filthy ravings of the renegade priest [Chiniquy]' and would then be familiar with the vile calumnies that this man had heaped indiscriminately on the reputations of almost every nun and every Catholic woman and hence necessarily on the Catholic women and nuns of Yass.[21] 'Layman' wrote:

> Rev. Sir, in the name of common sense, have you lost your heart? … Bear in mind, I beg of you, the many substantial acts of kindness you have since you came here received at the kind and virtuous hands of the noble Catholic women in the district of Yass … How then you can

[16] *GEPP*, 19 December 1878, p.3; *Macleay Herald*, quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, 25 January 1879, p. 14.
[17] *PS*, 26 October 1878, p.3.
[18] *GEPP*, 14 December 1878, p. 5.
[19] *FJ*, 14 June 1879, p. 17; see also *PS*, 24 May 1879, p. 9 and 7 June 1879, p. 7.
[20] *FJ*, 25 January 1879, 14 quoting *Macleay Herald*, no date given.
[21] In Goulburn Chiniquy was reported as saying: 'All the ladies of the Church of Rome, or all the priests, might not be corrupted, but the exceptions were very rare … Père Hyacinthe, [also an ex-priest], stated positively that out of every one hundred priests, ninety-nine fell into sin with their penitents!', *GEPP*, 14 December 1878, pp. 4–5.

> in future look these women in the face, or step across the hospitable threshold of their pious houses, whose vile slanderer you designate "a distinguished man," appears to me the mystery of mysteries.[22]

In the Lanigan papers, an undated newspaper cutting of a letter to the editor of the *Southern Argus* tells something of the 'pain and anger' of the Goulburn Catholics. The letter is incomplete, but from internal evidence was probably written in early 1879. Voting was to take place that day for 'positions of public trust' and two of the names listed had been 'prominent in the late crusade against public decency and Christian charity'. The writer lamented that, given the current 'state of feeling in Goulburn … they are likely to be wafted into the haven of civic dignity before the foul breeze of Orange hatred and anti-Catholic malignity.' In Goulburn, continued the letter writer, against all the norms of 'civilized nations', Catholic ladies had been exposed to 'insults and sneers and derision (even in houses of business) at the hands of brutal and cowardly boors' whose dress should have marked them as gentlemen. These 'calumniators of brave men' and 'dastardly assassins of women's character' must be ignored until they have the decency 'to acknowledge their fault and make some apology.'[23]

Chiniquy enhanced his standing as defender of Protestantism by portraying himself as one who had suffered persecution at the hands of Catholics and who continued to be threatened by them. He explained to his Goulburn audience that he had been condemned to death and on fourteen occasions had been stoned, 'being often surrounded by a thousand men'. Always Orangemen defended him.[24]. Later he claimed many hair-raising attacks in Australia, such as being 'beaten with whips and sticks'. The *Protestant Standard*, seemed to have missed the 'whips and sticks' episode. In these persecution stories Chiniquy always spoke of facing the mob fearlessly. In Hobart, however, where he claimed to have stood his ground in the face of pistols and daggers, the Hobart *Mercury* reported 'rough-looking characters armed with sticks' and noted that the 'Pastor took shelter near the organ seat.' [25]

The editor of the *Yass Courier*, had written in 1879:

> No man will be more "sold" than Chiniquy himself should Chiniquy die in his bed; for Chiniquy has made up his mind that he is a martyr and a martyr he'll be, you bet, even if he has to kill himself. For the new Moses who led 25,000 people out of the Egypt of Papal bondage to leave them pastor-less in the wilderness, while he goes blowing his own trumpet in lands where comforts are many and bawbees[26] in moderate profusion is much more creditable to his "kokum"[27] than his philanthropy.[28]

A notice of his death concluded: 'The thought that he never was even once killed in a religious riot must have embittered his last hours.'[29]

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[22] Letter, 30 December 1878, 'A Layman' to Yarrington, *Yass Courier*, (hereafter *YC*) 31 December 1878.
[23] Undated newspaper cutting, incomplete letter to editor, *Southern Argus*, Lanigan Papers, Canberra-Goulburn Archdiocesan Archives, uncatalogued.
[24] *GEPP*, 10 December 1878, 3. Chiniquy never talked in units or even in tens: it was always at least in hundreds and more often in thousands
[25] Father Chiniquy, p. 575.
[26] Bawbees – halfpennies.
[27] Kokum – feigned concern; feigned kindness.
[28] *YC*, 1 July 1879.
[29] Newspaper clipping, 17 January 1899, file 'Charles Chiniquy, Obits', Canadian Baptist Historical Archives, cited in Laverdure, p. 108.

After Chiniquy left the colonies, he continued to write begging letters. These letters had three characteristics: he had always roped in new converts from the 'ranks of Popery'; he was always in 'want of means' and finally he requested money – in 1882, £100. The *Freeman's Journal* addressed Chiniquy directly and assured him that the money would not be forthcoming, because £100:

> would enable one to enjoy the Bachanalian delights of 8,000 "shandy gaffs" at Frank Smith's Hotel on Sundays … [and] above all things there's a marked belief here amongst the Papal hordes that if you left off bagging 15,000 converts a day and took to catching 15,000 fish, you would be doing at least one part of the early apostles' work, and besides you'd soon be cured of your chronic complaint "want of means." [30]

Chiniquy did not falter in his commitment to Protestantism and continued to produce anti-Catholic literature until his death on 16 January 1899. He had made a successful career as an anti-Catholic lecturer. In Australia £4,700 had been donated to him for his self-proclaimed mission of aiding priests and others who lacked the means to leave the Catholic Church.[31] Chiniquy's time in Goulburn showed that sectarianism was a response to bigotries deeply held and fostered by repetitious assertions. These assertions were given legitimacy by a plethora of antidotes which no matter how outrageous were accepted as true. Challenges, even when logical and reasoned were 'answered' by repeating the allegations.

The Bulletin, in its irreverent manner, summed up Chiniquy's visit to Australia thus:

"WE'VE DROPPED DOWN."

Enough of this! say what you want,
You are, we know, no fool,
For didn't you with roars and cant
In this land "scoop the pool?"
And prove it was a splendid trade,
The loud "rumbustious" renegade?

From North to South you stirred up strife
And anger in the land:
You brought the bludgeon and the knife
In your train, French firebrand!
And now for more *largesse* you foam,
Because you are "played out" at home!

Where are the "Homes" of which you yelp'd
When you clutched all our "gilt?"
Come tell us: - it can't now be help'd -
Is there *one* of them built?
No! Not another half-a-crown;
You see, dear pastor, we've "dropped down."[32]

Anne Player rsj

[30] *FJ*, 3 June 1882, pp. 14–15.
[31] *PS*, 27 December 1879, p. 4.
[32] *Bulletin, 24* February 1883, 11.

The Formation of a Passionist Presbyterian
John Enright in Ireland and Australia

MALCOLM PRENTIS

Just after midnight on Saturday morning, 4 December 1926, the newly inducted minister of St Enoch's Presbyterian Church, Morningside, Auckland, the Rev. John Enright, died of a sudden heart attack. He left a letter to be opened by his wife after his death: 'In case of death. I die in the Protestant faith as outlined in the Presbyterian church, and ask for the forgiveness of all my sins to my heavenly father and to my neighbours. God bless my two darlings till we meet.'[1] After the funeral, a Loyal Orange Lodge service was read at the graveside.[2] Enright had arrived in New Zealand in September to give a series of lectures on 'Protestant Principles' for the Protestant Political Association. In Sydney, one of his friends had harboured the runaway Sister Liguori. Here, then, was a more than ordinarily protestant Protestant preacher. But he was still in some ways the Passionist preacher he had been for thirteen years before he left the monastery.

Since this paper is arguing for continuity between Enright's Passionist and Protestant careers, we need to understand both Passionists and evangelical Protestantism. The Passionists[3] were traditionally one of the strictest orders, with characteristics of contemplatives like the Trappists and of activists like the Jesuits. The vows (poverty, chastity, obedience and promotion of devotion to the Passion of Christ) were perpetual.[4] The Plenary Council of 1885 had decided on a strategy of regular parish missions to reclaim lapsed Catholics, and the Redemptorists, Vincentians and Passionists made their appearance in Australia soon after.[5] Three Passionist 'retreats' were set up, St Brigid's Marrickville (1887), Mary's Mount Goulburn (1890) and St Paul of the Cross at Glen Osmond in Adelaide (1896).[6] The bishops were eager to use the Passionist order to reclaim the indifferent Catholics of Australasia by missions as well as by taking charge of a few selected parishes.[7]

Very useful in defining of what makes an evangelical is David Bebbington's so-called 'quadrilateral': Crucicentrism, Biblicism, Activism and Conversionism:[8]

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[1] Obituary, *The Outlook* [NZ Presbyterian Church], 20 December 1926, p. 15.

[2] ibid.*;* death notice *Auckland Star*, 4 December 1926, p. 1.

[3] The Congregation of Discalced Clerks of the Most Holy Cross and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ was founded by St Paul of the Cross in Castellazo, Lombardy in the 1720s.

[4] A. Devine, 'Passionists', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI (1911), online edition.

[5] P.F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia,* Oceania Publishing Co., Sydney, n.d., p. 685; G. Mahony, *The Arrival of the Passionists: Sydney 1887,* n.p., Sydney, 1987, pp. 5, 8-12.

[6] See M. French, 'O'Reily, John (1846-1915)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 11, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 96-97.

[7] W. McEntee, The Contribution of the Passionist Religious Order to the Development of Piety in Australia, 1887-1923, MA Hons Thesis, University of NSW, 1989, pp. v-vi. Archbishop O'Reily seems to have been particularly keen to use the order to build up parishes: M.M. Press, *From our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1905*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1986, p.154.

[8] *Crucicentrism*: a focus on Christ's redeeming work as the heart of essential Christianity; *Biblicism*: the reliance on Bible as the ultimate authority; not necessarily literalist; *Activism*: an energetic, individualist approach to religious duties and involvement, including evangelism, charity and social reform; and *Conversionism*: a stress on a new birth, sometimes referred to as 'being born again'. D. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain from the 1730s to the 1980s*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1989, pp. 5-15; D. Bebbington, G. Rawlyk & M. Noll (eds), *Evangelicalism*: *Comparative Studies of*

An important factor in the continuity in Enright's vocation is the fact that the era was one of Catholic and Protestant revivalist missions, surprisingly similar in intent and techniques.[9] Not unconnected with this, though with other roots as well, the era was also one of sectarianism. It reached a peak in Australasia from 1868 to the 1920s, especially 1910-25. Enright was slap bang in the middle of both aspects of his era.

What was 'formation'? There were studies in Scripture, Theology, Sacraments, and pastoral ministry with communal religious life, including regular prayer, daily Eucharist and spiritual direction. For Enright, as for most clergy, this process actually began before seminary and continued after.

FORMATION AS A PASSIONIST

John James Enright was born on 21 May 1863 in Dublin.[10] His whole family seems to have been devoted to the cult of the Passion. His two sisters were in the Sisters of the Most Holy Cross and Passion as Sr Mary of the Cross and Sr Mary of the Passion. His elder brother Joseph wanted to be a Passionist priest but died young.[11] Between October 1871 and July 1877, he was educated by the Patrician Brothers as a boarder at St Patrick's Monastery, Tullow.[12] In 1872, at home in Dublin, John had almost died, confessing under great stress and receiving his first Communion at that time.[13] In Dublin, around 1886, he consented to join the Passionist novitiate in Worcestershire. However, he decided to travel before entering and left Ireland in 1888.[14]

Enright was teaching at Narrabri West Public School in 1890-1891, but entered the Passionists at Mary's Mount, Goulburn, on 25 March 1891. He took his first vows as Brother Andrew Mary of the Immaculate Conception twelve months later. The novice renounced 'all dominion over temporal goods' and vowed to persevere in the order until death. He was vested in the black habit, mantle and girdle of the order, and had a wooden cross laid upon his shoulder and a crown of thorns placed upon his head. The same day, he signed away all his worldly goods and bound himself to the order until his death.[15] The life was rigidly disciplined and intensely ascetic. Quarters were cramped and spartan: there was no electricity (nor heating in the chapel) and in addition to the usual sleep-deprivation and fasting, there was

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Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, introduction.

[9] G.M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Wm B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1991, pp.22-25; H.R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, Sydney, 1987, ch. 3, 'Revivalism'.

[10] *Shaw's Dublin City Directory*, 1850. Birth and baptismal certificates in Enright File and Novitiorum Commentarium of Presentation Retreat Mary's Mount Goulburn 1890-1935, Passionist Archives, then at St Ives, NSW.

[11] J.J. Enright, *The Roman Tribunal, or, the Confessional,* Christian Workers' Depot, Sydney, 1925) [hereafter referred to as *TRT*], pp. 133, 143 and J.J. Enright, *Breaking the Fetters: how I left the Church of my fathers: the romance of a monk and a maid,* William H. Beale, Methodist Book Depot, Sydney [1921, hereafter referred to as *BTF*], p. 158

[12] St Patrick's Monastery Boarding School Ledgers, 1871-77 (copies of entries by courtesy of Br Linus Walker, Archivist, Patrician Brothers, Kingston, Galway, Ireland).

[13] *TRT*, p. 19.

[14] *BTF*, pp. 152-153.

[15] Retreat of the Presentation, St Mary's Mount, Novitiate Testaments 1891-1920, John Enright's Will and declarations, 18 April 1892, in Passionist Archives, St Ives.

gardening, building paths and grottoes, working on the orchard or the 55 acre farm. Cells were furnished with a board bed and straw mattress.[16]

Two days after Enright entered the community, it celebrated Good Friday. Novices rose at 7 a.m., went straight to the choir, thence to 'collation' of weak tea and a hot cross bun, back to the choir, had a procession, then mass, went to the sepulchre they had built in the grounds, had 'recreation', 'repose', back to the choir, had instruction from the Vice-Master, followed the stations of the cross, said their rosary and prepared the altar for the next days.[17]

Brothers took it in turn to record all the doings of the week and write a concluding reflection in the 'Novices Chronicles'. Enright pursued his priestly studies for four years, including 'Sacred Eloquence', Philosophy, Moral and Dogmatic Theology and Sacred Scriptures.[18] He made a close study of St Alphonsus Liguori on moral theology. With three others, John Enright was ordained a priest as Father Andrew on 30 May 1896 by Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn.[19]

Enright was based at Marrickville (1896-1897), Glen Osmond, South Australia (1897-1905) and Goulburn (1905-1907). He filled various monastic roles, ran parish groups, retreats and was confessor to nuns and brothers and led many missions.[20] A handbill for one mission in 1900 explains that 'A Mission is a Message from Almighty God to His people to put them in mind that there is "but one thing necessary,"… the Salvation of their Souls.'[21] At a mission at St Francis Xavier's Cathedral, Adelaide, in February 1899, over 4,000 confessions were registered on what the Passionists called the 'sheep-counter'.

