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THE ROMAN MOULD OF THE AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

1846-1878

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ABBREVIATIONS

M.L.	Mitchell Library
S.A.A.	Sydney Archdiocesan Archives
S.M.H.	Sydney Morning Herald

Translations throughout the whole of the thesis are
my own.

INTRODUCTION

An historical analysis of the Roman Catholic Church in the Australian colonies between 1846-1878 presents a number of questions as to origins, composition and attitudes that as yet remain unanswered. This present work has avoided the general themes and tries to explore one limited problem - what was there in the Church of that period that can now be seen as distinctive and primary? If some headway can be made in answering that question it is possible that other aspects of the Church may thereby be illumined.

The Church between those years was already sufficiently well established to have taken on the characteristics that marked the course of her future. Given the origins of the majority of her members it is natural that the most notable quality that has caught the attention of historians has been her Irish heritage and its consequences. But from the vantage point of a century and more, it is now possible to ask what distinctive features remain today as a result of that heritage. And if the answer is that little remains, except lightly worn customs such as an occasional procession on 17 March and an Irish page in the Melbourne Advocate, it is possible that some other attribute of the Church of the

past was of even greater significance than the Irish background.

At first sight it may appear almost frivolous to say that the most important characteristic of those years probably can be summed up by using the word Roman. After all one is entitled to expect that any society which describes itself by the deliberate choice of a name will express something of its own essence in its denomination. To say that the Catholic Church in the Australian colonies between 1846-1878 became a Roman Church could therefore appear to be a truism, or merely begging the question. Yet it ought to be remembered that another note of this Church is expressed in the word Catholic, and in time and place this catholica has assumed the flesh of the nations. To speak of the Catholic Church in Holland and of the Catholic Church in Spain is to speak of the same entity. It is nonetheless true that each presents vastly different manifestations of the same catholica, despite the historical links of the Church of the past in those two countries. The same is true of the Roman note. The Church in Germany, between 1846-1878, called itself Roman, just as the Church in Australia did. It is the contention of this thesis that the Catholic Church in Australia became a Roman Church in the sense that the word was understood in Rome itself. Indeed it may well be true that no other manifestation of

the catholica, including the Italian, became more Roman than the Australian Church.

According to the constant teaching of the Roman theologians of the nineteenth century the Roman Church was the true and only genuine Church of Christ, in which the Roman Pontiff taught infallibly, exercised supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, and was the source of the power of orders.¹ This teaching was given a dogmatic form at the first Vatican Council. To find a Church which in all things looked to and depended upon Rome for guidance in its teaching, eagerly sought the Roman stamp of authority on its discipline, and rejoiced in recognizing Rome as the source of its sacramental wellsprings, would be to discover a daughter Church of Rome, one which could be called truly Roman.

Australia was a new mission field in the first half of the nineteenth century. On every count it appeared the least attractive of all. No nation was likely to clamour to establish a padroado over a convict settlement. No ambitious ecclesiastic was moved to desire the title to Hobart, Adelaide or even Sydney. Personnel, finance, even books and vestments, all had to come from elsewhere. Here

1

See P. Parente, Theologia Fundamentalis (Rome 1946) p.118 and S. Sanguinetti, De Sede Romana B. Petri Principis Apostolorum (Rome, 1867), p.203.

was an opportunity and a challenge to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to exercise its wellnigh plenipotentiary powers and shape a new Church in the Roman mould. Under the direction of men like Frasoni, Barnabò, Franchi and Simeoni the Congregation was equal to the task. It was a question of finding the willing cooperators who would work with the Roman mind.

Three separate forces combined to give to Australia a Roman Catholic Church - England, Ireland and Rome. The English contribution was ephemeral and gave way to an 'Irish take-over'.¹ It was a 'take-over', or, dependent upon one's attitude, an undertaking forced by circumstances, which impelled Irish prelates and priests to come and sustain a people, in the main of Irish blood, who could not be served adequately by the English Benedictines, despite their generous aspirations. The debt that Catholic Australia owes to Polding and the Black Monks is just one small segment of the debt that Christianity and Western civilization itself owes to Benedict and his sons. The memories of men are short, but the day could yet come when Australia will claim her Polding, as England claims Augustine, and Germany honours Boniface.

1

T.L. Suttor, 'The Catholic Church in the Australian Colonies 1840-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U. 1961), p.iii.

Since the time of Patrick, Ireland was Catholic and, in its own way, loyal to Rome. But it would be a mistake to imagine that before 1850 the Catholic Church in Ireland was Roman in the sense understood by Rome. Before the days of Maynooth most of the Irish clergy were trained in France and, later, Maynooth itself did little to orientate the Irish Church towards Rome. In 1850 Propaganda sent Paul Cullen back to Ireland as Archbishop of Armagh to unify the Church there and to bring it into line with Roman law and custom. Cullen had spent thirty years in Rome in preparation for his task, and he understood his mandate fully. Although he reported in 1852 that at least one bishop spoke publicly 'without respect for...the Pope',¹ by the time of his death in 1878 he had done much to direct the Church in Ireland Romewards. Yet his work in Ireland, like Polding's in Australia, was transitory. By 1880 the ethos of Maynooth was in the ascendancy and Ireland began again to moderate its dependancy on the papacy and the curia.²

1

Cullen to Franconi, 26 June 1852 in P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries with their letters from 1820-1902, 3 vols. (Naas, Co. Kildare 1961-) vol.III, p.129.

2

A story still told with mild humour in Rome in the 1940's related how Leo XIII (1878-1903) interviewed an Apostolic Visitor whom he had sent to Ireland to investigate the affairs of the Church there. 'Well, Your Excellency, how are the bishops of Ireland?' asked the pope. 'I met no bishops in Ireland, Your Holiness, I met eighteen popes instead.'

If Cullen's work in Ireland was transitory his work in Australia has endured. From Dublin he was able to influence the choice of bishops for Australian sees so that in one way or another all the prelates appointed to those sees until 1878 were Cullen's men. He was their friend and confidant, he formed most of them personally as students in Rome and priests in Dublin, or they thought with Cullen's Roman mentality. These were the men who left a lasting stamp on the Catholic Church in Australia and, irrespective of their birthplaces and the other influences which marked them, before all else they were Romans. They were a group of men dedicated to the purpose of the papacy and the curia, which was to build a Roman Church in spirit, faith and discipline here in the Australian colonies. A simple indication of their success is the fact that today nineteen of the twenty five bishops ruling Australian sees are Roman trained, eighteen of them in Cullen's Alma Mater, Propaganda Fide.

A Church is made up of more than a hierarchy and a clergy even when it can be shown that the clergy took their lead from the hierarchy and formed a unity with them. The question thus remains as to how the lay members of the Catholic Church in Australia reacted to the process of making their Church Roman. While this thesis suggests that the bishops were the formative element of the Church in the nineteenth century and the role of the layman was passive,

it remains true that a special set of historical circumstances combined to turn the minds of the laity to Rome and to make them more receptive to Roman direction.