Archbishop John O'Reily seems to have wanted to use the order as pastoral priests as much as missioners.[22] From the beginning of 1897, he put the Passionists in charge of the congregations of Mitcham and Glen Osmond, which were joined to Parkside parish.[23] After 1900, the order in Adelaide sought gradually to withdraw from the parish work and concentrate on missions, so as 'to preserve the quality of monastic life'.[24] Nevertheless, Fr Andrew Enright was parish priest of Parkside from about 1902 to 1904.[25]

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16 W. McEntee, pp. 68-78.

17 Retreat of the Presentation, St Mary's Mount, Novices Chronicles, 27 March 1891 (Passionist Archives, then in St Ives). In due course, the Good Friday procession involved up to 3,000 of the faithful and a large set of the Stations of the Cross in Carrara marble designed by an Italian sculptor had been installed in the garden: B. Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, the author, Canberra, 1997, p. 271.

18 W. McEntee, p. 111; Petition, *BB*, 1912, p. 97.

19 W. McEntee, pp. 89-90. They were the first Australian-formed Passionist priests to be ordained. Three of the four were later to depart from the order. These four were the last Passionists to be educated in Australia until 1923, as the Vatican suspended local training.

20 Petition to the GA of PCA, 7 August 1912, *BB*, 1912, p. 98.

21 Handbill, Catholic Archives, Adelaide.

22 W. McEntee, p. 145.

23 D. Hilliard, *Catholics in Kingswood: The Catholic Church in the Mitcham District 1869-1994,* Kingswood Catholic Parish Council, Kingswood SA, 1994, p. 10. The author is indebted to Dr Hilliard for his assistance with this article.

24 M.M. Press, *op. cit.*

25 See D. Hilliard, pp. 9-14.

FORMATION AS A PROTESTANT

John Enright's formation as a Protestant preacher started while he was still a Passionist. Part of this was his negative experiences as a monk and priest. One of his superiors around 1900 seemed to have caused him and other brothers immense psychological suffering; so much so, that he asserted later that all the brothers 'joined in jubilee' on this Superior's return to Ireland.[26] The minor reasons he later gave for 'secession' were:

1. Tyranny of many of those in power.
2. Hypocrisy of many of the Leaders.
3. Sycophancy of many of the Sub-Leaders and subjects.
4. Jealousy worse than childish and hateful among many of them, otherwise generally pious, prudent and learned.[27]

He later wrote that he did not think 'many freeborn and freedom-loving young Roman Catholic Australians would take as meekly to-day what I took from the Canon more than 30 years ago', but he was Irish, a slave to the system.[28]

Confession was the arena in which his intellectual, spiritual and personal dilemmas intersected. The 'production-line' attitude to mission confessions must have contributed to Enright's questioning of penance and confession.[29] The starting point of his later critique was the impropriety of celibate male confessors' interrogating women about the intimate matters of their lives and the issue came to be linked with his future wife Gertrude's questioning of both confession to strangers and of what she saw as the oddity of priestly celibacy. (At St Raphael's Church, Parkside from 1902, he had instructed her in the Roman Catholic faith and heard her confessions.[30]) His own experience of confession as Father Andrew had disclosed at least one affair between a woman and a priest. He saw it as a tragedy for both of them.[31] His questioning of the Tribunal of confession led him inexorably to question in turn the sacramental system, compulsory celibacy, priesthood and Papal authority.[32]

Walter McEntee makes a strong case for seeing the Passionist order at this time as unusually open, recognising that their main enemy was paganism not Protestantism.[33] Enright made an effort in his later missions to invite 'Our Separated Brethren' to hear the Roman view and asked Catholics to bring their Protestant friends along. But he also says that he had not then, nor did he later as a Protestant, have a

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[26] J.J. Enright, *Let there be Light: why I withdrew from the Church of my Fathers,* Lothian, Melbourne, 1919 [hereafter referred to as *LTBL*], pp. 30-31.
[27] *LTBL*, p. 29 ff.
[28] *TRT*, p. 183.
[29] ibid.., pp. 118, 122.
[30] ibid., pp. 85-87.
[31] ibid., pp 171-172.
[32] *BTF*, p. 20. Gertrude Lee (b. 1883) secretly fell in love with him and prudently moved to Perth in 1904. They continued to correspond, though he claimed later that he did so purely as her confessor and that he did not encourage or deceive her. In his writings, Enright is somewhat careless about dates and duration of time, making it difficult to pinpoint when particular events happened. For instance, in *BTF*, p. 17, he says his future wife was brought to him "exactly nineteen years ago" at the age of 16; his wife was 16 in 1899 but 19 years ago was 1901, whereas he seems to have been parish priest from 1902. His burial record shows his age as 59, but he was actually 63 (Waikumete Cemetery Auckland, record by courtesy Auckland City Library).
[33] ibid., pp. 122, 124-128.

'desire to proselytise'.[34] No doubt, in strongly Methodist South Australia, the 'Paradise of Dissent', Protestants recognized a revivalist preacher when they heard one.

As his doubts gathered, Enright embarked on a course of private theological study. On holiday in New Zealand in 1904 he spoke to 'Leaders in other camps in Israel.'[35] He sought out books on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, scanning second-hand bookshops, in one of which he discovered. 'The Confession of Faith of Count Piero Guicciardini'.[36] He also found helpful works by the Irish priest. Thomas Connellan, who had embraced Protestantism in the nineteenth century.[37] While helping out the parish priest at Upper Hutt, he reflected on the Reformed view of the sacrament of communion.[38] Back in Goulburn, he slipped Guicciardini's Confession under his mantle to read during his walks in the monastery's cherry orchard and found the Count's biblical approach increasingly compelling. He continued to fling himself into mission work, noting that at this stage, he rarely preached on dogma, never on Papal infallibility but always on 'Eternal Truths'.[39]

In *Let There be Light* (1919), Enright lists minor and major reasons for his 'secession'.[40] The major reasons were basically the same as those he gave the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1912: Papal infallibility,[41] the real presence in the Lord's Supper[42] and communion under two kinds[43] and 'the Tribunal' of Penance or auricular confession.[44] He saw the last as 'one of the greatest barriers to' the reunion of Christendom.[45]

Father Andrew left Goulburn and the Roman Catholic Church on the evening of Wednesday 11 September 1907.[46] Before leaving, he had resolved to devote the rest of his life to 'preaching the "pure and simple" Word of God in the Free Church'.[47] The next day in Melbourne, he married Gertrude Lee. The newly-weds went together to St Patrick's Cathedral and prayed 'for the complete and speedy Reunion of Christendom, its return, among certain denominations, to the simple teaching of Christ and the equally simple practices of His Apostles'.[48]

In Perth in November, he was introduced to the Rev. W.H. Lewis, Chairman of the Congregational Union of Western Australia. Lewis was very impressed and,

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[34] *LTBL*, pp. 17, 19. No doubt, as Jackson shows, some Protestants were 'converted' as a result: H.R Jackson, *Churches and People*, p. 75.
[35] ibid., p. 124.
[36] *LTBL*, pp. 221-231. It was contained in *The Christian Treasury* (1849). Guicciardini was banished from Florence with some friends in 1851 for reading the Bible in Italian.
[37] *LTBL*, p.6; e.g., T. Connellan, *Rev. Thomas Connellan to his dearly beloved brethren, the Roman Catholics of the Diocese of Elphin,* George Herbert & William McGee, London, 1889, 11 pp. Connellan had a Protestant bookstore in Dublin when James Joyce was a lad.
[38] *LTBL*, pp. 119-124.
[39] *BTF*, p. 35.
[40] He did not use the term 'conversion', for he always believed that both his Protestant and Roman Catholic friends were part of the one true Church.
[41] *LTBL*, chs VI-XI.
[42] *LTBL*, chs XII-XVIII.
[43] *LTBL*, chs XIX.
[44] *LTBL*, chs XX and XXI.
[45] *LTBL*., p. 218.
[46] The monastic "Arrivals and Departures" book for 11 September 1907 simply reads "Fr Andrew left - ? ?". Arrivals and Departures, Mary's Mount, Passionist Archives.
[47] Petition, *BB*, 1912, p. 98.
[48] *BTF*, pp. 203-204.

within weeks, he was a Congregational minister. He ministered in four WA congregations from 1907 to 1910. John and Gertie's only child, Dorothy, was born on 17 July 1908 in Perth. From 1910 to 1911 Enright served two congregations in Queensland but the climate did not agree with his wife. He was 'preparing to enter upon the mission or Evangelical Field in America', when he received a call to South Melbourne, serving there from 1911 to 1912.[49]

Enright next applied to join the Presbyterian Church. His reasons for inclining towards Presbyterianism were that the Presbyterian Church had a 'greater spirit of cohesion', the 'blessing of a closed membership' and a 'Board of Control or Centre of Human Authority'.[50] The General Assembly of Australia granted the prayer of the petition subject to conditions.[51]

Enright was in Western Australia by 1913, until early in 1919, when he transferred to New South Wales.[52] From March 1919, he was *locum tenens* at Cootamundra Presbyterian Church where he also gave lectures and finished writing his first book, *Let there be Light*.[53] Next, Enright was called to the new charge of Bondi and inducted on 24 February 1920, enjoying his longest and a very successful pastorate until 30 July 1925.[54] He was then called to St Andrew's, Ballina, where he ministered from 30 July 1925 to 31 July 1926.[55]

WAS ENRIGHT SECTARIAN?

While at Bondi, he completed his second book, *Breaking the Fetters: how I left the Church of my fathers: the romance of a monk and a maid* (1920), a much more personal story.'[56] In January 1925, Enright finished writing the third book, *The Roman Tribunal, or, the Confessional*.[57] In this book, he showed concern that Protestant vigilance about Roman claims was slipping in 1925. This coincides with the lapsing of the campaign against *Ne Temere*.[58]

Though the sectarian temperature was high in Australasia during and after the war, Enright's favourite lecture topics do not sound overly sectarian: 'The Gallant

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[49] *BB,* GA of PCA, 1912, p. 99.

[50] ibid. It is interesting that Baptist ministers seeking admission to the Presbyterian Church in the 1920s sometimes commented on its "open membership"! A minor oddity is that he said he was "about 45 years of age", when he was really 49.

[51] *BB*, GA of PCA, 1912, minute 48. He was not re-ordained by the Congregationalists or the Presbyterians.

[52] *Year Book of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1912-20 and *BB*, PCWA, 1913-20.*BB,* NSW, 1919.

[53] P. Caskie, *Cootamundra 1901-1924: Past Imperfect,* Cootamundra, 2000, pp. 282-285. I am grateful to Allan Grocott and Patricia Caskie for information about Enright's time in Cootamundra.

[54] C.A. White, *The Challenge of the Years*, p. 473.

[55] ibid., p. 443.

[56] *BTF*, p. 6. The use of the sub-title 'the romance of a monk and a maid' echoes the titles of two pamphlets written by a New Zealand Roman Catholic controversialist in 1900 against the ex-priest Joseph Slattery and his ex-nun wife who toured the antipodes in that year, but Enright makes no mention of them: H.W. Cleary, *Joseph Slattery: the romance of an unfrocked priest,* NZ Tablet, Dunedin, 1900 and *Mrs Slattery: the romance of a sham nun,* NZ Tablet, Dunedin, 1900.

[57] *TRT*, pp. 132, 147.

[58] ibid., p. 191. 'And now that the birds are almost quiet, now and again, a tired chirrup … I wonder … if I were to pay the price of my zeal and great desire in penning this volume, how would it fare with my two darlings – my wife and child? Would Protestantism be alert enough? Organised enough, strong enough to shield them from the danger? I wonder! You know that an army that is half asleep all the time, is invariably overtaken and overwhelmed by the army that is fully awake all the time.'

Defenders of the Empire' and 'Irish Wit and Wisdom'. While at Bondi, Enright was surrounded by sectarian controversy, but appears aloof from it. There was a campaign in 1920 to deport German-born Passionist, Fr Charles Jerger, who had been at Glen Osmond with Enright.[59] The campaign seems to have begun with parishioners of St Brigid's Marrickville in 1916, but by 1920 had acquired a sectarian tinge.[60] The Sister Liguori case in 1920-21, involved a 'runaway nun' from the Presentation Convent in Wagga Wagga.[61] The man who wrote the foreword to Enright's second book, the Rev. William Touchell[62] of Kogarah, was harbouring the runaway nun, Bridget Partridge, formerly Sr Liguori while she was suing the bishop of Wagga Wagga.[63] During the 1922 New South Wales election campaign. The 'Democratic Party' was pushing for state aid for Catholic schools, and one of its candidates was elected for the electorate of Eastern Suburbs. The most heated sectarian phase in New South Wales was the controversy over the decree of *Ne Temere* between 1922 and 1925. This 1907 Papal decree could have affected John and Gertrude Enright personally, because the decree purported to bind those baptised in the Roman Church. The Marriage Amendment Bill (no. 2), based on the New Zealand law of 1920, proposed to forbid the allegation that legal marriages were not true or their offspring were not legitimate. But enough Protestants opposed it for it to fail.[64]

Enright was invited in 1926 by the Protestant Political Association to give lectures in various centres in New Zealand on "Protestant principles".[65] But the PPA was running out of steam and turning even more political, which did not suit Enright. Though a Loyal Orange Lodge service was read at his graveside[66] and the Ballina memorial service was attended by Orangemen in their regalia, [67] there is no evidence that he was actually a member of the Lodge.

In his supposedly polemical works directed against certain Roman doctrines and practices, Enright's tone is usually devoid of bitterness. Father Bede O'Brien noted that he 'never mentioned the Passionists and even in his book has nothing reproachful against them'.[68] Enright thought very highly of Archbishop O'Reily of Adelaide. He referred to the Sisters of St Joseph as 'an efficient band of Christian

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[59] *Australasian Catholic Directory for 1905* (Sydney: [1904]), p. 79.

[60] G. Henderson, "The Deportation of Charles Jerger," *Labour History*, 31 (November 1976), pp. 61-78.

[61] P. J. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: an Australian History* (rev. ed., NSWUP, Kensington NSW, 1985, pp. 348-349; M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* , Penguin, Ringwood, Vic., 1987, pp. 190-191.

[62] On Touchell, see G.L. Lockley, *Index of Congregational Ministers in Australia,* ts., Uniting Church Records and Historical Society Archives, North Parramatta..

[63] N. Turner, *Catholics in Australia: a Social History*, vol. 1 Collins Dove, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 313-316. See also K. Swan, *A History of Wagga Wagga,* Wagga Wagga City Council, Wagga Wagga, NSW, 1970, pp. 167-168 and Z. Denholm, "Partridge, Bridget (1890-1966)," *ADB*, 11, pp. 151-152. The case was for damages over alleged unlawful imprisonment. The judge in the case, who directed a verdict for the bishop, was Sir David Ferguson, a Presbyterian.

[64] See A. Devereux, Till Death – or the Priest – do us Part: The Controversy over Ne Temere, 1922-1925, BA Hons Thesis, ANU, 1988, esp. pp. 3, 28, 57-59. I am grateful to Emeritus Professor Campbell Macknight for lending me a copy of this thesis.

[65] *New Zealand Herald*, 6 December 1926, p. 12. The author is grateful to Mr David Verran of Auckland City Library for newspaper and other references to Enright's time at Morningside.

[66] ibid.*;* death notice *Auckland Star*, 4 December 1926, p. 1.

[67] *The NSW Presbyterian*, 10 March 1927, p. 446.

[68] Taken from notes of Father Bede O'Brien kept in Provincial Archives, Enright File, Passionist Archives, then at St Ives, NSW. The comment is actually inaccurate, but it is fair to say that Enright's comments on the order in his three books are fairly balanced.

Workers' and reflected that they had been 'all through my monastic life among my warmest and most loyal friends. I wanted to thank and bless them, unknown to themselves for their sincere lives of purity and self-sacrifice … though mistaken on the compulsory celibacy question.'[69] Enright clearly differed from the self-proclaimed ex-nuns, ex-priests who travelled the world giving lurid accounts of their oppression within the Roman Church.[70] He certainly gave lectures and wrote books on the errors of Rome, but his prime occupation continued to be that of a pastor and missioner.

All this was despite considerable vilification by some Catholics. An obituary noted that 'there were many letters of a cruel and disgusting nature which he had received from his former co-religionists which caused him great unhappiness, but which he kept to himself'.[71] One of the standard accusations against Enright was that he was never a real monk or a priest, something he took pains to refute with photographs in his second and third books. The photo of himself as a priest dispensing communion reproduced in *The Roman Tribunal* was a postcard from 1906 returned by a Christian Brother with an insulting passage inscribed on the back.[72] Enright's comment on this gratuitous insult was, 'What a shock the dear fellow will receive when he beholds me at his side, "At Jesus' Feet," both singing, "Our Great Redeemer's Praise."'

While critical of confession and celibacy, Enright continued to praise and honour particular priests and bishops. His books say little about the cult of the Virgin Mary, which was often a big issue with Protestant controversialists. The simpler liturgy, based on preaching and employing strong, evangelical hymns seemed to suit him. It seems that the Passionists had been trying to develop a repertoire of sacred songs to enliven Roman Catholic worship; in some respects, Enright's Protestant career was a fulfilment of that development.[73]

FOR A PRESBYTERIAN, HE WAS A GOOD PASSIONIST

There is distinct continuity between his Passionist and Presbyterian ministries. The controversial content of *Let there be Light* needs to be read in the light of his dedication:

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[69] *BTF*, pp. 95-96.

[70] Such as Maria Monk in the 1830s, Dr Achilli in the 1840s, Edith O'Gorman in the 1880s, Charles Chiniquy from the 1860s to 1899 and Mr and Mrs Joseph Slattery in the 1890s. See H. Thurston, "Imposters," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, on-line, <http://newadvent.org/cathen/07698b.htm>, viewed 23 October 2001.

[71] *The NSW Presbyterian*, 6 January 1927, p. 294.

[72] *TRT*, frontispiece & p. 7. 'How is the gold become dim, the finest colour is changed.
They that fed delicately have died in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet have embraced the dung-heaps.
All that passed by have clapped their hands at thee; they have hissed and wagged their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem; saying: 'Is this the city of perfect beauty, the joy of the whole earth!'
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, be converted unto the Lord thy God.'
The passages come from Lamentations 4:1, 5 and 2:15 (Douai-Rheims version, not perfectly quoted), with the last line from the Tenebrae service. The photo was sent by the Irish-born Br Louis (Michael Aloysius) Aungier (1869-1947) who, according to Br Athanasius McGlade who knew him, had a particularly deep devotion to Our Lady.

[73] W. McEntee, p.114.

> I lovingly dedicate this book to the
>
> (a) Glory of God,
>
> (b) The spread of pure evangelism,
>
> (c) The removal of certain human-erected barriers between my brethren of the Old Faith and the New, but especially between my priestly and my ministerial brethren. [74]

The photograph in his first book was as a Presbyterian minister, although the pectoral cross was an unusual reminder of his Passionist past. He always emphasised the gospel over denomination, and recognised Christian faithfulness and service wherever he saw them. For instance, he enjoyed friendship in Cootamundra with the Irish-born shop-keeper Thomas Mangan, a practising Roman Catholic. Enright confided in Mangan that he sometimes had to stop himself making the sign of the cross when entering the pulpit.[75] He related that in 1913, a Catholic lady in NSW had advised her daughter to hear 'Fr Andrew' preach in Perth, even though he was by then a Presbyterian minister. He heard the confessions of Protestants when a priest and the confessions of Roman Catholics when a minister.[76] Years after he became a minister, he would still meet penitents from his Passionist days who were still loyal to 'Fr Andrew'.[77]

The tension between itinerant mission and parish work spanned his whole career. In over eighteen years as a Protestant minister, John Enright's longest pastorate was just over five years. This itinerancy almost seems like a more controlled version of the life of a Passionist missioner. The memorial minute of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand notes, 'He was genial and courteous, and possessed a distinct gift of oratory…In character he was blameless, and his evangelical fervour and power in preaching never waned'. [78] Enright loved 'mission' hymns as much as a Presbyterian as when a Passionist.

Associate Professor Malcolm Prentis

He constantly emphasised the Passion as the 'one thing needful'. He wrote in 1919: 'I cannot forget that which was so emphatically taught me in the Passionist Monasteries, and just as emphatically insisted upon by Protestantism, that "Christ died for all".'[79] He finished his last book: 'Good-bye. Till we meet at Jesus' feet' and let Him decide.[80]

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[74] *LTBL*, p. 2.
[75] .Mrs Loretta Coates, a descendant of Mangan, pers comm.. 31 January 2002.
[76] *LTBL*, p. 212.
[77] ibid., p. 208.
[78] *BB*, PCNZ , 1927, p. 60.
[79] ibid., p. 27.
[80] *TRT*, p.

Catholic Orphanages: A Defence

PETER QUINN

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, it became conventional to condemn institutional care for children as inherently bad. A number of inquiries have come to this conclusion.[1] Is this criticism fair, or is it 'hindsight' criticism, based on modern knowledge, rather than an understanding of contemporary practical realities, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when institutions began to flourish, and indeed well into the twentieth, when they came under increasing criticism ?

Institutions for the care of children were established, in the form of industrial and reformatory schools, in Britain in the 1850s. They were set up because great numbers of children were being held in adult gaols, and reformers considered this to be detrimental to them. In 1833, it was estimated that some ten thousand children were is adult gaols in Britain.[2] There was also a secondary motive, possibly a more dominant one, and that was that such schools, which aimed at teaching children 'habits of industry' would be effective in turning children away from lives of crime, thus reducing the incidence of adult criminality, then a worrying problem. Long before the 1850s there had been institutions of this kind in Britain and Europe, but they did not have legislative sanction, and thus admissions were generally on a voluntary basis.

In the Australian colonies, similar legislation was enacted in all States in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[3] Typically, industrial schools for boys were ship-based, whereas those for girls were located in buildings that had been constructed for other purposes, often convict or army barracks. Based on the theories of Mary Carpenter, reformatories were supposed to be for those children who had actually committed crimes, and industrial schools were for those who were in danger of descending into a life of vice and crime. That distinction, although enshrined in legislation, was not followed in practice in New South Wales. It was common, for children charged with criminal offences, for the charge to be withdrawn and the child committed instead to an industrial school. So, despite the clear intent of the legislation, in practice reformatories were for the more hardened types, and industrial schools for those who were victims of family dysfunction, as a general rule. This sprang from the reluctance of police and courts to impose criminal sentences on young children.

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[1] Australian Institute if Health and Welfare, Child Protection Australia 2002-03, AIHW, Child Welfare series ni 34, 2004; Tasmanian Ombudsman Interim Report on abuse of children in State care, Tasmanian Govt Printer, Hobart, 2004; Commonwealth Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Bringing them Home, AGPS, Canberra, 1995; L Forde, Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions, Queensland Govt Printer, Brisband, 1999; Senate Community Affairs References Committee, Lost Innocents: Righting the Record, Report on Child Migration, AGPS< Canberra, 2001; B M Coldrey The Devoted, the Dull, the Desperate and the Deviant – the staff problem in Traditional Residential Care, Tamanarrnik Press, Perth, 2003; P E Quinn 'Uniinspired Efficiency: The administration oif the Juvenile Corrections system in New South Wales, 1905-1988, PhD Thesis, Univcrsity of Sydney, 2004.

[2] J A F Watson & P M Austin The Modern Juvenile Court, Shaw & Sons London, 1975, p. 1.

[3] In New South Wales, the Industrial Schools Act and the Reformatory Schools Act were passed in 1866.

The New South Wales legislation closely followed the British model, but there was an important difference. In Britain, and indeed in the other Australian colonies, the State relied on churches to operate industrial schools, in return for a per capita subsidy. In New South Wales, although there was subsidisation in the early colonial period, this was withdrawn in the latter part of the nineteenth century, largely because of the sectarian controversy over State aid to denominational schools, which began in the 1860s.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, confidence in large institutions in Britain began to wane. Barrack institutions were increasingly criticised, for high rates of mortality, the prevalence of contagious diseases, the impersonality of rearing practices, the propensity for contamination of innocent children by vicious ones, and religious proselytism.[4] In South Australia, fostering of children had been introduced and was said to be successful. In the late 1870s, some women in Sydney began an unofficial 'boarding out' system, which was considered successful, and was given legislation sanction by the State Children Relief Act of 1881. The main aim of this act was to foster children then held in large institutions, both public and non-government, so that numbers would be greatly reduced and ultimately the hope was that they could be closed, as indeed had been the experience in Victoria.

Not all children were amenable to fostering, however. A significant proportion of those placed, especially girls, were returned by their foster parents. This was especially the case with children who were apprenticed to employers at age twelve to fourteen. Many of these placements failed and the children were returned to the care of the institution from whence they came. There were also children who were considered unsuitable for fostering because they were intellectually or physically disabled, and also those who had been so abused in their upbringing that they were not capable of forming proper relationships with any one. To cater for these children, a number of reformers began to press for the adoption of cottage homes, sometimes known as the 'family system'. This was based on the idea that children in institutional care should be brought up, as far as possible, in a family environment, with a married couple looking after a comparatively small number of children. In other words, it was an attempt to emulate family life, for those whose families had collapsed. In New South Wales the ideal of eight to ten children was proposed. There were precedents for this. At the Rauhe Haus in Germany, it had been attempted. At Red Hill, near London, a similar attempt had been made, with positive results. There are claims that it was also the practice at Mettray in France, but the system there was different, being based essential on a military model. There were larger groups of boys, and the supervision was undertaken not by a married couple, but by young men.

There was, of course, a major problem with the 'family system'. While it may have been more beneficial to children, it was much more expensive. A 'barrack' style institution could be operated by a much small number of staff than a system of care consisting of cottage homes, run by a married couple caring for eight to ten children, located in the ordinary community. For example, St Michael's at Baulkham Hills accommodated up to 120 chiklren, supervised by from five to seven

[4] In South Australia, there had been instances of Catholic children being placed in Protestant foster homes. See F Davenport-Hill Children of the State Macmillan & Co., London, 1889, p. 239. In 1902, Bernhard Wise, Attorney General of New South Wales, also criticised the barrack system. New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Council (NSWPDLC) 15 October 1902, p. 3358.

nuns. This meant there was a ratio of staff to children varying between 24:1 and 17:1. Apart from the capital cost of buying cottages, there was the cost of paying salaries to the couples, and also arranging supervision of them on a multiplicity of sites. The staff to children ratio of a married couple caring for ten children would be 5:1. Also, the family system did not fit very well with Catholic religious communities, mostly brothers and nuns, which operated institutions of this kind. The labour supplied by nuns and brothers required the payment of no salaries, whereas the employment of a married couple to provide the family atmosphere, would. This was an expense that religious communities simply could not afford. In Britain, some attempts were made to provide 'cottage homes', but often these were part of very large villages of cottage homes, some accommodating more than 2000 children.[5] This type of development was copied in some Australian instances, for example at Burnside, where there was a large children's village, the individual cottages there held up to thirty children.[6] In 1870, the Randwick Asylum held 944 children in a single campus.[7] Conditions there were terrible.[8] At the Mittagong farm homes, the State initially aimed for small numbers of children in each cottage, but over time, the numbers grew, and it too became a children's village. With large numbers in each cottage, and the isolation from the community inherent in a children's village, the emulation of family life was in effect, abandoned, largely because of cost factors.

There were also differences between boys and girls. Boys were more able to cope with unsuitable fostering placements, but girls could not cope so well, as their needs centred on the existence of a loving[9] family environment. As a result, more girls than boys were returned from fostering situations. To counter this, the State of New South Wales, in addition to the cottage homes at Mittagong, which were essentially for younger children, moved to establish 'training homes'. These were places where children, mostly girls, who had been returned from foster placements or apprenticeships, could be retrained in 'habits of industry'. Sir Charles Mackellar, President of the Board for many years, urged the establishment of such homes, but when one was finally set up in 1912, it was located, with the object of saving money, within the grounds of the industrial school for girls at Parramatta, a quite inappropriate location. An inquiry in 1920, found that there had been unlawful internal transfers from this home to the industrial school.

There was also the issue of the preservation of the faith of the children. In homes run by religious, there was a guarantee that children would be given a firm foundation in that regard, but placement with foster parents or in a cottage home was not likely to provide the same assurance. Cardinal Moran had had some experience in Ireland of fostering systems, and considered they were susceptible to proselytism. In South Australia, where Australian fostering began, there had been allegations of this kind. Moran considered that the preservation of the Catholic faith of children

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[5], Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1990, pp. 37-38 and p.42; S Keen , Burnside: 75 Years of Caring, Merritt & Maiden, Waterloo, 1986, p. 15.
[6] S Keen Burnside: 75 Years of Caring, p. 30.
[7] M D Horsburgh 'Child Care in New South Wales in 1870' Australian Social Work vol. 29 no. 1, March 1976, p. 4.
[8] M D Horsburgh , 'The Randwick Asylum: Organizational Resistance to Social Change' Australian Social Work vol. 30, no1. March 1977 , pp. 19-21.
[9] G Mason Allard Fifth Sectional Report of the Royal Commission to inquire into the Public Service of New South Wales, concerning the administration of Acts relating to State Children, NSW Government Printer, Sydney, 1920, p. 467.

was of paramount importance, and for that reason, he opposed fostering and instead actively promoted the setting up of orphanages run by religious.[10] Numerous such institutions were set up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the only available workforces at the time were religious orders of nuns and brothers, it was inevitable that the kind of institution established would have to be compatible with conventual and monastic community life, since this was, at the time, a fundamental feature of religious orders. Cottage homes could not be operated within such a framework, nor could a fostering system.