In Australia itself the Catholic Church was a minority group, which reflected in its own interior life, as well as in its attitude to the society around it, the tendencies common to such groups. There was always the inclination to withdraw and rely on its own resources, most evident ultimately in the solution to the education question. This, coupled with a certain aggressiveness, was a form of spiritual 'triumphalism' which manifested itself in the attitude that only the Catholic Church possessed the truth in religious matters, and membership of it could compensate for deficiencies in social status and personal possessions. It was not by accident that Catholic Australians were frequently to the fore in the construction of a spirit of nationalism. More than any other Australians, partly because they were Catholic and partly because they were mainly of Irish stock, they felt a certain alienation from the culture, the bonds of Empire, the ties of loyalty to the Crown that were part of the total mental and emotional outlook of most other Australians. But nationalism was a slow growth and Catholics sought a common bond, a centre of unity, a figure-head, and, in their hesitancy, a leader to guide

them. It is scarcely to be wondered at that this void would be filled by a religious figure who, while not dividing or lessening their loyalty to Australia, would nonetheless supply the want. The ancient longing of the Church for a Pastor Angelicus was never more evident than in the Church in the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century.

To the bishops, Rome meant Propaganda Fide and the pope. To the laity, Rome meant the pope, and Pius IX (1846-1878), or Pio Nono, as he became known in the English speaking world, was increasingly a figure of immense importance in the minds of Australian Catholics. The historical circumstances, known variously as the Risorgimento, or, on another level, the Roman Question, combined to make Pio Nono the object of derision and rejection by many non-Catholics, while at the same time he became the object of love and respect on the part of Catholics. It is not necessary to judge the actions of the men of the Risorgimento, or the reactions of Pio Nono to the work of making Italy into a nation, in order to understand why Australian Catholics turned more and more towards Rome and the pope during that long pontificate of thirty two years. But it has been necessary to trace in this thesis, in some detail, the events from Gaeta to Porta Pia and beyond, to see how they were reported in the

Australian press, Catholic and secular, so that the process which helped to form the Roman Church here might be understood.

While the work of the Risorgimento went forward Pio Nono was not idle in forging the weapons which served to strengthen the spiritual basis of Catholicism. The definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 fostered faith in the supernatural, in the efficacy of prayer, in hope of an after life and in the value of the virtue of purity. The Syllabus of Errors in 1864 was a direct challenge to the liberal society which Pio Nono grew to detest after 1848, and the definition of Infallibility in 1870 served to strengthen immeasurably the power of the papacy itself. In Australia amongst all sections of the Catholic Church, these actions, which were manifestations of papal power, were received with joy and equanimity and in their own way tended to hasten the process of romanization. When Pio Nono and Cullen died in 1878, had their minds turned to Australia, they would have been able to rest content in the knowledge that here at least their work was done, and well done.

Patrick Francis Moran, Cullen's nephew trained by him in Rome and Dublin, perhaps unconsciously provided the initial source that guided the direction of this thesis. He studied his work, History of the Catholic Church in

Australasia (1895) with official documents, letters, short biographies and reminiscences that indicated the direction the Church in Australia took. The Archives of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, containing numerous other official Roman documents, letters to Propaganda, and correspondence between the bishops of the period, are the most valuable source for primary material. Catholic and non-Catholic newspapers of the day are surprisingly rich in reports and comments on the Roman Question and thus they help an understanding of the reactions of the laity, while sermons and pamphlets abound on the theological implications of Roman teachings. It might be added that one factor before all else made research on this topic possible. Although a century apart from Cullen and the bishops of colonial Australia my Alma Mater was also Propaganda Fide. My indebtedness, although perhaps different from theirs, is apparent.

CHAPTER 1

THE FORMATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

The myths and romance of the centuries have softened the figure of Boniface planting the seed of Christianity in the soil and groves sacred to the barbarian gods, and Augustine with his black-robed monks landing on the coast of England. Nonetheless it was back to these two figures that the modern historian of the Benedictines looked when he came to sum up the work of his order in Australia.

If circumstances had permitted it, perhaps one would have been able to see, reproduced in Oceania, the great work which was accomplished in another age in England by Augustine, and in Germany by Boniface, and their companions.¹

Yet the Benedictine connection with the Catholic Church in Australia did not begin until 1819 when an immense vicariate, covering Mauritius, South Africa, Australia, the Pacific Islands and part of the British Indies was placed under the charge of the English Benedictines. In the previous twenty years Rome was aware that there were Catholics in Australia. Thus in 1804 James Dixon was appointed by Rome as the first Prefect Apostolic of those

1

Dom P. Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît (7 vols, Maredsous, 1949), vol.IV, p.216.

'Catholics who dwelt as exiles in New Holland'.¹ Dixon returned to Ireland in 1808 leaving James Harold to continue his work until 1810.

Australia was without a priest until 1817 when Jeremiah O'Flynn arrived, furnished with ecclesiastical authority, but lacking the approbation of the government. Father O'Flynn's stay provided Australian Catholicism with its first legend, concerning the leaving of the Blessed Sacrament in the household of *William* Davis in Sydney.² It also provided the first personal link with Rome in that O'Flynn was granted by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide 'one hundred scudi, a set of vestments, a chalice with a paten and a pyx'.³ He pointed out to the Roman authorities that the sum provided would not be sufficient to get him out of Italy; much less to Australia. Rome then gave him a letter to present to the four metropolitans of Ireland, where he was expected to make

1

I.H. Burns, 'The Foundation of the Hierarchy in Australia 1804-1854' (D.C.L. thesis, Rome, 1954), p.58.

2

See 'Catholic Religious and Social Life in the Macquarie Era', Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society, II (1966), part 1, pp.13-45. Ambrose Fitzpatrick wrote to Archbishop Moran, 30 November 1884, stating that as a child he frequently visited the house in which the Blessed Sacrament was left. It was that of James Dempsey in Kent Street, Sydney. pp.43-4.

3

I.H. Burns, 'The Foundation', p.77.

good any deficiencies despite 'la Miseria Generale' there.¹ O'Flynn did not have the opportunity to tax Irish generosity as he was permitted to remain in the colony for only a few months of 1817, after which Macquarie had him deported.

The first ecclesiastic with episcopal powers to hold jurisdiction over Australia was Edward Bede Slater. He was an English Benedictine monk from Downside who was consecrated in Rome in 1819 as Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius.² Like John Bede Polding he was a nephew of John Bede Brewer, President of the English Benedictines from 1799 until 1822.³ Slater was able to provide for his priestless territory by sending Fathers John Joseph Therry and Phillip Connolly who arrived in 1820. The latter was the first recorded priest on the Australian mission to

1

Ibid., p.74. Burns gives the Latin and Italian documents of the period dealing with Australia, but notes (p.45) that in 1810 the Propaganda archives were taken to Paris by order of Napoleon, with the result that much material is now missing.

2

Vicars Apostolic and Prefects Apostolic rule territories which have not been erected as dioceses. As their name implies they do so in the name of the pope. Vicars are normally in episcopal orders. See Codex Iuris Canonici (Rome, 1948), Lib. II, Pars 1. Caput VIII. Canon 293-311. The canons were substantially the same in the nineteenth century.

3

The history of the English Benedictines and their work in Mauritius is found in H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers in Australia (2 vols, London, 1911), vol.1, pp.11-85.

show interest in a Roman document. He wrote to Mauritius asking for a Latin copy of Mirari Vos, the encyclical in which Gregory XVI condemned the liberal thought of de Lamennais.¹

In 1832 Father John McEncroe arrived in Sydney.² Soon after his arrival he wrote to Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, protesting that a Vicar-Apostolic in Mauritius was practically useless for Australian purposes. 'The Holy See should provide this place with a Bishop. It is the most neglected portion of the Catholic world.'³ Instead of a bishop a young Benedictine monk, William Ullathorne, who 'imagined himself Pope, Bishop and V.G. of Australasia;' arrived in 1833.⁴ Ullathorne had been appointed Vicar General of Bishop William Placid Morris, Slater's successor at Mauritius. He arrived unannounced in Sydney, eager to use his new authority and quick to

1

Ibid., pp.92-3.