In New South Wales, financial considerations were paramount for most Catholic Orphanages. Originally, church orphanages, such as the Catholic Orphanage at Parramatta, had been paid for almost entirely by the State. That situation came to an end in the 1880s, for several reasons. The main one was that assistance to church schools had become a hot political issue. Henry Parkes began to establish a secular education system from the 1860s, and since orphanages were seen as falling within the educational sphere, objections were raised to the subsidising of any form of religious endeavour. The effect on orphanages such as the one at Parramatta was disastrous. In 1870, an inquiry by the Inspector of Public Charities found that the place was 'in a wretched state of repair' and 'positively swarming' with vermin. Hardly surprising, since the extensive support previously provided by the State had been suddenly withdrawn.[11] The second issue was the adoption of the 'boarding out' system from 1881, which, in theory, was designed to ensure the closure of large institutions. Thus, subsidies were withdrawn, beginning in the 1880s, and within a short time, places whose costs had been fully met by the State, had to exist without any assistance from that quarter at all, and therefore had to depend on public charity. Although religious received no salary, provision still had to be made for food, clothing and other expences, for both the children and the religious. The parents of children provided little in the way of maintenance. Finance usually came from fetes and other forms of fund raising. Some religious orders probably subsidised orphanages from the income of parochial schools. Quite often, orphanages had farms which provided fresh vegetables, eggs and dairy products. In some places, there was not enough money to ensure that the children had basic necessities such as shoes. Generally, only one substantial meal a day was served, with the other two being essentially 'light meals'. There was nothing unusual about this. Government institutions did much the same, and so too, some boarding schools.

The position was very different in other States. There, much greater reliance was placed on religious organisations to provide accommodation for State children. In part this was because they could provide such a service at a fraction of the cost, compared with direct provision by the State. There was also the fact that sectarian bitterness was more pronounced in New South Wales than in other States.

One problem with Catholic orphanages was that staff assigned to orphanages were often less well educated than those in schools, especially the more prestigious ones. No doubt some religious were harsh in their treatment of children, but similar examples can be found in ordinary Catholic schools, where the children were still in the care of their own parents. Nevertheless, for the most part, religious attempted to

[10] M Fox The Provision of Care and Education for children in Catholic Institutions in New South Wales 1881 – 1987, Ph D Thesis, Sydney University, 1994, p. 41.
[11] Report of the Inspector of Public Charities on Roman Catholic Orphan School, V&PLANSW 1870, vol. 1, p. 585.

give the children the kind of care they would have received from loving parents, even though the practical difficulties of managing a large institution certainly detracted from this capacity.

Conclusion

Instead of condemning the institutional system, long after it served its purpose, we should recognise that:

- it was a system which suited the times.
- the religious personnel laboured under great difficulties, including difficult children from dysfunctional families, inadequate staffing, severe financial constraints, lack of access to professional help, and very long working hours.
- some children were abused, but so too were many children in government institutions, as well as those living in the community and boarding schools.
- We should salute the religious who heroically undertook the task of caring for children who were largely unwanted.

The Catholic Impact on Australia of Archbishop Sir Guilford Young

W. T. SOUTHERWOOD

Guilford Young, Catholic Archbishop of Hobart for thirty three years, was a uniquely gifted Churchman. His Catholic impact on Australia during this period and, indeed from 1939, was very significant. He became, not only a fearless leader of a minority religious community, especially in the Australian Capital Territory and in Tasmania, but a true Australian democrat who fought vigorously for national educational justice.[1] He influenced the wider Australian Church and society in many other ways, particularly in giving strong leadership in the reform of the Church's Liturgy, after the Second Vatican Council, and with a decisive contribution, at national level, to ecumenism, Australian-style.

Born in Brisbane in 1916, the fifth of seven sons of Arthur and Mary Ellen Young, of Longreach, Queensland, he attended schools conducted by the Presentation Sisters and Christian Brothers.

Educated at the international college of Propaganda Fide in Rome from the age of 17 until ordination as a priest in 1939, he obtained a doctorate in theology and returned to Australia just a week prior to the outbreak of War in Europe.

After less than a year engaged in parish work in Queensland, Young was appointed a secretary at the papal Apostolic Delegation in Sydney, where he helped Italian and Japanese prisoners of war.[2] In 1944, his reputation for brilliant scholarship led to a teaching post in Theology at the Brisbane Seminary. Four years later, at the age of 31, he became the youngest bishop in the world, as an Auxiliary prelate in Canberra.

In November, 1954, Guilford Young came to Tasmania as Coadjutor Archbishop. Within ten months he was chosen to head the Catholic Church in the State, a post he held until his death in 1988.

Problems Young contended with initially included a virtual crisis in the Church's education system, the effects of post-war migration, a dearth of candidates for priestly service and the perceived spiritual supineness of prominent Catholic lay people who did not practice their Faith.

Young stood out as a prelate of high intellect. A vigorous and striking thinker and orator of note, he was ever passionately Australian. Wedded to Archiepiscopal status (he was also offered, but refused, a Cardinal's red hat) and as a member of the central Commission of the Australian Bishops' Conference, he did not hesitate to use unique gifts of intellect, will and character, to persuade other decision-makers to accept the force of his arguments concerning a number of key issues of his time.

A courageous leader, he made enemies as well as converts to his cause and admirers of his forceful, aggressive style. He intervened in the infamous Orr case offering the dismissed Professor of Philosophy friendship and support.[3]

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[1] Southerwood, W. T., *Guilford Young, A Great Endeavour*, Launceston, 1983, p 116.
[2] Southerwood, W. T., *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, George Town, 1989, p 13.
[3] Eddy, W. H. C., *Orr*, Brisbane, 1961, quotes Young's letter to H. L. Dunn, Presbyterian Moderator, July 29,1958.

Articulate and outspoken, Young's main thrust was to give Australian Catholics a new sense of direction, especially in the fields of worship, lay involvement in the Church, social welfare, education and the movement towards Christian unity (ecumenism). The tireless pastor, from his base in Hobart, re-organised ecclesiastical administration, constantly visited Catholic communities around the State, created new parishes and introduced Religious Orders of men and women. A number of these came under his influence and subsequently enriched the whole nation following their time in Tasmania.

Somewhat reluctantly, he entered the political arena to demand justice and equality, as well as freedom of choice in education, including the national scene.[4] In 1971, when the very survival of many poorer Catholic schools around Australia had reached a watershed, Guilford made a private visit to Canberra to the then Minister of Education, Malcolm Fraser, to make a reasoned case for vastly increased Federal Aid for Catholic schools. He was promised that sufficient finance would be made available to all forms of education. Dr Young firmly supported B. A. Santamaria's 'Movement' and National Civic Council, although at a time when all the other bishops wished to align Catholic Action with 'The Movement', his was the only dissentient voice.[5]

On the wider world scene, he took an active part in the proceedings of the Second Vatican Council in Rome (1962-5) especially in the debate on religious liberty and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. As a member of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship and as a founding member and vice-president of the International Commission for English in the Liturgy, he made a profound impact on Church worship at both international and national level. Young undoubtedly played a key top-level role in the updating of Catholic liturgical life. He also influenced the revision of Anglican and Uniting Church worship, especially in this country. He led Australian Catholic experts in a number of high-level meetings with representatives of the Australian Council of Churches. His enlightened contribution during these early years of ecumenical endeavour in this country was immense.

Guilford Young's commentary on the document on priesthood (the Decree 'Presbyterorum Ordinis') in a popular edition of conciliar documents, was highly acclaimed, not only in Australia, but around the world. Perhaps his greatest achievement was to inspire bishops, priests and lay people with the spirit and teachings of the Council.

While taking a crucial part in a number of important dialogues with various Christian communities at centres around the nation, thirteen years before interstate Catholic dioceses joined State Councils of Churches, Young brought the Archdiocese of Hobart into full membership of the Tasmanian Council.[6] This provided a model initially for Melbourne and Ballarat and then other dioceses interstate. When the Tasmanian Churchman celebrated his silver jubilee as a bishop, in 1973, twenty-eight members of the Australian Catholic hierarchy, including two cardinals, took part in a precedent-making ecumenical service in his honour in St David's Anglican cathedral.

Thousands of citizens from every walk of life and from every part of Australia attended the Mass of Christian Burial for Archbishop Sir Guilford Young in March,

[4] *The Mercury*, Hobart, May 17,1956, June 29,1971.
[5] Santamaria, B. A., *Against The Tide*, Melbourne, 1981, p 190.
[6] G. Young Papers, Catholic Church Archives, Hobart.

1988, and paid silent tribute as the cortege proceeded through the streets of the capital prior to burial in the grounds of St Mary's Cathedral. Messages from all parts of Australia and abroad bore eloquent witness to the Catholic impact on Australia of this unique Churchman - above all in his decisive involvement in opposing more conservative forces (typified by Cardinal Gilroy) to bring about an enlightened programme of reform, renewal and adaptation of the liturgy of the Catholic, Uniting and Anglican Churches; his great struggle, both at local and national level, to obtain State Aid justice for Catholic and other Independent schools; and his work to promote Christian Unity.

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Fr Terry Southerwood

The CCD Movement in Australia

The provision of Religious Education for Catholic children outside Catholic schools – Colonial beginnings to 1920

ANN MAREE WHENMAN[1]

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) is an association of clergy and lay faithful, within the Catholic tradition, established in the 16th century, devoted to the work of Catholic religious education.

The CCD movement has as its core activity the parish-based religious education of Catholic children. The religious educators are generally members of the local parish community. Described traditionally as catechists, they are, for the most part, unpaid volunteers. The way in which the provision of religious education is practised varies internationally, nationally and in the local church, as does the title of the groups responsible for this activity. The nature of CCD practice is influenced by factors that include the local social, cultural, political, educational and ecclesial contexts.

Acerbo nimis – A call for the revival of the CCD

'At this very troublesome and difficult time', the opening words of Pius X's Encyclical, *Acerbo nimis* (On Teaching Christian Doctrine), promulgated on 15 April 1905, provides the framework for the interpretation of the document and an understanding of the Pontiff's motivation for its publication. The title sets the theme for the whole document providing the context for what is to follow - *Acerbo*, is to 'make bitter', to aggravate, and *nimis*, makes it even stronger. 'Very much', 'too much', 'excessively very bitter' is the interpretation of the signs of the times by Pius X. The commonly used subtitle, *On Teaching Christian Doctrine*, related to the way the problems of the times will be addressed by the Church at the beginning of the 20th century.

In response, Pius X, draws on the prescriptions of the Council of Trent related to the 'teaching of truths of religion…'(Pius X, 1905, #11) from which St Charles Borromeo developed the original Charter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (Collins, 1983, p. 148) and the echoing of these prescriptions by Pope Benedict XIV (1742) in the Constitution "*Esti minime*" in the form of preaching and teaching (Pius X, 1905, #12).

Acerbo nimis is more pastoral (Collins, 1983a) than theological or philosophical in its focus. It prescribes pastoral structures for the provision of religious instruction. To face the 'enemy' (Pius X, 1905, #1) of *modernism* (a term often used to condemn many ideas and movements within the Catholic Church) - a common theme during the papacy of Pius X. An emphasis is placed on the importance of knowledge of Christian Doctrine and a process of catechetical instruction based on the use of the Catechism (Pius X, 1905, #19, #24). It calls for the

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canonical establishment of 'the society called the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine' (Pius X, 1905, #22) in every parish.

The encyclical can be divided into two sections – the first descriptive, followed by the prescriptive section.

The descriptive section of the document, sections #1 -#16 (Pius X, 1905), 'evolves' to the conclusion that 'what we have said so far demonstrates the supreme importance of religious instruction' (Pius X, 1905, #17).

Pius X calls for 'uniformity everywhere' and directs that the six regulations that were to follow (1905, #19 - #24) be 'observed and carried out in all dioceses throughout the world'. Firstly the regular teaching of the Catechism to children and young people on Sundays and holy days echoes the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Milan Charter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. At particular times, Sacramental preparation, Lent, Easter instruction is to be given with 'a very special zeal' (Pius X, 1905, #20-#21).

In decreeing the canonical establishment of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (#22) Pius X (1905) acknowledges the reality of the scarcity of priests in some areas and the lay support that such an organisation provides in the teaching of the Catechism. This specific provision was later incorporated into the Code of Canon Law, instigated by Pius X but not promulgated until 1917 three years after his death.

> The local ordinaries are to see that in every parish there shall be established the Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and Christian Doctrine which, when canonically established, are *ipso facto* aggregated to the corresponding Archconfraternities at Rome. Article 711.2 (Code of Canon Law, 1917)]

Particular reference is made to the provision of classes of religion to instruct 'young people who attend public schools from which all teaching is banned' (Pius X, 1905, #23) and the attention that needs to be given to adult instruction (Pius X, 1905, #24).

In mandating that the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine be established canonically Pius X saw a 'ready-made' organisation to provide the necessary framework for parish catechetical activity not just locally but 'in all dioceses of the world' (Pius X, 1905, #18).

The response from individual dioceses was essentially a function of the local social, ecclesial and educational influences.

An Australian Response

The climate of the Catholic Church in Australia and its place within Australian society at the beginning of the 20th century was not conducive to an open and enthusiastic reception of Pius X's (1905) exhortation in *Acerbo Nimis* to establish the CCD in every parish. (Whenman, 2004)

The most influential figure in the leadership of the Catholic Church in Australia in the closing decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran. O'Farrell (1985) describes Moran's Catholic world:

> The clergy ruled. A docile laity knew its place: its male and female components knew their roles and tried to act them out. Within the fold there was little questioning, a great number of unthinking assumptions and habits of mind, strict rules, and concentration on the forms and emotions of piety (p 261).

Moran was appointed Archbishop of Sydney in 1884. At the time of his arrival in Australia, in September 1884, the Catholic Church and the governments of the colonies were involved in a debate of major public importance related to the provision of education. Originating in the 1860s and 1870s, the struggle between the Catholic Church and the New South Wales government related, in essence, to the withdrawal of funding for denominational schools (Kildea, 2000).

In 1879 the Bishops of NSW issued a Joint Pastoral condemning secular schools describing such schools as "seedplots of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence and corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens" (O'Farrell, 1985, p. 184). At the heart of what was to become a long and bitter debate in Australian society was the preservation of the religious, political and social status of Catholics – Catholic separatism provided security for Catholic interests – Catholic schools became a symbol of Catholic unity (O'Farrell, 1985, p. 185).

In 1882 17% of Catholic school age children in New South Wales were attending public schools (Barcan, 1988).

Catholic parents who sent their children to government schools were to be refused the sacraments. Catholic clergy were not allowed to enter government schools, despite the provisions of the 1866 Public Schools Act (Section 19) and the 1880 Public Instruction Act (Section17) permitting children of any one religious persuasion to be instructed by a clergymen or other religious teacher of such persuasion for not more than one hour each day (Austin, 1972, p 176). The *Sydney Morning Herald* in October 1884 criticised this stance of the Catholic authorities (O'Farrell, 1895)

> As matters stand, the Roman Catholic Clergy, rather than give their children religious instruction in a Public School, leave them without religious instruction whatever. That may be a consistent course, but we fail to see it is a remarkably Christian course (p. 242).

O'Farrell (1985) observed

> The episcopacy reasoned that to allow such instruction would be to countenance the state system, which the church condemned in principle, and to countenance Catholics attending that system, which was also condemned (p. 242).

The attitude of Cardinal Moran on the matter of education was evident in his letters and public statements. In a speech delivered at the opening of a School-Church at Leichhardt Cardinal Moran describes the schooling system:

> There are two systems which nowadays face us in this matter of education; one, for convenience called the secular system; the other the religious system. . . if schools of the country declare they are secular, that they exclude religion from their walls, we naturally judge them as they are presented to us. If there is any religion attached to them it is invisible, and we cannot form an opinion of it (*The Express*, 1885, p. 19).

Again at Leichhardt Cardinal Moran declares:

> The secular school system teaches the child to develop the will without the safeguards of religion, and if we were to suppose that all these schools were guided only by the spirit of atheism, it would follow that the people would become atheists (*The Express*, 1886, p. 10).

In 1885 the bishops of Australia and New Zealand met for the first time in plenary council. Under Cardinal Moran's leadership their task was to set the agenda for Catholicism in their part of the world. The bishops "determined that the first building in a new parish should be its school. Build the school, use it for Sunday Mass, until you can build a church." (Campion, 1988, pp. 55-56). By 1885 Catholic schools had become, what they were to remain, "a major focus of parish life, episcopal concern and lay activity…the parochial school could be considered the single most distinctive feature of Australian Catholicism." (Campion, 1988, p. 56).

Turner (1992a) cites evidence, from Freeman's Journal (10 and 24 September, 1864); of the existence of *The Christian Doctrine Society* in the Catholic Church is Sydney. The society provided instruction in the catechism to numbers of children at least equal or bigger than any other confraternity in Sydney (p. 199). *The Australasian Catholic Directory* (1854) provides a description of the Society of Christian Doctrine is as follows:

> The members of this Society meet every Sunday at three o'clock… The object is to make a *revision* (sic) and to give a fuller explanation of the portion of the catechism that the children have studied at their respective schools during the week, and likewise to teach catechism to those who have no opportunity of learning it. There is also a class for adults (p.97).

This society clearly draws it description from the 16th century charter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Reference is made in a subsequent editions of the Australasian Catholic Directory to the existence of the Society at St Mary's Cathedral (1858), Windsor (1861), St Francis, Sydney (1882), Albion Park (1882), Berrima (1882), Waterloo (1882), Milson's Point (1882), Parramatta (1882) and Ballarat (1885). St Francis, Sydney, records

> The children (600) assemble in St Francis Hall Sunday evening for Catechism taught by members of the Christian Doctrine Society assisted by two Sisters of the Good Samaritan (Australasian Catholic Directory, 1882).

This account provides an indication of the involvement of the laity in the educational activities of the Society.

Further evidence of Parish based provision of religious education apart from that that would have occurred within the Catholic schools in this period can be found in the reports made by Parishes in the Archdiocese of Sydney. The 'State of the Mission' report for Petersham (1877) Parish records that sixty children attend 'Sunday-School'. Ten children were noted as attending public schools in the district. The Archdiocese of Sydney Report document, dating approximately from the beginning of the 20th century, used in the process of Episcopal visitations includes request for numbers of average attendance at Catechism, the frequency of Catechetical instruction provide by the Pastor and the membership number for sodalities including Christian Doctrine sodality. Statistical data was also collected on attendance of Catholic children at Public schools in the Parish. The reports provide support for the fact the children who attended public schools, in some of the parishes in Sydney, were receiving religious instruction through the Society of Christian Doctrine and/or through visitations to the local Public schools. The reports from Richmond parish in 1902 and 1906 note 'the priest regularly goes round to the public schools of the district and teaches catechism'. This evidence is supported in a letter from Peter Board, Under-Secretary, Department of Public Instruction (NSW) where he notes 797 visits paid by Roman Catholic clergy to Public schools in 1905 of a total of 42,481 visit to provide special religious instruction.

At beginning of the 20th century 44% of Catholic school age children were attending Public schools (O'Farrell, 1985). By 1905 the greater percentage of those Catholic children attending public schools in New South Wales were not receiving Catholic special religious instruction despite the provision for this 1880 Public Instruction Act. The prohibitions of the Australian Bishops, in the latter half of the 19th century had not prevented Catholic parents from sending their children to public schools but had denied many of those children an opportunity for receiving religious education.

Moran is recognised as the dominant personality in the Catholic Church in Australia (de Luca, 1993; O'Farrell, 1985). Technically, Moran's authority was limited to the Archdiocese of Sydney (de Luca, 1993). In discussion of Moran's response to the musical reforms mandated Pius X's *motu proprio, 'Tra Le Sollecitodine'* de Luca (1993) comments

> As Australia's senior cleric, he had a nationwide moral influence, which exceeded the legal limits of his nominal power. His pre-eminent authority in Australian ecclesiastical affairs would have certain impetus to the implementation not only in Sydney, but throughout Australia generally…had he chosen to espouse them (p. 16)

A response to *Acerbo nimis* can be found in a Cardinal Moran's 'Circular to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sydney' (24 November, 1905). The introductory paragraph provides a clear indication of position Moran will take in addressing this encyclical

> We may avail…to begin to carry out, as far as feasible in this missionary country, the precepts and instructions regarding the teaching of Christian Doctrine, which were…conveyed in the Holy Father's beautiful Encyclical on the Catechism. This important Encyclical touches particularly on three heads, viz.: -the Catechism, the Catechetical Sermons, and the Christian Doctrine (Moran, 1905).

Cahill (1986) notes in a biographical description of Moran, that Moran felt that the Pope's concerns about *modernism* were not relevant to Australian conditions. As foundational argument in *Acerbo nimis* is the development of a model to combat modernism, it is likely therefore that the precepts even in this high doctrinal matter were also regarded as of minimal relevance to the Church in Australia.

Cardinal Moran carefully chooses the use of the term 'missionary country' in this context. The Vatican had classified Australia as a missionary country and as such the laws for the more settled European situation did not apply in Australia. Moran's use of this term could give him the grounds to argue that the reforming intentions of the encyclical were inappropriate generally to the Australian church and more particularly to Sydney. This would justify the incomplete account of that document presented in the circular to the Clergy (1905).

The *Circular to the Clergy (Moran, 1905)* is written in two sections. In the first, Moran paraphrases the descriptive section of *Acerbo nimis* (Pius X, 1905, #1 - #16). A comparison of the two documents yields the following inconsistencies.

- Moran's descriptive discussion is strongly focused on instruction of children with scant mention of adult instruction.
- The inclusion of praise of the teaching of Catechism in Religious Schools, stresses the duty of parents and strong criticism of secular schools and education in Moran's circular.

- The distinction made by Pius X between the roles of teaching and preaching is not emphasized.
- The importance of training and preparation in the delivery of catechetical instruction is not stressed.
- Moran in noting the commendation of the encyclical to establish the Christian Doctrine Society comments that 'In almost all our city and suburban parishes the Religious Communities are already engaged in carrying on the work of this admirable society ' (Pius X, 1905, #3).
- Those aspects of lay involvement in *Acerbo nimis* (foundational to the CCD movement) receive little attention in the circular.

The second section of the document states, with reasonably accuracy, the six 'precepts' of the encyclical (Pius X, 1905, #19 - #26).

Did the Bishops and Clergy see their obligations with respect to a response to *Acerbo nimis* fulfilled in the widespread existence of the Society of Christian Doctrine in the local church?

Moran's statement in the circular seems to indicate this to be the case. Children attending public school attended the Society's Sunday schools programs – this was fulfilling some of the intention of the encyclical.

Did the Catholic hierarchy see the precepts of the encyclical extending to provide Catholic special religious instruction in public schools?

Given the passion of the debate related to the provision of education in the latter half of the 19th century in Australian society, it is unlikely. Rev Henry W Cleary, speaking at the Third Australasian Catholic Congress in Sydney in 1909 expresses the prevailing attitude of the majority of Bishops and Clergy in describing the 'right of entry' system for denominational education that existed in NSW:

> Under the system, public instruction is, in substance, non-religious. It is rescued from utter Godlessness only by a few stolen moments of more or less perfunctory religious instruction in a withering atmosphere of State agnosticism . . . religious instruction given in an atmosphere unfavourable to religious faith and feeling, in moments in which God is permitted, on sufferance, to intrude for a brief half hour or so into the hard and unyielding secularism of the rest of the curriculum (p 130 –131)

With the election of Labor governments in the second decade of the 20th century the Catholic Church continued the education debate with renewed enthusiasm. Parish records indicated a growth in both the Catholic school enrolment and those attending public schools. In 1916 the State Government Statistician reported that of 84,062 Catholic children enrolled in schools in the year 1914, 33,628 (40%) were in public schools and 50,434 (60%) in Catholic schools (Kildea, 2000, p.7).

In Australia, the pastoral response, that is the essence of *Acerbo nimis*, was not to come from *above* but rather from *below.* Local communities responded to the need to include the children attending public schools in the comprehensive vision of catechetical instruction outlined in *Acerbo nimis*.

The formation of the Theresian Club in 1917 by Anna Cotter (Sr Therese) is an example of such a response

> WWI was not yet over and life was particularly difficult for people in the poorer districts of Sydney like Darlinghurst. The resources of the Catholic Church were largely spent on churches and schools to maintain the faith among the majority. However barely 50% of

> Catholic children attended Catholic schools and the rest were let slip through the net largely unattended. It was for these neglected children that Sr Therese formed her club (Farland, 1998, p. 1).

By 1930 the club was established in 10 parishes in Sydney and in 1937 established in Melbourne. By 1945 there were branches in 40 parishes. In Sydney 900 pupils were being instructed. Members of the Theresians contacted children in Government schools, taking them to mass on Sundays and generally nourishing their spiritual lives often providing instruction in parish centres after school hours on weekdays or Saturday afternoons. (Campion, 1988, pp. 109-110).

Other groups such as Catholic Action, The Catechists' Guild and the Grail became involved in the provision of religious instruction for Catholic children attending public schools in the 1930s and 1940s.

At the time of the first Australian Catholic Education Congress, held in Adelaide in November 1936, the number of Catholic children of school age in Australia was 334,054 – and 220,309 (just under two-thirds) were in Catholic schools. At that conference the need to respond to the growing numbers of Catholic school age children in public schools was clearly stated (O'Connor, 1936).

Whilst the prohibitions were still in place from the century before, the attitude of the Bishops was clearly changing. The Archbishop in his comments on St Peters, Surry Hills, Parish Report prepared for an Episcopal visit notes that 'the Catholic Children attending Public Schools (150 in total) are to be looked after carefully and effectively' (1938).

The seeds of the change lie in the spirit of *Acerbo nimis.* In reading the signs of the times Pius X distilled the essential requirements and responsibilities of catechetical education in such a way as to be relevant members of the local Catholic communities.

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Ann Maree Whenman

Their Lives for God and the Digger

Michael Bergin and Ned Sydes – AIF Catholic Chaplains Who Died on Active Service

GRAHAM WILSON

War is essentially an inhumane undertaking. At the same time, by its very nature as a pursuit of humans it is one of the most human of undertakings. It has been estimated that during the 20th century the world has known a total of 21 days when there was no active conflict somewhere on the globe. Looking at that statistic and then at the state of the world since the turn of the Millennium, it appears that war is something that we, as human beings, are both good at and like to undertake. On the other hand, and putting aside mostly politically inspired hyperbole about so-called 'just wars' as opposed to those that are 'unjust', we can look on war as a sort of racial schizophrenia – we both love it and hate it.

One of the most pointed examples of the dichotomy of war as a human pursuit must be that of the military chaplain, who must constantly walk a tightrope between the basic inhumanity of war and the intense humanity of religious ministry. The Catholic Church has always been committed to providing religious solace to those engaged in the pursuit of war. Catholic chaplaincy has been an official institution in the Australian forces since the last quarter of the 19th century when Father C.F. Collingridge from Sydney accompanied the New South Wales Contingent to the Sudan in 1885 as chaplain.[1] Since that time almost 700 priests have served as chaplains with the Australian armed forces.[2] These have included such characters as Archbishop Daniel Mannix, who served as Catholic Chaplain General from 1917 – 1964; Fr J.J. Kennedy, a First World War Chaplain, who was forced to leave Australia under something of a cloud after writing and publishing a play highly critical of the British Empire as an institution; Fr Ignatius Bossence, a boxer and former sleeper cutter who was appointed Catholic chaplain to the unruly Imperial Camel Corps Brigade on the theory that he was tougher than the hard-bitten cameleers; Fr 'Joe' Phillips, the Discalced Carmelite who was reputed to have never worn socks with his Army boots throughout the Korean War and who dug the graves for the dead of the Third Battalion, The Royal Australian Regiment after the Battle of Kapyong with his own hands; and many, many others.

This paper, however, concerns itself with two chaplains of the First World War, both members of the Society of Jesus, Fr Michael Bergin, SJ, MC and Fr Edward ('Ned') Sydes, SJ.

In World War One, the Australian Army had great difficulty in finding enough chaplains to provide for the spiritual needs of the Catholics, who represented 20% of the force.[3] There were various reasons for this, not least of them being that the chaplain's calling is not for every priest or minister. One of the main reasons, however, had to do with the more rigid hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, as opposed to other denominations. Unlike members of Protestant denominations,

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[1] Tom Johnstone, *The Cross of Anzac Australian Catholic Chaplains,* Church Archivists' Press, Brisbane, 2000, p. 3.
[2] ibid., pp-323 – 329.
[3] Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War*, Catholic Theological Faculty & the Australian War Memorial, Sydney & Canberra, 1980, pp. 40 -43.