2

The life of McEncroe has been the subject of a thesis. P.K. Phillips, 'John McEncroe' (M.A. thesis, Sydney, 1965).

3

Ibid., p.23.

4

Letter from Michael D'Arcy, McEncroe's nephew, to his parents in Clonmel. Undated. Reprinted in Bega District News, 14 June 1957. Dr Slater's name was used, but the text makes it clear that Ullathorne was meant. 'This little cub...who was a cabin boy of a ship until the last few years,.....'

demonstrate his power to the older missionaries, Therry and McEncroe.¹

With the landing of Ullathorne the seeds of conflict were sown which bedevilled the Church in Australia for almost half a century. That conflict stemmed back to the ages in which the desert fathers printed an image on the Christian conscience of total dedication, through withdrawal from the world and a life spent in contemplation of the hidden things of God. Ullathorne and the Black Monks who followed him were sons of Benedict, the father of Western monasticism. Benedict grasped the essential wisdom of the East, but he blended it with the practical concepts of the Roman West. He adapted and moderated the life of the desert. He clarified the role of the abbot, the figure of paternal but inflexible authority who stood in the place of Christ.² When John Bede Polding came to Sydney in 1835 he was invested already with episcopal powers. But it was the image of abbatial power and dignity that governed his life and the gradual erosion of that image was his sorrow.³

¹ See W.B. Ullathorne, From Cabin Boy to Archbishop (London, 1941) and C. Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne 1806-1889 (2 vols, London, 1926).

² Dom P. Schmitz (ed.), Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum Maredsous, 1955) especially ch.II, pp.49-53 'Qualis Debeat Abbas Esse.'

³ See Bede Nairn, 'Polding, John Bede' in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol.II (Melbourne, 1967), pp.340-347, and J.J. McGovern, 'John Bede Polding' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.XI, no.3 (Sydney, 1934) - vol.XV, no.3 (Sydney, 1938).

Whereas the infant Catholic Church in the Australian colonies was in the main made up of people of Irish stock served by Irish priests it was to England in 1834 that Rome looked to provide priests for the Australian mission. Bishop James Yorke Bramston, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, wrote to Rome to point out that more than twenty thousand Catholics in Australia were cared for by four priests but 'It has been clearly insinuated to me that the Clerics to be sent out ought to be English and the Minister for the Colonies on this account has asked me to select four English born clerics.'¹ Bramston made it clear that he could not spare any clergy, and recommended that Rome look to the English Benedictines who would provide the men on the condition that New Holland be constituted a Vicariate. Polding was chosen as first Vicar Apostolic. He sailed in March 1835 taking three priests, three professed Benedictine monks not yet in priests' orders, and three students for the priesthood.²

'Old Polding is the true quintessence of all that you can conceive as Old Benedictinism!' wrote Roger Bede

¹ I.H. Burns, 'The Foundation', pp.134-6 gives the text of the letter dated 26 April 1834.

² Polding gave Rome details of his party in a letter 26 March 1835, printed in P.F. Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia (Sydney, 1895), pp.182-3.

Vaughan forty years later.¹ By 1875 Polding's dream had faded, but the strong, young bishop-monk of the thirties and forties was convinced that men could best be led to God by Benedictines like himself, men dedicated to poverty and subject to the discipline of a religious superior.² The story of Polding's attempt to Benedictinize the Church in Australia has been told elsewhere.³ He tried to import a Benedictine priesthood and failed because the English Benedictines could not provide him with monks. His attempt to make Benedictines out of the priests and students he brought to Australia failed because most of them had no vocation to a religious order. Finally he was unable to mould colonial youth into the Benedictine shape and the methods used by the Benedictine superiors were partly responsible for that failure.⁴

1

P.K. Phillips, 'John McEncroe', p.144. Letter from Vaughan to Ephrem, 15 January 1875.

2

S.A.A., Polding to Bishop Willson, 14 March 1842 'in young missionary countries the vow of poverty alone can prevent the accumulation of wealth, the bane of the Church and the destruction of the individual.'

3

See M.M. Shanahan, 'Henry Gregory and the Abbey-Diocese of Sydney 1835-61' (M.A. thesis, Sydney, 1965) also H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, and T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy and Democracy in Australia 1788-1870. (Melbourne, 1965).

4

See the letter of Dame M. Scholastica Gregory written home in 1848 describing the formation of the 'little fellows' of ten years of age upwards. H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.II, pp.161-2.

In America, Canada and England the Catholic Church since the Reformation owed much to the religious orders that pioneered the field by founding or restoring the Church. But the diocesan or secular clergy had to fill up the ranks and eventually rule as bishops and pastors over those churches. The same thing happened in Australia. Despite the efforts of Polding and Ullathorne the Black Monks never stood in any numbers in the ranks of the Australian priesthood. Ullathorne, on a recruiting drive in 1837, wrote 'It is, I believe, my duty to look everywhere else for subjects first, before looking into Ireland; then I must, of necessity, fill up my numbers.'¹ It was Ireland which supplied the men; at Maynooth 'the very flower of the College...volunteered in this glorious undertaking.'²

By 1841 there were 33 missionary priests on the Australian mission, 28 of whom were Irish. By 1857 the numbers had risen to 144 with 129 Irish. The other fifteen were made up of five English, with a sprinkling of French Marists, German Jesuits and Spanish Benedictines to round out the number. A picture taken in 1875 of Polding with the clergy of the Archdiocese of Sydney showed that of the

¹H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.1, p.346.²

Ibid., p.360.

44 present there were only five non-Irish. Four of the five were Italians or French.¹ By 1880 just one of the Irish seminaries, All Hallows, supplied half the clergy to the Australian mission.²

Rome was convinced by 1852 that Polding's attempt at Benedictinization could never succeed. In that year the Archbishop put in a submission to Rome requesting that his successors in the Mother Church of Sydney would always be drawn from the Black Monks. It was met with a blunt refusal.³ Before the Benedictine Archbishop, Roger Bede Vaughan, set foot in Australia as Polding's coadjutor in 1873, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò wrote to tell Polding that 'reform of the said Benedictines will now be recommended in a special manner to the new Archbishop!'.⁴ Soon after his arrival Vaughan explained to his fellow Benedictine, Bernard Smith in Rome, that any opposition to him on the part of the Irish bishops in New South Wales was not due to his being an Englishman, but due to his being a

1

See P.S. Cleary, Australia's Debt to the Irish Nation-Builders (Sydney, 1933), p.71.

2

See T.L. Suttor, 'The Catholic Church', p.83.

3

See I.H. Burns, 'The Foundation', p.319.

4

S.A.A., Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò to Archbishop Polding from Rome, 25 August 1873. Barnabò became Prefect of Propaganda in 1856.