Catholic priests were not free to volunteer their services as chaplains but must wait on a call or nomination from their bishop. And most bishops were loathe to see the best of their rectors and curates sent off to serve the Army at the Front when there was work enough for them to do at home.[4] This would lead to at least one priest, Fr J.T. Heneghan, defying his bishop and enlisting in the Army as a private soldier, relying on the special faculties granted by Pope Benedict XV to allow him to combine his priestly functions with his military duties as a stretcher bearer until his death in action in 1918.[5]

Michael Bergin, an Irishman, and Ned Sydes, an Australian, the subjects of this paper, would both find their way into the AIF by separate paths and would minister to the Australian soldier until death carried them away. The two men were vastly different in background and temperament. Michael Bergin was born in Ireland and has the distinction of being probably the only member of the Australian Imperial Force never to set foot in Australia.[6] Ned Sydes, for his part, was born on an emigrant ship off the coast of Australia and grew up in Queensland.[7]

Bergin was a poor student who became a missionary in Syria. Sydes, on the other hand, was noted in his youth for academic brilliance and practiced as a barrister before entering the Society of Jesus. Sydes was a noted preacher whose sermons were always well attended. For his part, Bergin was a largely self-effacing man, happy at being allowed to pursue his vocation as an obscure missionary in a far off province of the Ottoman Empire.

Both men, for different reasons and by different paths, ended up as chaplains in the AIF, and both were to give their lives in the service of God, the Church and the Australian soldier. Their stories combined are a fine example of the best of military chaplaincy, as well as a good example of the often cruel dichotomy facing the soldier priest.

Michael Bergin was born in Tipperary in Ireland in 1879.[8] Touched with a vocation at a very early age, he had entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of 18 and was working as a missionary in Ottoman Syria when the First World War broke out in August 1914. Arrested and interned along with all of the other missionaries in the province who were not Ottoman citizens, he was eventually expelled to Egypt at the end of 1914. Finding himself at a professional and spiritual loose end in Cairo, Michael discovered in the Catholic soldiers of the Australian Imperial Force his 'salvation' for want of a better word. Learning that the AIF was chronically short of priests, Michael immediately offered his services and attached himself to the 5th Light Horse Regiment as a volunteer chaplain. His official application for appointment as a military chaplain had not been fully processed when the 5th Light Horse were dismounted in July 1915 and sent to Gallipoli as reinforcements. Michael's request to go with his regiment was refused, as he was a civilian. Nothing daunted, Michael immediately shaved off his beard and enlisted in the 5th Light Horse as a private

[4] ibid.
[5] Johnstone, pp. 55 & 87.
[6] Graham Wilson and Joe Crumlin, 'Trooper Bergin, SJ', *Sabretache The Journal and Proceedings of the Military Historical Society of Australia,* vol. 38, no. 4, October – December 1997, pp. 3-16.
[7] David Strong SJ, *The Australian Dictionary of Jesuit Biography 1848-1998,* Halstead Press, Sydney, 199, p. 339.
[8] Wilson and Crumlin, ibid.

soldier and as '818 Trooper Bergin, M' he went to Gallipoli.[9] He worked on the Peninsular as both a chaplain and a stretcher bearer until his appointment as military chaplain was approved and he was attested and commissioned as Chaplain to the Forces 4th Class on the beach at Anzac.[10]

Michael's health broke down on the Peninsular and in October 1915 he was evacuated by hospital ship to England for treatment and convalescence. While there he took the opportunity to visit his family and friends in Ireland and caused quite a stir by appearing in his home town in Australian uniform, complete with light horse emu plumes in his slouch hat.[11]

On his return to the Middle East, Michael found that his place in the 5th Light Horse had been taken by another priest (Fr T. Mullins) and that there was no appointment immediately available to him. Michael was eventually appointed, however, as Brigade Chaplain (RC) to the 13th Australian Infantry Brigade and accompanied the brigade to the continent. He was to serve with the Brigade in France and Belgium from March 1917 until his death in action on 11 October 1917. During that time he refused to take home leave, absenting himself only once in order to take his final vows as a Jesuit in December 1916, chafed continually against the restrictions placed on chaplains that barred them from accompanying the troops into battle and would be awarded the Military Cross for his bravery and devotion to duty. Michael Bergin now lays in the tiny Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemetery in Reninghelst, in Belgium.[12]

Ned Sydes was an entirely different character. A somewhat enigmatic person, he claimed that he had been born aboard and emigrant ship off the coast of Queensland in 1863. Whether this was true or not, he certainly grew up in Ipswich and Brisbane. Although a very devout Catholic, his call to the priesthood came quite late in life, at the age of 40. This was after a full and successful academic career and practice as a barrister. Putting all this behind him, however, Ned entered the Society of Jesus in 1903 and was ordained in 1909.[13] He performed parish work in Sydney from 1909 – 1914, followed by further study and formation as a Jesuit in India from 1914-1915, returning to parish work in Sydney in 1915. In 1917 he was nominated for work as an Army chaplain and was duly appointed Chaplain to the Forces 4th Class on 13 June 1917.[14] He arrived in France on 18 September 1917, via the UK, and was posted for service with the 2nd Australian Division. It has been recorded in various places, in particular the dictionary of Jesuit biography, that Ned Sydes was gassed in France and that this led to the bronchitis that saw him evacuated to the UK gravely ill on 30 October 1918.[15] Yet, there is no record of this anywhere in his service papers. Notwithstanding the reason, Ned Sydes was a very sick man when he was admitted to the 3rd London General Hospital on 31 October 1918. Not only was he suffering severe bronchitis, but had also been diagnosed with thrombosis. The combination led to his death on 15 November 1918, just four days after the Armistice that had ended

[9] National Archives of Australia (NAA), Series B2455, Code 3083497 Bergin Michael : SERN CHAP 818
[10] ibid.
[11] Wilson and Crumlin, ibid.
[12] ibid.
[13] Strong, *Jesuit Biography*, p. 339.
[14] NAA, Series B2455, Code 8097615 Sydes Edward John: SERN CHAP
[15] Strong, *Jesuit Biography*, p.340.

the fighting. He was buried with full military honours at Kensal green RC Cemetery in London.[16]

These then were the men. But, what of their work?

Here we come to the kernel of this paper, the stated aim of which is to consider the cruel conflict between the peaceful vocation of the priesthood and the violence of war.

Both Michael Bergin and Ned Sydes would have seen ample evidence of the violent cruelty of war. Michael certainly had originally served in the Gallipoli campaign as a stretcher bearer and would have had terrible first hand experience of torn and bleeding bodies being carried away from the firing line.[17] Given the incredibly confined physical nature of that campaign, he would also have had experience of the suffering of the enemy soldiers as well, with the bodies of dead Turkish soldiers being just as prevalent in No Mans Land as those of Anzacs. Later on, in France and Belgium, although confined to rhe rear areas during periods of actual combat, he would have seen all of the horrors of modern warfare as the wounded and dying were brought into the medical facilities that were his post during action. Indeed, Michael was actually killed while visiting a forward medical facility at Zonnebeck.[18]

For his part, Ned Sydes came later to the war than Michael and missed the chaotic violence of the Gallipoli campaign. For all that he, like Michael, would have seen at first hand the tragic destruction of war as wounded men, both those of his own side and those of the enemy, were brought in to medical facilities he was working at. And although he had come late to the war compared to his fellow Jesuit, Ned would have seen more than enough of it. Although the Western Front tended not to be the concentrated hell that the Gallipoli Peninsular had been, for all that it was still a place where were killed, wounded and maimed on a regular basis. Even discounting those men brought to the Field Ambulance suffering illness or accidental injury, there was a daily stream of men wounded by enemy sniping and artillery fire who were always being brought in by the stretcher bearers.[19]

This then was the reality for Michael and Ned. On the one hand they were servants of God, ordained priests of the Catholic Church who had given their lives to the Christ who is sometimes referred to as the Prince of Peace. On the other hand, they were the servants of a national killing machine whose stated and sole aim was to kill, capture or otherwise destroy the enemy in the opposite trenches. It is almost impossible to grasp the moral dilemma that must have faced both of these men, and all of their fellow chaplains, of every denomination and creed and of all armies.

How did Michael and Ned deal with this? In the absence of any tangible evidence, the only answer that be offered is conjectural. Certainly, both men seemed to have been quite patriotic. Although Michael was a loyal Irishman and was acutely aware of the basically downtrodden lot of his kinsmen, for all that there is almost no record of any overt anti-British or anti-Imperial sentiment in his thoughts and writings. At most he expresses delight at serving as a ‘colonial’, rather than as an

[16] NAA Sydes. See also Strong p. 340.
[17] NAA Bergin. See also Wilson and Crumlin.
[18] C.E.W. Bean, Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, Vol. IV, The A.I.F. in France 1917, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1926, pp. 930-931.
[19] ibid.

Imperial soldier.[20] For his part, Ned had proved his Imperialist leanings by running (unsuccessfully) for election on the Anti-Federation platform in Australia in 1900. So obviously both men were able to use, at least in part, their loyalty to hearth and home to reconcile their anomalous position.[21]

But there must have been more. At the risk of labouring the point, both Michael and Ned were, by very definition, men of peace. How did they reconcile the essentially pacific nature of their vocation with the violence of war? Possibly they didn't. As both men died during the war they never had the chance to reflect on their experiences and perhaps to let those experiences eat at their consciences and souls. Although of course, at the time this had to be pushed into the background and not allowed to effect their work and performance. Nevertheless, it must have been a weight on them. How did they manage it?

Again conjecturally, I put forward the thought that here we come to the very nature of the priestly vocation. Although there is nothing recorded about Ned Sydes' work as a chaplain, we have it recorded that he was a 'good, humane priest'.[22] With that approbation we can assume, I think, that Ned held his heart open to all who needed him, friend and foe, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. For his part, there is ample record of the fact that Michael's work and ministry touched men of every station and every denomination. At least two Anglicans who had close dealings with him later converted to Catholicism.[23] Several non-Catholics are connected with his death and the aftermath and are recorded as having been moved by the loss. A number of chroniclers record the fact that he was loved and respected by men of all denominations, not least for his willingness to accept the Australian Digger 'warts and all.'[24]

When it was all said and done, both Michael and Ned were first, foremost and always priests. It mattered not to them where or under what circumstances they followed their vocations. Some more militantly pacific people believe that priests are out of place on the battlefield. These people feel that soldiers, by the very fact of being soldiers, give up the privilege of God's grace and priestly counsel and ministration. But these people refuse to see that, for all its violence, all its destruction, war is one of the most intensely human of pursuits and it is on the battlefield where men often need a priest's words and services the most. The Catholic soldier, while a soldier and an instrument of death, remains still a Catholic and a vessel for God's love and grace. This is well encapsulated in an entry from the diary of a Catholic chaplain of the British Army, Fr James Marhsall, MC, mid, who had served with the 21st Division of the BEF since 1915. In mid-September 1918, with the war still raging, Marshall was appointed Chaplain to Oxford University and recorded in his diary:

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[20] Wilson and Crumlin. See also Sister S., *A Son of St Patrick*, Talbot Press, Dublin, 1932. 'Sister S.' is Michael's sister Frances or Fanny, who became the nun Sister Sophie and who wrote a hagiographic biography of Michael that remains an excellent source, based on his letters and diaries.

[21] Strong, p. 339, ibid.

[22] ibid.

[23] Wilson and Crumlin, ibid. See also Rev. P.J. Gannon, SJ, *A Happy Warrior*, Irish Messenger Office, Dublin, 1934.

[24] R.R. Freeman, *Hurcomb's Hungry Half Hundred A Memorial History of the 50th Battalion A.I.F. 1916-1919*, Peacock, Adelaide, 1991, p.120. See also Wilson and Crumlin, also Sister S. and Rev. P.J. Gannon.

> My last act before leaving the Western Front was to make a pilgrimage with a handful of men to Lourdes. How that blessed place appealed to those men.[25]

Here we see what is probably the key to how Michael and Ned, and all other chaplains afflicted with doubts, resolved the conflict between their vocation and the arena in which they pursued it. While no doubt recognising the inherent obscenity of war, neither man could turn away from the men who needed their ministrations. When all is said and done, soldiers are still human beings. Catholic soldiers do not cease to be Catholics when they don a uniform and they still need the support of their faith. It is almost certainly this knowledge that carried Michael and Ned and every other priest who served in the Great War through that time of horror and trial.

Michael Bergin, the man who has the distinction of probably being the only member of the AIF never to have set foot in Australia, died almost 90 years ago, Ned Sydes a year later than him. Both men lie far from their native soil, Michael Bergin the transplanted Irishman who served Australia, now sleeps in Belgium. Ned Sydes, the loyal Australian and loyal Imperialist, lies in England. Both gave their all as men, as soldiers and as priests. Doubtless they had their moments of doubt and mental and spiritual conflict as they sought to reconcile the peaceful nature of their vocations with the violence of war. That both managed to do so is to their credit, as it is to the credit of every chaplain who also did so.

[25] Tom Johnstone and James Hegarty, The *Cross on the Sword Catholic Chaplains in the Forces*, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1996, p. 170.

PANEL PRESENTATIONS

Australian Catholic History – developing or declining?

a) T. P. BOLAND[1]

Australian Catholic historiography really begins in the 1960s. Before that there were two major entries. In the 1890s Cardinal Moran produced his *History of the Catholic in Australasia*; but Moran was an antiquarian, not an historian, a snapper up of unconsidered archival documents. Eris O'Brien, Louvain trained in history and social science, in the 1920s introduced a new professionalism and methodology; but for decades he had no followers.

After World War II the droves of ex-servicemen seeking to fill the gaps in their careers caused by the war, flowed into the universities. New faculties and new courses within them multiplied. History was one of the beneficiaries. The established universities were nineteenth century enclaves in which religion was excluded as an unscientific contaminant. The new universities were less constrained, and the study of religion, including its history, was allowed.

At the same time the religious orders, bursting with the last hurrahs of vocations, were bent on academic qualifications for teachers in their expanding schools. By the 1970s the number of theses, published and unpublished, swelled to a flood. The pioneering work of Ronald Fogarty on *Catholic Education in Australia* (1959) was now seen in context, and a new study awaits an author. Brisbane and Melbourne had done the local work, but a national work is needed

A new era in Australian Catholic history had dawned. The seminaries had taught Church History – very badly for the most part – but few dealt with Australia. There were no books for students to read, no readily available sources to work on. Patrick O'Farrell changed all that. His *The Catholic Church in Australia* appeared in 1968, and his collection of documents soon after. It was the beginning of a professional approach. Already in 1959 the Australian edition of James Murtagh's *Australia, the Catholic Chapter* waspublished. His great contribution was that he tied Catholic development to the expanding opportunities for the underdog in Australia. Significantly, he finished the story in 1955. This was Split time and the closure of Murtagh style Catholic history.

Patrick O'Farrell objected to what he saw as the invasion of the professional field by priests and religious. Some orders did allow – even invite – professionals to enter *their* field. Ursula Bygott on the Jesuits, Stan Arneil on the Augustinians, Morna Sturrock on the Victorian Brigidines are solid and valuable works; but there is something missing, the spiritual charism of the order. Professionalism and experience are not mutually exclusive.

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Of recent years a fresh approach has appeared. Edmund Campion is its principal exponent. He argues that official archives of diocese or province concentrate on official acts of bishop or provincial, while the faith is lived in the Catholic people. Once again, they are not mutually exclusive. An old style Canon Law would have reduced archives to Acts and Deeds; but Australian archives were never canonically kept. They are usually what is envisaged in the recent pontificates of Paul VI and John Paul II – the rich cultural resources of general history. Naomi Turner's *Catholicism in Australia* happily combines the two approaches.

So the diocese and the province remain the lynch pins of Australian Church history. Queensland and South Australia have covered their pasts fairly well. Sister Margaret Press's two volumes on the South Australian Church are a model of their kind. Her work on Bishop Norton of Port Augusta (now Pirie) is a reminder that the Australian Church is not simply a metropolitan phenomenon. We look forward to Josephine Laffin's work on Matthew Beovich. Such studies open up the fundamental issues faced by the Church with the personal and regional varieties that expose the stereotypical views of many historians.

Father Southerwood's various works cover Tasmania from the earliest times to Guilford Young. Father Bourke, with the literature on New Norcia and Goody on Griver, do the same for Western Australia. Victoria has Ebsworth, Bourke, Pawsey and Vodola; but there remains the major problem of Mannix. Few have been so written about in Australia – at least eight books – but none is satisfactory. The central questions of his spirituality and pastoral activity are lost in his political interventions. His criminal destruction of his correspondence made this inevitable, but someone has to attempt a new study – and may the Lord have mercy on his soul.

Another problem is Cardinal Moran. A number of people have begun books on him – Maurice O'Reilly, Eris O'Brien and the late Professor Tony Cahill. None finished. Whatever emerges from a work on Moran, he is a pivotal figure in Australian Church history. I understand that another attempt is being made. We wish the author well. In NSW a number of provincial dioceses have been treated. Sister Anne Player's work on Lanigan and Goulburn is another model of its kind.

Some issues are treated in their own right. Michael Hogan's study of sectarianism deals with a major phenomenon in Australia; but to get the proper balance in the ecumenical situation we need to match it with the toleration that co-existed with it. There is considerable writing on aboriginal affairs, but much of it is topical rather than historical. The literature on Catholic Action, especially on the Movement, is vast. Bruce Duncan's *Crusade or Conspiracy* is a comprehensive study which has exposed the myopia of most earlier works. It is a reminder to us that there is no such thing as a definitive work on any subject. There are always new questions, new sources, new angles. The position of women in the Church is the source of another flood of books, mostly about women religious. The field is open for more on Catholic laity. One problem for the historian is the temptation to write about nineteenth century women as though they were in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries.

We owe a great debt to the work of the Institute of Religious Studies under Sister Carmel Leavy, and to its successor, the Institute for Research. In particular, Sister Rosa MacGinley's *Dynamic of Hope* is a necessary read for an understanding of the Church in Australia. Apart from a comprehensive account of all institutes of

women religious in their time and place, she brings an understanding of the flexible canonical situation that could call for re-assessment of even Blessed Mary MacKillop.

These are a few superficial thoughts on the condition of Australian Church history – the growth of the subject. Is there decline? Australian study of history of all kinds is under pressure in the universities and in the theological colleges. There is some recession of the tide; but the ground is solid. We can hope that the future will stand on it.

b) KATHARINE MASSAM

Thoughts on Telling the Stories of Catholic Australia

In *True History of the Kelly Gang*, the novel that won the Booker Prize in 2000, the voice of Australia's second most famous Catholic (perhaps, after Mary MacKillop) testifies to the religious dislocation of his family. Ned Kelly's immigrant Irish parents lost the bearings of their faith in their new surroundings. Author Peter Carey has Ned evoke a religious culture of folk devotions defeated by Australia.

> In the colony of Victoria my parents witnessed the slow waning of St Brigit though my mother made the straw crosses for the lambing and followed all Grandma Quinn's instructions it were clear St Brigit had lost her power to bring milk down from the cow's horn. The beloved saint withered in Victoria she could no longer help the calving and thus slowly passed from our reckoning.[1]

If Australia did not offer sacred ground for the traditions of faith, neither did the Kellys live comfortably in the rational world of the British Enlightenment. Ned tells his readers that, unseen and unheard by the dominant culture, the dark figure of the Banshee had stolen away on the first convict ships, and 'were thriving like blackberry in the new climate'. Even though 'there were not an English eye could see her. …The Banshee sat herself at the bow and combed her hair all the way from Cork to Botany Bay'. The folk herald of death was constantly at work in Ned Kelly's world. St Brigit had not travelled, but 'the Banshee would not go home.'

Now, Ned Kelly is an icon, a legend, and Carey's reconstruction is not documentary evidence of the typical nineteenth-century Catholic in Australia. Religion is a very subtle sub-text in the story of this folk hero. But, alongside all the other causes Ned Kelly now stands for, I want to suggest that as an immigrant detached from his religious past, his brogue captures something of the experience of ordinary, less notorious nineteenth-century Catholics, and indeed of all those Australian Catholics before and since who are the focus of the work we do. And contemporary Catholics, Mostly not Irish, mostly not notorious, contemporary Australian Catholics nevertheless stand alongside Ned in an ambivalent relationship to their devotional past – we are often not quite sure whether St Brigit has faded away or the Banshee has been successfully evaded, not quite sure what should be seen or owned.

'The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.'[2] L.P. Hartley's elegant reminder that issues of migration can apply to time as much as to place is pertinent for Australian Catholic historians at the edge of another millennium. Forty years since the Council shifted realities that had not moved significantly for four hundred years, it is good to recall that the experience of migration from one time to another, can be as demanding and disorienting, as empowering and as liberating, as the experience of migration from one country to another. Catholics in contemporary Australia, of all ages, are immigrants in a new country. Migrants need their stories, migrants need their storytellers. Religious culture, like all cultures is sustained by the

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[1] Peter Carey, *The True History of the Kelly Gang*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 2000, p.99.

[2] L.P. Hartley, *The Go-Between*,

stories told and held. Catholic history, as a keeper of memory, whether it is developing or declining, helps shape the culture.

You will notice perhaps, that so far I've spoken about Catholics, rather than Catholicism. The distinction between the institution and the lives of the people who make up its many communities is of course false theologically; but it is useful, and even important to recognise, in terms of historial methodology. The institutional histories of bishops and buildings are important, and often shape key questions, but they are not the whole story. The currents of faith and belief running beneath the gothic arches took people out onto the streets and kept them at home. Whether resisted or embraced faith shaped conversations around the dinner table and decisions in daily life – and if our definition of culture is to be solid enough to stand on, we need to hear those ordinary stories too.

How we hear those stories, and whether we have or can make the methodological tools to help us understand them, is an important question. It relates to the sources we use. Both are much more open to innovation since postmodernism has challenged discussion to move away from overarching universal narratives and towards studies of the particular and the distinct. While the postmodern challenge to enlightenment rationality needs to be treated with caution, it does open the way to integrate discussion of religious belief and 'other ways of knowing' into the scholarly mainstream, and we can certainly embrace that. In particular it seems that if Catholic history is going to develop, we need to be open to the methodologies and challenges of history from below, so that we can give voice to the voiceless in new ways.

Catholic history also needs to be open to history that is not Catholic. By this I mean simply that it needs to be telling a story that is in dialogue with other parts of the culture. It is interesting that there is a debate running in the American scholarly literature at the moment about denominational history. In the North American context where the history of religion is so much bigger, historians and other scholars are asking whther the denomination is useful as a category. Robert Wuthnow in particular, along with Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney all suggest that the rise of ideological differences in the twentieth century has meant divisions are sharper within denominations than between them.[3] I think we know what they mean in Australian terms: where once the sectarian divide between Catholic and Protestant explained most things, now its likely that a charismatic Catholic is more at odds with, or needs more translation to understand, some Catholics (say, for example, Catholics with a first commitment to social justice) than charismatic Anglicans. Or Catholic feminists might find themselves more in tune with Lutheran feminists than with Tridentine Catholics, for example.

So, is denominational history, 'Catholic history' so defined, a style of discussion that should decline as more powerful categories for explaining Australian religious experience take hold? Has the rise of ecumenism since the Second World War through to the sixties and the Council rightly pushed the denominational distinction out of the frame? Is the concern of post-liberal and neo-conservative theology to recover the 'true church' before divisions took hold also rightly taking the edge out of denominational studies? In their very useful collection *Reimagining*

[3] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988, Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1987.

Denominationalism Robert Mullin and Russell Richey ultimately say no, denominational history is important. But they identify some dangers.[4]

Mullin and Richey warn against closed studies, both those that are closed to the outside culture because they are meant for internal use in catechetics, to reinforce identity in ways that are not accessible to non-believers, and those that are meant to be accessible to outsiders but whose purpose is to answer critics, to promote rather than explore the denominational stories. They also warn against studies that do not pay attention to the relationship of the church and church-people to the wider society. Even studies that deal with more than one denomination come into question because even comparative studies can be constructed too narrowly in church-terms only, so that they get diverted into undue emphasis on the idiosyncratic or quaint features of a tradition merely because they are distinctive. Mullin and Richey argue that to overlook the common characteristics of religious commitment across churches, to minimise what denominations share, or to ignore their common purposes, is to miss the point. They object to studies that do not capture either the rich place of church in society or the do justice to the rich texture of the denomination.

Now, Catholic historical writing in Australia is pretty denominational, but is it closed? It is certainly true that, as Ed Campion pointed out long ago, among all the religious bodies in Australia Catholicism has the longest and most self-conscious tradition of historical exploration. At the outset this was consciously denominational and focussed on answering non-Catholic accounts.[5] Part of the problem for Catholic history that does not want to 'stand alone' on the religious horizon is that there is still not as much momentum behind the history of Australian Protestantism as there might be, although work in Sydney at the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, and distinguished work on Presbyterian and Anglican traditions means this is changing. Furthermore, it is interesting to note Catholic history was first subjected to historiographical scrutiny in 1958 by K.S. Inglis in the major academic journal for Australian history. .[6] By 1980 scholars had been working with Patrick O'Farrell's 'small masterpiece'[7] of a general history, and the two surrogate-companion volumes of documents, for over a decade; O'Farrell had published an expanded general history in 1977 and vibrant lines of academic enquiry had been etched, particularly into questions of education, and the Irish-Australian character of the institution.[8]

Since 1980 vigorous conversations have continued and broadened; a simple search of the National Library of Australia's catalogue yields no less than 287 monographs on what might easily be classified as Australian Catholic history. But the Catholic case shows clearly that sheer volume of writing, even good writing, does not make for automatic impact on the wider historical community in Australia. More than one scholar at more than one conference has pointed out gently they already have a monograph reputably published some years ago on a religious question suddenly 'discovered', or listened to papers on issues that are profoundly religious delivered by researchers shamelessly tone-deaf to the nuances. This is partly an issue of publishing

[4] Robert Mullin and Russell Richey, *Reimagining Denominationalism: interpretive essays*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.
[5] Most notably James Murtagh, *Australia: the Catholic Chapter*, 1946, 1959.
[6] K.S. Inglis, 'Catholic Historiography in Australia' *Historical Studies* 8 (1958) 233-53.
[7] Max Charlesworth, *Australian Book Review*, reviewing O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: a short history, 1788-1967*,Nelson, 1968. See P. O'Farrell, 'Writing the 1968 Catholic Church', *Australasian Catholic Record*, (1998) 139-44.
[8] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia* (Sydney, Nelson, 1977).

strategies and distribution; many historians never see work on Australian Catholicism. It is also an issue of academic credibility and awareness; it is a rare thing for Australian historians to acknowledge religious dimensions of meaning if they work outside the boundaries of 'history of the churches.' There are questions for Australian Catholic history (no less than for the history of religion in general) about how to lift the standards of enquiry and bring the brightest and best critical and theoretical insights to bear on local material. There are also questions about how to shed the label 'quaint' or 'marginal', and to engage the wider discipline in conversations that include the possibility of 'the soul' as a category of historical analysis.

It is in relation to the soul as a category of historical analysis that I think denominational traditions must come into their own. It is also in this area of faith and belief that methodological questions are toughest (or perhaps they are just closest here to anthropology, as Cyril Halley was suggesting this morning.) The international literature is helpful here too. James O'Toole and Robert Orsi, both accomplished social historians, have each published monographs recently on Catholic devotion in twentieth century America. Orsi in particular writes himself into his account, and pushes the methodological boundaries. He encourages us to tell the stories 'by heart', to be open to being transformed by our sources. It is a style of historical engagement that I find very appealing. It foregrounds denominational experience as the culture that teaches us and others how to embody faith. Like Colleen McDannell, Orsi argues for a recognition that we and our historical subjects practice religion like we practice the piano or learn to type, in ways that are essentially embodied and material. Australian Catholic history has begun to explore these challenges and there is important work yet to do.[9]

I began with biography, and perhaps that offers a way to close. In 1995 Mary Helen MacKillop (Mother Mary of the Cross co-founder of the Australian congregation of the Sisters of St Joseph) became the best known Australian Catholic surpassing even Ned Kelly for a time. Her historical fate shows something of our discipline I think. Her beatification was grounded in historical study, and especially biographical study. Paul Gardiner published a history of the investigation into her sanctity in 1993 during his work to promote her cause in the official church processes, and that book is Tom Boland's choice of work to take with him if shipwrecked on a desert island. [10] It is a high-water mark of religious history in this country – but no mainstream Australian history subject so far as I know lists it in the recommended reading for students. Less well-known than Gardiner (and here read privately published and distributed like much excellent work in the field) is Marie Foale's account of the first communities of Josephites that places Mary in the context of her early Sisters. [11] You'll find it listed in the important bibliography of work on Mary MacKillop in the special issue of the Australasian Catholic Record devoted to the beatification,[12] but again how many libraries do you know that have an active subscription to ACR? It would be read by the dedicated few like us. It was up to the

[9] See Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1996, and the review of writing on Australian religious history *Journal of Religious Hsitory*, 25 (2000) 56-82.