Benedictine; it was 'only too true that the O.S.B. has lost in the estimation of the public'.¹

By 1874 there was so little left to reform that Vaughan concluded that of the twelve Benedictines left in Sydney not one was fit to be Prior and in any case bishops, clergy and laity were 'dead against them' on account of past scandals.² Even Lyndhurst Academy, the institution which Polding cherished as the seed bed from which would spring a Catholic intellectual elite to permeate society, was closed by Vaughan as one of the first acts of his episcopate in 1877. The 'cultural bigotry of the immigrant' and 'the fruitless struggle with Ireland'³ only partly explained the failure of Lyndhurst; indeed the total failure of the Benedictines in Eastern Australia. Unlike the companions of Boniface and Augustine, Polding's were incapable of adapting themselves to the new missionary situation in a society in which their people were mainly workers and Irish. In Western Australia 'It was soon recognized that the rule of Saint Benedict was perfectly

1

S.A.A., Vaughan to Bernard Smith, 8 May 1874.

2

Vaughan to Burchall and Ephrem, fellow English Benedictines, 12 February 1874 and 9 July 1874 in P.K. Phillips, 'John McEncroe', p.144.

3

T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy, p.272.

suites to the conversion and civilization of the savages... and able to be adapted to the real needs of these people.'¹ The successors of Bishop Salvado still work at New Norcia today, but there are no Benedictines in Eastern Australia.²

When Polding was appointed bishop of Hiero-Caesarea in 1834 his episcopal title to a see of the ancient Christian world, then defunct in the sense of an operative ecclesiastical structure, left him open to criticism.

It is openly said that these [titular] bishops are nothing but aliens and foreigners, whose flocks are in other and distant places, and this is the precise reproach brought against me in letters sent to our Governor by Mr. Broustou [sic], the Pseudo-Bishop of the Anglican Church in New Holland.³

This was the main argument Polding used in 1842 when he pleaded for the erection of a normal hierarchy. Ullathorne and the Scottish convert William Augustine Duncan both claimed that the erection of a hierarchy was their idea, yet Polding as the superior was the one most affected in that it was his territorial jurisdiction that was

1

Le Marquis de Blossville, Histoire de la Colonisation Pénale et des Etablissements de l'Angleterre en Australie (2 vols, Evreux, 1859), vol.II, p.159.

2

See John T. McMahon, Bishop Salvado (2nd ed., Perth, 1943).

3

Acta 1842-47. Extracts Relating to Australia. Polding to Propaganda Fide, 19 January 1842.

proposed for division.¹ It was Polding who presented the case in Rome which gave Australia its hierarchy.

Rome considered a territory ruled by a Vicar or Prefect to be still 'in a state of puberty' and usually took no steps to raise such a territory to the normal hierarchical state until it had shown itself capable of self-government and self-maintenance.² Polding was careful to avoid the capacity for self-government of the Church in Australia as an argument, while self-maintenance, at least on the grounds of personnel, was out of the question. The actual division of the vast territory, required on the grounds that no single superior could attend to it, was capable of solution by the provision of more Vicars-Apostolic. Rome saw the necessity of allowing its bishops to stand on grounds of equal footing with Anglican bishops so it was prepared to grant to Polding, and to the new bishops of Hobart and Adelaide, titles to residential sees. Polding thus became archbishop of Sydney and metropolitan of Australia, while Robert Willson, an English diocesan priest, and Francis Murphy, an Irish diocesan priest,

1

For Ullathorne see W.B. Ullathorne, Autobiography (3rd ed. London, 1891), pp.195-6. Duncan later stated that he suggested the erection of Sydney into a diocese. Freeman's Journal, 13 December 1873.

2

See P. Cosmas Sartori. Iuris Missionarii Elementa (Rome, 1951), p.11.

became bishops of the suffragan sees of Hobart and Adelaide.¹

Polding had enjoyed the wide faculties granted to a Vicar Apostolic by Rome. Because of the distance between Rome and the territory in question, and the unusual circumstances encountered in a mission country, these faculties were wider than those of residential bishops governing normal sees. Furthermore no payment was exacted for dispensations, rescripts and similar favours granted to a Vicar Apostolic. Polding saw the advantages to be gained for Australian bishops if they could retain their canonical status as Vicars-Apostolic. His petition was accepted and Rome departed from its normal practice and allowed himself and his suffragans to have titles to residential sees and at the same time to be Vicars-Apostolic. The Australian hierarchy was the first set up under the British Crown since the Reformation, and Polding, without whose positive initiative it would have been improbable at the time,

1

K.S. Inglis called Willson a Benedictine in his seminal article 'Catholic Historiography in Australia', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, 8 (1958), p.249. The only other Benedictine bishops in Eastern Australia were Charles Henry Davis and Vaughan. His idea probably stemmed from the fact that Father J. Wilson, O.S.B. was offered the see of Hobart but refused it.

deserves his title as its Father.¹

All of these Roman enactments were decreed by a body known as the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith - *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* - hence the use of the word propaganda. Although its major decisions were given final approval by the pope, it was within the Congregation that the work was done. The Congregation was set up on 22 June 1622 by Gregory XV in the constitution Inscrutabili.² It was given immense authority over those regions where no hierarchy existed, which gave rise to the custom of referring to its Cardinal Prefect as the Red Pope.³ It had the power 'to initiate, deal with, and bring to conclusion all matters...necessary and opportune, even in places in which, although a

1

T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy, p.44 said Canada was first with a territorial hierarchy. In 'Catholicism in Canada', Manna, no.9 (1966), p.38 Suttor corrected this statement. Kingston was established as a Catholic see in 1826, but Australia's was the first hierarchy.

2

See S. Romani, Institutiones Iuris Canonici (3 vols, Rome, 1941), vol.1, p.224. The distinction between constitutions, bulls, encyclicals and rescripts are set out in A. Fremantle (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Context (New York, 1956), pp.24-5.

3

Red because of the colour of his robes. The general of the Jesuits became known as the Black Pope for the same reason.

hierarchy existed, the Church was still lacking in maturity.¹

In 1908 England, Scotland, Holland and Canada were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide.²

Australia remained under the Congregation throughout the nineteenth century, despite the priority of its hierarchy.³ A priest trained at St Mary's Seminary, Sydney, commented on the situation in 1876,⁴

We, it seems, have only a quasi hierarchy in preparation for a regular hierarchy....We are as if our bishops were only Episcopi in partibus infidelium and vicars apostolic. We have no parishes or parish priests. The veteran priest of thirty years standing, however good he may be, is liable to be removed at the will of his bishop, which he could not do without a great fault on the part of the priest, had he been canonically appointed to a parish.

The Australian hierarchy remained in a state of tutelage to Rome through its subjection to Propaganda Fide, but such a state was compensated for by the well-nigh

1

Codex Iuris Cononici, Lib.II, Pars.1, Canon 252.

2

Papal Constitution of Pius X, Sapienti Consilio, Rome, 29 June 1908.

3

Australia is still today under the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide.

4

Freeman's Journal, 30 December 1876. Letter signed by Vindicator. In the 1880's there was agitation for independence for Australia so as to ensure permanency for parish priests and the right to nominate bishops. See Freeman's Journal, 6, 13 October 1883.

unlimited powers wielded in their own dioceses by bishops who were not subject to the normal provisions of Canon Law. In the nineteenth century 'the policies of latinisation and centralisation followed by the Congregation...',¹ were of no consequence to a hierarchy which in the main was trained under the aegis of that Congregation, and rejoiced in being its instruments.

Propaganda Fide was vitally connected with all the matters of any importance which occurred in the Church in Australia. The appointment of bishops and the erection of new sees was of constant concern and any seemingly important information was discussed with the pope. In 1873 Barnabò wrote to Polding to say that Rome had heard that no priest had gone to the new settlement founded on the northern shore of central Australia. The pope wanted a priest to go immediately not only for the sake of the whites 'but also for the natives...whose eternal salvation is close to the heart of His Holiness'.² In 1878 the Congregation asked Vaughan's opinion of the visit of an Apostolic Delegate. Vaughan consulted James Alipius Goold, Melbourne's first bishop, who replied that no

1

R. Aubert, Vatican I. Histoire Des Conciles Oecuméniques, no.12 (Paris, 1964), p.8.

2

S.A.A., Barnabò to Polding, 19 June 1873.

Delegate was needed in Victoria, indeed such a visit would be 'an offensive and frivolous waste of time'.¹ The main reason why no Delegate came at the time was not a fear of offending Goold, but concern as to possible Protestant reactions.

In 1627 Propaganda Fide extended its work by the foundation of a residential college and university for students for the priesthood from mission territories. Both institutions were situated in the Piazza di Spagna and named after the pope of the day, Urban VIII. The University offered courses for students from any college and many national colleges that were founded in Rome - English (1578), Scots (1600) and North American (1859) - sent their students to Propaganda Fide, as it was known, despite its title, Urbanianum.

The Correspondence De Rome gave details of the course of studies pursued by students at the University in the mid-nineteenth century.² In order to have some understanding of the results of Roman formation in the period

¹ S.A.A., Franchi to Vaughan, 26 January 1878. Goold to Vaughan, 3 September 1878. Franchi died in May 1878 and was replaced as prefect by Simeoni.

² Correspondence De Rome, 19 January 1861, 2 March 1861. The paper was the first French journal founded in Rome, 1848. Copies are located in S.A.A.

it is useful to know something of the intellectual training of the student body. Students usually did four years of humanities, two of philosophy and four of theology. In three major courses - moral theology, dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical history, the students were exposed to a system which had suffered by the lack of Catholic scholarship in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. Moral theology was taught from 'Compendium theologiae moralis S. Alphonsi M. de Liguorio' by M. Neyraguet. At the time moral theology was cut off from a living tradition, which left the canon lawyers free to surround and interpret the precepts of morals with the legalisms of canon law.¹ As a consequence the humane moral theology of Saint Alphonsus Ligouri was rendered almost sterile by its passage through the hands of the canonists.

'Praelectiones theologicae quas in collegio romano habebat Joannes Perrone e Societatis Jesu' was the main text used for dogmatic theology. Perrone was the foremost Roman theologian, a close friend of the pope, and partial drafter of the text on the Immaculate Conception. Acton

1

See M. Novak, 'After the Council', Quadrant, no.38, vol.IX, no.6, (Sydney 1965), p.61. Later manuals of moral theology refer to the period from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth as 'Periodus Decadentiae'. See J. Aertnys and C. Damen, Theologia Moralis (2 vols, Turin, 1947), vol.1, pp.XXXI-XXXIV.

said that Perrone was a representative 'of the unscrupulous school' in regard to freedom of conscience, though not as outspoken as Dom Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes, the leader of the liturgical revival.¹ He accused Perrone of using 'arguments of the most calumnious kind in order to turn the mind of the people away from [Protestantism]'.² In dogmatic theology the trends represented by Perrone were uniquely of a kind designed to foster the aim of the Roman Curia in centralizing not only the administration, but also the faith of the Church, and in presenting the formulation of faith within the narrow framework of Roman legalism.³

The basic course for ecclesiastical history at the Propaganda was the text 'Praelectiones historiae ecclesiasticae' by John Palma. The kindly Palma was a friend both of John Henry Newman and of Pio Nono. He contributed his own tragic note to history when he was shot dead at a window of the Quirinal by the mob in 1848, and thus helped decide the pope in favour of flight. As an

1

Lord Acton, Essays on Church and State (ed. Douglas Woodruff). (London, 1952), p.60.

2

Ibid., p.61.

3

'In dogmatic theology, Father Perrone...did not attempt any work on a scientific basis, but was engaged rather in that of vulgarization and controversy against the errors of the day;....' R. Aubert, Le pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878), Histoire de L'Eglise, vol.21 (Paris, 1952), p.187.

historian Palma was representative of a school which was more concerned with the presentation of history as an object lesson than with any initial analysis of its sources. In 1864 the historian Janssen 'was scandalized by the negligence of the Romans in exploiting their rich archives, by the defective organization of libraries, by the lack of interest on the part of the authorities for higher studies and scientific work,....' He said that a young Italian intellectual told him 'Here study is dead, it is only practice which matters.'¹

Contemporary criticism of the Roman courses of study was not restricted to the early years of the pontificate of Pio Nono, nor did it come simply from partisans of Italian unity, or those who were opponents of Roman methods. In 1846 a future cardinal, Meignan, criticised Roman theology, linguistics, history and law and in 1856 another cardinal, Viale Prela, thought that Rome would benefit by contact with German scientific methods.² But the revival which came through the Roman College and the Gregorian University under the pontificate of Leo XIII was unknown in the Rome of Pio Nono. It was an academic

1

Ibid., pp.184-5.

2

Ibid., p.184.

atmosphere which remained closed to the thought of Ketteler and Koplring, the younger Döllinger and even Dupanloup. In this intellectual atmosphere the major part of the Australian hierarchy of the second half of the nineteenth century was trained. In their formative years Rome trained these young men who became the leaders of a Church in a new nation, a Church which was surrounded by a Protestant majority and was exposed to the liberalism and rationalism of its age. Rome provided them with a closed and rigid system of dogmatic and moral theology, history and law, which became the intellectual basis of their Weltanschauung.

When the Irish bishops petitioned for a college in Rome in 1625 they gave as their major reason¹

That a loving obedience to the Holy See be fostered by immediate contact with her; and that uniformity of ecclesiastical teaching and discipline might be maintained by intimate personal communication with the Roman Church, lest cut off from the fertilising influence of Rome, as with the mountains of Gilboe, neither dew nor rain from heaven would come upon us.

During the first two hundred years of its existence the Irish College in Rome educated only a very small proportion of Irish students for the priesthood. At times

1

The Bishop of Canea, 'The Irish College', Saint Peters (vol.3, no.14, London, 1899), pp.82-3.

there were no more than two or three students in the College.¹ The College was closed in 1798 and reopened in 1826 under Michael Blake, later bishop of Dromore. During the period in which the College was closed the Irish clergy were in the main trained at Maynooth, which opened in 1795. In 1833 Paul Cullen became Rector of the College and within two years the student body rose to forty so that it eventually became the main continental source for Irish priestly training. When Dr David Moriarty preached the funeral oration for Blake in 1868 he said,²

...nothing can be better calculated to secure intimate relations between a nation and the Holy See than the education of clerical youth under the very shadow of St Peter's Chair. The orthodox spirit and feeling inform the whole mind and heart. Leaning on the Mother's breast they learn to love her, and they go forth witnesses for their brethren of the views and wishes of the Church in the minutest details of her government, her teaching or her ritual.