[10]Paul Gardiner SJ, ,*Mary MacKillop: an extraordinary woman* (Sydney: E.J.Dwyer, 1993); Tom Bolland, 'Thirty Years On: The O'Farrell Era', *Australasian Catholic Record*, (1998), 151.

[11]Marie Therese Foale RSJ, *The Josephite Story: the Sisters of St Joseph their Foundation and Early History1866-1893* (Sydney, Sisters of St Joseph, 1989).

[12] Judith Steer, 'A Select Bibliography' *Australasian Catholic Record*, 72 (1995) 73-7;

Melbourne historian Graeme Davision to write a short account of 'The Last Hero and the First Saint' that considers MacKillop alongside Weary Dunlop in a discussion of 'iconic' figures in Australia more generally. [13] This itself was for *Quadrant* rather than for a journal that engages more directly with the historical profession.

The challenges of post-modernism have disrupted any easy sense of a dominant narrative in Australia as elsewhere, and the historical community is more open to multiple readings of the past and acknowledging new voices in discussion. There is an opportunity for historians to put Catholicism on the agenda in Australia, alongside responsibilities to do this carefully and with painstaking archival work. Creative and innovative work resting on a bedrock of research is well-represented in the bibliographies of Australian Catholic history. The challenge is to foster ongoing conversations about what this work means and where it takes us.

No migration is simple, and neither is this Catholic move to a new world where historians are bridging a cultural divide. I don't want to overstate the division pre and post Vatican II. We know that the label of Vatican II can obscure continuities since and changes before the Council. But if we are working in broad brush strokes I hope you'll agree that the original culture was complete in itself. It was a worldview well-furnished with markers of identity from Catholic tennis and bushwalking, through organisations for social action and for prayer, that were all in more or less direct relationship to the sacramental system, and heaven and hell. In the new context, the worldview has windows and doors leading in all directions, and the implied connection between the lower markers of identity and eternal salvation is gone; a quaint joke. But if bushwalking with Protestants, Buddhists, atheists and others is now the norm rather than 'a danger to the faith', Catholic identity is no longer simply learnt or starkly stated as 'separate'. The label is not empty either; whatever the lament of the disenchanted it is not true to say 'Catholic' means 'anything'. Like all immigrants, contemporary Catholics are faced with explaining themselves in a new language, translating Catholic identity from confident pre-Concilliar separatism to multicultural post-Concilliar integration. This process of translation is delicate, it requires deep understanding of more than one culture, more than one language, and rich awareness of the particular. It involves both confidence and humility.

[13] Graeme Davison, 'The Last Hero and the First Saint', *Quadrant*, 1995.

c) JOSEPHINE LAFFIN

As someone on the verge of submitting a PhD thesis for examination, I clearly have a vested interested in arguing that Australian Catholic history is developing rather than declining. In fact, as I am in the throes of trying to finish my thesis, after many years part-time work on it, I cannot help feeling that there is *too much* Australian Catholic historical writing. I checked my bibliography, and it currently contains twenty-two books on Australian Catholic history published in the last ten years, and five doctoral theses. I did not stop to count all the articles published in the *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, the *Australasian Catholic Record*, the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and so on. An historian friend who has read draft chapters of my thesis has kindly drawn my attention to some works which I have missed, and I live in dread of the examiners finding similar omissions. Worse still, there are a number of potential examiners, and I am afraid that whoever finally reads the thesis might be unhappy if they find that I have not sufficiently acknowledged their own contribution to Australian Catholic historical writing.

My real problem, of course, is my topic. It is a biography of a bishop, and bishops have an annoying habit of being involved—to some degree at least—in almost every conceivable aspect of Catholic history. As luck would have it, the subject of my thesis, Matthew Beovich, happens to have been Adelaide's longest serving bishop. He lived from 1896 to 1981, and was archbishop of Adelaide for over thirty years, from 1939 to 1971. Ironically, I ran into problems with my Master's thesis on medieval monasticism because of the paucity of suitable source material in Australia. At the beginning of my doctoral research, the prospect of being let loose in the diocesan archives was very enticing. It was not long before it became almost overwhelming.

In retrospect, it would have been better if I had chosen a more specialized topic. I was rather envious when I first read Bruce Duncan's *Crusade or Conspiracy*? *Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia.*[1] At the time I was ploughing through the boxes of documents in the Adelaide archives on the Movement, along with books and articles which have been written about it and the ALP Split, and it would have been wonderful to have been able to expand that research into a whole thesis instead of just one chapter. I felt much the same when I discovered Jeffrey Murphy's recent dissertation on the Australian Catholic bishops at Vatican II.[2] John Luttrell very sensibly chose to focus on Cardinal Gilroy's administration in Sydney in his PhD thesis.[3] Unfortunately, by the time I read John's work, I had already done so much research into Matt Beovich's life before he became a bishop, that I could not bear to put it aside, with the result that the poor examiners will have a very long typescript to read.

I have, however, veered away from my original intention of using Matthew Beovich's life story as a prism for illuminating the history of Catholicism in South Australia. It would inevitably have become what Edmund Campion calls 'head office history', so I have tried to focus on what Beovich's life reveals about the role of

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[1] Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy? Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2001.
[2] Jeffrey J. Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959-1965", PhD thesis, Griffin University, 2001.
[3] John J. Luttrell, "Norman Thomas Cardinal Gilroy as Archbishop of Sydney", PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1997.

bishops in the Catholic Church, especially the strengths and weaknesses of the Tridentine model of episcopal ministry. It has been important to read as many episcopal biographies as possible. As Beovich was a Melbourne priest before moving to Adelaide, Thomas Boland's excellent study of Thomas Carr was a great help in the early stages of my research.[4] After reading about Archbishop Carr, I moved on to Daniel Mannix. I think at last count there were ten biographies of Mannix. I must confess I have only read six of them, including both Michael Gilchrist's *Daniel Mannix: Priest and Patriot* and the revised edition, *Daniel Mannix: Wit and Wisdom*.[5] The publication of *Wit and Wisdom* last year, and James Griffin's less than flattering review of the book in the *Australian*,[6] show that Mannix is still a controversial figure and writing about him can evoke strong emotions.

In South Australia, the publication in 1991 of the last volume of Margaret Press's history of the dioceses of Adelaide and Port Pirie was followed by a flurry of local Catholic histories.[7] Most were commissioned to commemorate the anniversaries of Catholic schools and institutions, but nearly all were written by professional historians. An outstanding example is the history of St Aloysius College, produced by a team of academics.[8] Instead of following a chronological approach, the book begins with an overview of South Australian Catholic history by David Hilliard, and then is divided into sections based on the lay out of the school: classroom, staffroom, chapel, playground, and so on. Katharine Massam was deeply involved in that project and contributed the chapter on the chapel. Katharine was my first supervisor for a brief period before she left Adelaide for Melbourne, and I remember we had a conversation about whether it would be possible to develop a more innovative, thematic approach to biography than the traditional birth to death narrative. I am sorry, Katharine, but after a rather disastrous experiment in creativity, I went back to the traditional approach.

In spite of the proliferation of local histories, as I prepare to write the conclusion of my thesis, I am still wrestling with the issue of the distinctiveness of South Australian Catholic history. To what extent did Catholics in South Australia experience a different kind of Church to Catholics interstate? In the last decade there

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[4] T.P. Boland, *Thomas Carr: Archbishop of Melbourne*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1997.

[5] Niall Brennan, *Dr Mannix*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1964; Walter Ebsworth, *Archbishop Mannix,* H.H. Stephenson, Melbourne, 1977; Michael Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix: Priest & Patriot*, Dove Communications, Melbourne, 1982; B.A. Santamaria, *Daniel Mannix*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1984; Colm Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland*, Alella Books, Melbourne, 1984; Michael Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix: Wit and Wisdom*, 2nd ed., Freedom Publishing, Melbourne, 2004.

[6] *Australian*, 20-21 March 2004.

[7] Margaret Press, *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1906,* Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1986; *Colour and Shadow: South Australian Catholics 1906-1962*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1991. The local histories include Margaret Press, *St Francis Xavier Seminary: The First Fifty Years 1942-1992*, St Francis Xavier Seminary, Adelaide, 1992; David Hilliard, *Catholics in Kingswood: The Catholic Church in the Mitcham District, 1869-1994,* Kingswood Parish Council, Adelaide, 1994; Anne McLay, *Women on the Move: Mercy's Triple Spiral. A History of the Adelaide Sisters of Mercy,* Sisters of Mercy, Adelaide, 1996; Peter Donovan and Bernard O'Neil, *In the Marist Tradition: Sacred Heart College, Adelaide, 1897-1997,* Sacred Heart College, Adelaide, 1997; Helen Northey, *Living the Truth: The Dominican Sisters in South Australia 1868-1958*, Holy Cross Congregation of Dominican Sisters, Adelaide, 1999; Ian Forbes, *Calvary Hospital Adelaide: A Facility of the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary, 1900-2000*, Calvary Hospital Adelaide, Inc., Adelaide, 2000; Michael Head, *Fire on the Hill: Aquinas College 1950-2000,* Aquinas College, Adelaide, 2002.

[8] Fay Gale, ed., *Making Space: Women and Education at S. Aloysius College Adelaide 1880-2000,* Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2000.

has been a trend in American Catholic history toward greater acknowledgement of regional Catholic subcultures.[9] This does not seem to have been so pronounced in Australia, although John Maguire's *History of the Catholic Church as Seen From Townsville* is a good example of how it can be done.[10] Some of my fellow Catholics in Adelaide maintain that we do have a significant regional identity, based in part on the fact that South Australia was never a penal colony, and the percentage of Catholics has always been significantly lower than interstate. That has undoubtedly had an impact on the development of the Church, but claims of difference often seem to reflect a rather smug parochialism which I, as a convert to Catholicism from an inward-looking Protestant congregation, find disturbingly un-Catholic.

I am also concerned about the way the last forty years of Australian Catholic history are being interpreted. In Patrick O'Farrell's *Catholic Church and Community*, the years after the Second Vatican Council are only briefly treated in epilogue-style. With the notable exception of Maguire's history of the Townsville diocese, most diocesan histories end in the 1960s, as do, reasonably enough, the Mannix biographies and Thomas Boland's *James Duhig*. In the absence of much historical scholarship, two different interpretations of the years after the Council seem to have gained currency. On one hand, it is seen as a time exciting reform, now sadly undermined by regressive forces. On the other, it is depicted as the beginning of a dark age, from which we are slowly being rescued. The latter view seems to underlie Tess Livingstone's biography of Cardinal Pell.[11] The back cover proclaims that 'in recent decades a war has been waged within the Catholic Church between traditionalists and those who want to drain its teachings and institutions of much of their meaning'. When I joined the Catholic Church in 1994 I was not conscious that I was entering a war zone. That is still not my experience in the archdiocese of Adelaide, although I have become increasingly irritated by sniping from both ends of the spectrum. There was a particularly unpleasant bout in Adelaide in 1997 after News Weekly Books published Margret Mill's Master of Arts thesis, *Women: Why Are You Weeping? Women in the Catholic Church in South Australia*. Mills interviewed a number of prominent Catholic feminists in Adelaide. They made the mistake of assuming that she was sympathetic to their cause, and were later appalled at the way their exceedingly frank comments were used. I look forward to more dispassionate, less polemical historical analysis which will relate the changes in the Church in the last forty years to the profound changes which have been occurring in society, and which will examine both what has gone wrong in the Church *and* what has gone well.

I must confess, however, that I am relieved that Matthew Beovich retired in 1971, and that, as emeritus archbishop, he kept a very low profile for the last decade of his life. I can explore the way changes were implemented in Adelaide in the late sixties and their immediate impact, without worrying about the long term consequences. I have not given any thought to what research I might undertake in the future. I do not anticipate writing about any of Matthew Beovich's successors. I would be happy to supervise a student who wished to research the life of James Gleeson, but I will steer clear of anything to do with Leonard Faulkner, for a couple of decades at least. I do know one person who expressed an interest in writing about

[9] Jeffrey Marlett, "'There is a church west of Buffalo!': Catholic Studies and Regional Identity", *American Catholic Studies Newsletter*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2004, pp. 1, 8-10.
[10] John Maguire, *Prologue: A History of the Catholic Church as Seen From Townsville, 1863-1983*, Church Archivists Society, Toowoomba, 1990.
[11] Tess Livingstone, *George Pell*, Duffy and Snellgrove, Sydney, 2002.

him a few years ago, but she would have approached her subject in much the same way that Tess Livingstone did George Pell. In an epilogue Livingstone descends into hagiography, depicting an imaginary conclave in which Cardinal Pell is possibly on the verge of being elected pope. A few years ago, as Archbishop Faulkner prepared to hand the reins of his diocese to a younger and reputedly much more conservative bishop from interstate, his devoted disciple might have ended her book with a crucifixion scene. I hope she has realized by now that the green fairways of a golf course, on which Len can now spend much more time, are hardly Golgotha.

I should not make fun of such aberrations in historical writing, because one of the problems which besets every biographer is that it is almost impossible to remain neutral to your subject. I have become so fond of 'my' Matt Beovich that it has at times been difficult to maintain the kind of critical distance which is expected in a doctoral thesis. In an article in 1991 in the *Australasian Catholic Record*, Patrick O'Farrell lamented that too much Australian Catholic historical writing was 'insider history' from the pens or computers of priests and religious.[12] Were he alive today, I hope that he would be pleased that lay contributions have increased in the last decade, but that in itself is no guarantee of improvement in quality. Incidentally, I find myself in a curious position with regard to the issue of "insider history". I am neither a religious sister nor, obviously, a priest, but I am an employee of the archdiocese I am writing about. I have not experienced that as a constraint, as neither Archbishop Faulkner nor Archbishop Wilson placed any limitations on my research, but I am very grateful for their support. Without it, my thesis could not have been written.

So is Australian Catholic history developing or declining? There is undoubtedly room for improvement and scope for much more research. However, from my perspective, it is certainly still developing, and I hope that my doctoral thesis will soon be a modest contribution to what Thomas Boland described in 1998 as the 'blossoming summer' of Australian Catholic historical writing.[13]

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[12] Patrick O'Farrell, "The Writing of Australian Catholic History: 1980-1990", *Australasian Catholic Record*, vol. 68, no. 2, April 1991, 131-145.
[13] Thomas Boland, "Thirty Years On: The O'Farrell Era", *Australasian Catholic Record,* vol. 75, no. 2, April 1998, 145-156.

Addressing question '*Australian Catholic history – developing or declining?*'

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