Paul Cullen was closely connected with both Propaganda (as Congregation, College and University) and also the Irish College. He played a central role in the

1

When the French Revolution and its aftermath forced the closing of many continental colleges for Irish students the Irish bishops petitioned Parliament for a college in Ireland. Their petition stated that when the revolution began there were 478 students on the continent, 348 of whom were in France. The rest were at Antwerp (30), Salamanca (32), Rome (16), Lisbon (12), Louvain (40). See 'Irish Colleges', The Catholic Encyclopedia (vol.VIII, New York, 1913), pp.158-63.

2

The Bishop of Canea, 'The Irish College', p.95.

ecclesiastical history of the Australian Catholic Church though he never set foot on Australian soil.¹ Cullen was born in Ireland in 1803, and went to Rome in 1820, where he enrolled at the Propaganda Fide University and lived in the College. As a student he defended a series of theses before Leo XII and the papal court, which earned him the title of Eagle of the Schools, and later renown as one of Propaganda's most distinguished students.² He taught Hebrew at the University after taking his degrees and fostered a love for ecclesiastical history which he imparted to one of his students, his nephew Patrick Francis Moran.³ During the rule of the Triumvirate in 1848 Cullen, as a foreigner, was deemed a suitable person to negotiate with the revolutionary authorities so he held for a while the joint rectorship of both the Propaganda and the Irish

1

There is no biography of Cullen. The best study of part of his episcopate is found in E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859-1873 (London 1965). Other details are in P Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries (3 vols, Kildare 1961-); articles by P. Card Moran, The Catholic Encyclopaedia (vol.IV, New York, 1913), pp.564-6 and P. Nicola Kowalsky 'Don Filippo Tancioni', Alma Mater (Rome, 1965), pp.73-6.

2

Correspondance De Rome, 19 January 1861. Leo XII personally awarded Cullen the doctor's cap.

3

When Manly College opened in 1890 Moran, although archbishop, was professor of Hebrew.

College.¹ As the Jesuits had been expelled from Rome Cullen was forced to seek another institution in which to educate his Irish students so he sent them to the Propaganda Fide University.

Cullen was first noticed by the Australian press in 1850 when the Herald said 'The Pope, contrary to all custom, has rejected the three candidates presented to him for the Archbishopric of Armagh, and named a Dr. Cullen instead.'² His thirty year residence in Rome drew the comment that he was 'in all but his patrimonial name an Italian monk'.³ Interest in Cullen was maintained through the years and in 1875 the Age attempted to summarize his background and motives in an editorial.⁴

Trained from boyhood in the Propaganda at Rome, he is an Italian of the Vatican type, and has nothing in common with liberal politicians.... He belongs to that school of church-men who think that the clergy are the natural rulers of the people. The mediaeval notion of society as divided into ecclesia regnans and ecclesia serviens completely sways his mind,....

1

Cullen's exposure to the Rome of 1848 left indelible memories. He regarded Charles Gavan Duffy as 'an Irish Mazzini' and 'a wicked man to act with whom, after his conduct in 1848 was impossible'. See P.J. Corish, 'Cardinal Cullen and the National Association of Ireland', reprint from Reportorium Novum (vol.III, no.1, 1962), p.115.

2

S.M.H., 2 July 1850.

3

Ibid., 14 February 1851.

4

Age, 17 September 1875.

His appointment to Armagh was part of a Roman plan to bring unity to the Irish episcopate, some members of which held differing views on central matters such as the education question, the Union, and the involvement of the clergy in political affairs. The champion of Irish liberty, Catholic education and the freedom of the clergy to agitate for political reform was the Archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale. MacHale was the first Irish prelate since the Reformation to receive his entire education in Ireland. He was a student and later a professor at Maynooth and his own temperament combined with his background to make him an Irish nationalist bishop.¹ Over against Cullen, MacHale led 'His Holiness's Opposition in the Irish Episcopal body'.² Cullen's appointment was also an attempt to bring into line with Roman canon law and usage a Church in Ireland which had tendencies towards Gallicanism, at least in its organization.³ MacHale visited Rome only twice before the Vatican Council, and remained unconvinced of the wisdom of Cullen's attempt to bring them one and all under

1

For a brief sketch of MacHale see article by M.T. Kelly, The Catholic Encyclopedia (vol.IX, New York, 1913), pp.499-501.

2

Archbishop Joseph Dixon of Armagh to Mgr Tobias Kirby, 24 March 1859 in E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.12.

3

See R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.162 and E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.13.

closer subjection to Rome.¹

In 1852 Cullen was translated to Dublin on the death of Archbishop Daniel Murray. His appointment to the key Irish see was met with considerable opposition by the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, the official Vatican body which dealt with government and civil authorities, and which was headed at the time by Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli.² Due to its nature it was more suitable for governments to deal with this Congregation than with Propaganda, which normally avoided transactions on a political level. Between 1848 and 1870, when the Roman Question with all its political implications was still a matter for bargaining amongst wider powers than Piedmont and the Papal States, it was especially important for governments to be able to deal with Ecclesiastical Affairs. It was similarly important for Ecclesiastical Affairs to have a say in matters which interested civil governments, such as the appointment of bishops. Yet in the English speaking world, the Propaganda had control over such appointments. In 1852, Father Patrick Moran noted in his

1

Packet, Dublin, February 1860 in E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.13.

2

There is no biography of Antonelli. Information on him has to be sorted out from the various works on Pio Nono - especially R. Aubert, Le pontificat. See also art. Antonelli, G. in Enciclopedia Italiana, vol.III (Milan, 1929).

Roman diary,¹

Great intriguing of the Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici against Propaganda. Dr. O'Connor (Ep. Pittsburg) who came yesterday to Tivoli, had been with Antonelli, who is secretary of the Congreg. and who told him that they intended to take America to their care. He (Dr O'C.) spoke bravely in defence of Propaganda; and intends speaking to the Pope too about it - Barnabò advised him to do so; which shows that he is not a little afraid of their succeeding. -The English government is working to have the same done in regard of England and Ireland and hence all their intrigues lie in the office of the Secretary of State, Antonelli. Derby has written most humiliating letters to the Pope.

Some time in the next few months the Propaganda met in Plenary Assembly to discuss the merits of the candidate proposed for the vacant see of Dublin. The Assembly, which consisted of the Prefect, Cardinal Fransoni, the secretary, other cardinal members of the Congregation and a few higher officials, decided to recommend Cullen to the Pope for ratification as archbishop.² Moran said,

1

S.A.A., Moran Diary Fragment, 7 September 1852. At this time Barnabò was secretary of Propaganda.

2

Papal ratification was normally a formality. What mattered was the nomination of the Propaganda. Speaking in July 1967 at Bangalore at a farewell to Archbishop Knox, Cardinal Gracias mentioned how 'by sheer accident' he participated in the Plenary Assembly of the Congregation in Rome in April 1967, which decided an appointment to Melbourne. 'At the meeting among the Cardinals present, there were two - one who knew Australia well, Cardinal Marella; [Apostolic Delegate 1948-1953] the other myself, who knew India and Your Excellency well. Intelligentibus pauca.' See Advocate, Melbourne, 20 July 1967.

In Dr. Cullen's appointment to Dublin all the Congregation of Propag. was unanimous. A speciall [sic] meeting had been called. It was opposed by govern. through Antonelli's office and the Pope was very near yielding. Barnabò going to him said that 'ginocherebbe la sua mantelletta', and that if the Pope refused to confirm it, he would leave his mantelletta on the table before him. He was with the Pope for an hour and a half, and Dr. Olliffe (of Decca) heard the disputing as he was in the ante chamber. Since then constant intriguing against Dr. Cullen,... [but] Seeing it impossible to move the Pope in regard of Dr. Cullen, after all their calumnies, they are beginning to praise him in order to insinuate themselves the more into the Papal Court. O'Brien said to S. [Shewsbury] 'I think Dr. Cullen has not been fairly treated by government, I think he is not an evil intentioned man.'¹

Cullen himself, while holding to a 'tenacious conviction that politics as such were not the direct concern of a bishop'² nonetheless was forced to deal in political matters from time to time. On the one hand he held that 'the securing of Catholic education was the most important political question of the day',³ on the other he knew that two matters close to his heart, disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland and defence of the Papal States were not capable of solution without political means. As

¹ S.A.A., Moran Diary Fragment, 7 December 1852.

² P.J. Corish, 'Cardinal Cullen', p.20.

³ Ibid., p.21.

a result he was prepared to work with English liberalism to gain advantages for Catholic Ireland, but he frequently used the expression 'nolite confidere in principibus' when speaking of politicians and to him Stanley, Russell and by extension the Queen were 'Che razza di vipere!' because they executed the Manchester Martyrs while they praised the Italian revolutionaries who invaded the Papal States.¹

Like so many of his contemporaries, perhaps the main impression he carried with him from Rome after the days of the Triumvirate was that revolution was an evil thing. It was an impression which the passing years did nothing to lessen as he watched the gradual occupation of the Papal States in Italy and saw the work of the Fenians in Ireland. He first condemned the Fenians in Ireland and secured their condemnation by Rome. He was in his turn condemned by them because in their eyes he had 'apparently no feeling about his country other than that it was a good Catholic machine, fashioned mainly to spread the faith over the world'.² But to Cullen Fenianism 'would bring ruin and desolation to our poor country, making her position worse than it is'.³

¹ Ibid., p.61 and p.50. Cullen to Kirby, 22 November 1867.

² John O'Leary, Recollection of Fenians and Fenianism, (2 vols, London, 1896), vol.II, p.36 in E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.6.

³ Cullen's Pastoral of May 1862 in P.J. Corish, 'Cardinal Cullen', p.22.

Cullen did not easily give his confidence to others, but one to whom he was more than a remote figure of authority was Patrick Francis Moran, his nephew and student under his charge in Rome and later his assistant secretary in Dublin until he himself became a bishop in 1872. Their common Roman background came out strongly in their letters. A note such as 'What of the wine - non si vide niente, non si sente niente of it' proved that Cullen had not lost his Roman tastes even in the Ireland of Father Mathew.¹ He often broke into the Italian of his Roman days in his letters to Moran.²

Felicissimo capo d'anno. Mille rispetti a Dr. Kirby e agli alunni. Do not allow Keogh to sing for a long time. He was too fanatical about music. I hope all the others are getting on well - and that poor Nolan is getting strong. If you keep him alive, sarà un miracolo. Addio.

The prelate who was interested in the Nolans and Keoghs of the Irish College when Moran was vice-rector was also concerned that his nephew should not spend his life caring for them. There were other more important things for the right man to do. 'Dr. Cantwell [Bishop of Meath] is not very strong - the acceptance of a parish now

1

The wine ordered by Cullen was evidently overdue. S.A.A. Cullen to Moran, 15 March 1861.

2

S.A.A., Cullen to Moran, 21 December 1862.

might be preparation for a vacancy in the episcopate.'¹
 In the event Moran went to Ossory in 1872, before coming out to Sydney as the first of the Irish Romans to take the place of the Black Monks whom Polding had fondly dreamt of as providers of Sydney's bishops.

That Cullen had an understanding of men was made evident in his dealings with John Henry Newman. Dr. Thomas Grant, bishop of Southwark, wrote to Cullen in 1855 regarding Newman and the Catholic University in Ireland.²

Next to the Holy See, Your Grace has always been his chief support and most constant friend....You have borne and suffered much for taking such interest in an Englishman, and yet his work is scarcely begun and he will require your countenance and help more than ever....Dr. Newman's genius cannot act unless it is guided and helped by his superior.

Newman's rectorship of the University was an unhappy one, rendered no easier by MacHale's opposition to both Newman and the University on the grounds that neither expressed the national spirit of Ireland.³ But Cullen still defended Newman twelve years later against more

1

S.A.A., Cullen to Moran, 5 July 1863. Cullen requested Moran to renew his subscription to the Armonia of Turin, a pro-papal paper. 'I wd be lonesome unless I had the paper.' Ibid.

2

S.A.A., Grant to Cullen, 9 September 1855.

3

See E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.445.

serious charges from a source which threatened to wreck the English convert.¹

The Cardinal Abp. (Dr. C.) recd. letter from Rome from Cardinal De Luca asking his opinion about Dr. Newman's Sermon on the Temporal Pr. of the Holy Father. Some passages were marked as objected to by some Inglesi in Rome, and De Luca was inquiring what was our Cardinal's opinion. Our Cardinal answered that the sermon was altogether un po' stravagante, but that there was nothing that merited the censure of Rome: especially the passages that were marked had nothing so very erroneous in them.

The ultramontane cardinal used his Roman background to defend a man whom he respected against the charges of a group which was even more ultramontane than Pio Nono himself.

While Cullen was misunderstood in Ireland by many of his contemporaries, even in the hierarchy, he was understood perfectly by those who had formed him in Rome. In 1860 the Packet described him as 'the white-headed lad at Rome',² and in 1865 the Irish People said 'one important fact is clear enough: Dr. Cullen is the

1

S.A.A., Moran Diary, 11 January 1867. Moran was now Cullen's secretary in Dublin. On the same day he noted 'Recd. letter from Australia; appointed Vicar General of Maitland by Right Rev. Dr. Murray.' The appointment was another link forged by Cullen between the Roman Australians and the Roman Irish.

2

Packet, 8 February 1860 in E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.19.

hierarchy'.¹ Through the years no important decisions on the Church in Ireland or its dependencies in America, Canada and Australia were made by Propaganda without reference to Cullen, and Rome recognized his value when he was created ^{in 1866} the first Irish cardinal since the Reformation. ~~He~~. He had brought to Ireland that 'uniformity of ecclesiastical teaching and discipline' which Rome cherished and from Ireland he spread it in the persons of those who, through his instrumentality, were made bishops in other places, notably in Australia. The Red Hat, symbol of willingness to shed one's blood for the cause of the See of Peter, was fitting reward for Paul Cullen.

When Cullen died in 1878 his death was lamented in Australia with Requiems and panegyrics. Father Le Menant preached in the presence of Dr James Murray, bishop of Maitland,

But there is another trait of his life, which were I to omit, you would find it very hard to forgive me. It is this:- Next to Almighty God, it is to his kindness and to his charity we are indebted for the progress of religion in Australia. The majority of the Australian bishops were, on his representation, appointed by the Holy See....He has also given us your beloved Bishop, Dr. Murray. Dr. Murray was the favourite friend of his Eminence....²

1

Irish People, 7 January 1865. Ibid., p.5.

2

Freeman's Journal, 16 November 1878.

The Freeman's Journal said in its editorial,¹

To his judgment America and Australia are mainly indebted for the admirable selection of their bishops, since the Holy See seldom filled up a vacancy without inviting his nomination.

It graciously admitted that Ireland owed to him her 'amelioration'.

Polding, the Father of the Australian hierarchy, lamented time and time again that he was unable to influence the choice of his own suffragan bishops. The pioneer bishop spent himself uplifting his people, especially the most needy amongst them, the prisoners and the poor. His one concern was to direct their minds to God and his pastorals, printed Lent by Lent in the Freeman's Journal, reflected his conviction that men could only come to God in humility won through hard work, docility, prayer, fasting and almsgiving. It was the very essence of the ancient spirituality which Benedict taught his monks at Monte Cassino, but in the hardy and heady atmosphere of colonial Australia it was a message which perhaps found response in a very few.

A bishop with Polding's background and temperament found it hard to move in the world of Roman ecclesiastical politics. While the Propaganda was motivated in its work

1

Ibid.

by spiritual purposes it was nonetheless prepared to use all the talents, some of them very earthy, of the worldly wise. Newman asked 'And who is Propaganda?...after all little more than a clerk.'¹ But for Polding that 'clerk' wielded enormous power and over the years the whole Roman Curia, from pope to minor officials, became a source of dread to him, so that in the end he no longer wanted to go there on his ad limina.²

In 1868 Polding wrote to Bernard Smith, an Irish Benedictine in Rome who acted as an agent for the affairs of some Australian bishops. The archbishop said,³ 'you know that not one whom I recommended to the Episcopacy was accepted for the diocese, and how all recommended by Card. Cullen were appointed. I am wearied.' Some years earlier the complaint was, 'I do not know why Abp. Cullen should interfere so much in our affairs.'⁴ But Polding no longer

1

See W. Ward, Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (London, 1913), p.560.

2

'I shrink from the thought of visiting Rome.' Polding to Gregory, 21 October 1863. See H.N. Birt, vol.II, p.279.

3

S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 1 May 1868.

4

S.A.A., Polding to a bishop, unnamed and undated. Probably written in the early sixties after Gregory's departure. The story of Polding's loss of his beloved Benedictine companion, Abbot Gregory, is told in M.M. Shanahan, Henry Gregory.

looked upon Cullen in the same light as he had done in 1842 when the Rector of the Irish College had impressed the bishop from the colonies with his 'prudence and ability' his 'amiable and conciliating character'.¹ The wounded Polding judged Cullen as partly 'the cause in re Gregory's removal',² so that to 'hear that already recommendations to mitres in Australia have reached Rome from Ireland',³ only served to alienate his affections further from Dublin and its occupant.

Polding tried to dissociate the pope from the Curia in allotting responsibility for his personal misfortunes. 'I am intimately conscious of the most reverential deference to the slightest wish of a Pontiff who so deserves to be obeyed'⁴ he wrote to Talbot, but at the same time he wrote

1

P.F. Moran, History, p.225. Moran said that Polding recommended Cullen for the archbishopric of Malta but Propaganda 'could not as yet dispose with Dr. Cullen's services in connection with the Irish Church'. Ibid., p.226.

2

S.A.A., Polding to unnamed suffragan, 17 April 1860.

3

S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 21 January 1863.

4

S.A.A., Polding to Talbot. Undated, probably 1863. Mgr. George Talbot was a papal chamberlain, said to have been 'the most influential Englishman in Rome,....' See J.L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England (London, 1962), p.75. Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians (Penguin ed., London, 1948), pp.111-12, enjoyed himself at Talbot's expense, on the grounds of the latter's eventual mental illness.

to Smith about the 'High Court of Propag.' and said 'I would not subject a schoolboy to such treatment as I myself have experienced at the hands of his Eminence. [Cardinal Barnabò].'¹

Yet Polding knew that he could not counteract the influence of Cullen, who became not only a trusted confidant of the Pope but a close friend as well, to whom in 1859 Pio Nono presented a 'magnificent cross...valued at £1,000...[containing] a very large portion of the Holy Cross.'² Polding also knew that it was futile to oppose Cullen because, as desirable as it seemed that Australia should supply its own bishops, it was apparent that the men were unavailable to fit the mitres. He wrote to Smith in 1863,

We have not a sufficient scope for choice in the comparatively small number of priests on these missions. Colonial experience is of very great importance, but not of less, certainly, is a knowledge theoretical and practical of the discipline and liturgy of the Church.³

In his Lenten pastoral of 1856, Polding wrote, 'Before all else we are Catholics; and next, by a name swallowing

¹ S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 21 December 1863.

² S.A.A., Moran Diary, 20 April 1859.

³ S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 20 February 1863.

up all distinctions of origin, we are Australians,.....'¹
 When he looked at the birthplaces of the men Cullen formed and chose to fill Australian sees, he feared that the distinctive quality he sought to foster in an Australian Church would be lost. In 1862 he wrote a letter to Goold or Geoghegan that expressed his fears and revealed the bonds that had grown up between men who had laboured together on the early Australian mission, as well as the loyalty between religious, even though of differing orders and nationalities.²

Bishops - if it be possible from amongst our own - the only means to preserve our Province from becoming a dependence on Ireland or other intervention from without.

By 1867 the worst had happened and³

...this importation of Irish bishops, as Parkes and the ministerial party term the coming of Mgr. Quinn and Murray, has been the unfortunate

1

S.A.A., Polding's Lenten Pastoral 1856. Gregory in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, 23 August 1849, declined to use Roman Catholic except when it was suitable. He said that if Catholic was used it was done 'in virtue of a right'. See 'Papers Relative to the Establishment of Episcopal Sees in Australia' in Parliamentary Documents (vol.57, London, 1850).

2

S.A.A., Polding, unnamed, but it could only have been to Goold or Geoghegan, 12 March 1862.

3

C. Duffy, 'The Origin of Anti-Catholicism in Australia', Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society (vol.I, part 2, Sydney, 1960), p.11. Letter of Polding 23 October 1867.

cause of, or pretext for, raising a 'No Popery' cry, and has been used to influence the votes for the most obnoxious Education Bill.

When Polding later called on the bishops to set aside their background and remember only that they were Australians it was Lanigan of Goulburn, rather than the products of Rome, who recorded the refusal.¹

In May 1866 Propaganda sent a long document to the Australian bishops which instructed them on the manner of nominating candidates for vacant bishoprics.² Every three years all the bishops had to send the names of three suitable candidates to the Metropolitan and to Propaganda itself. When a see fell vacant a special meeting had to be called within three months at which at least three candidates were to be discussed and voted on in secret. The President of this meeting was then to send the minutes to Propaganda after which a decision would be made. It was a system that did not work, at least to Polding's liking. By 1868 he wrote to tell Smith that 'the two Drs. Quinn and cousin Murray, and Dr. Murphy who was one with Dr. Quinn of Bathurst...all were one - all against Bps. being

¹

See H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.II, pp.351-2.

²

S.A.A., Document from Propaganda Fide, 19 May 1866.

elected from Australian clergy.¹

Even in the choice of his own coadjutor for Sydney Polding was thwarted for years until he finally managed to obtain Vaughan in 1873. He did have Samuel Augustine Sheehy appointed in 1866, but local opposition was too strong so that Sheehy was never consecrated.² Sheehy was born in Cork in 1827 and came to Australia at the age of eleven. He was ordained as a Benedictine in 1852 and died at Randwick in 1910, the last of the Benedictines in Sydney.³ Had he succeeded to Sydney, the Anglo-Benedictine tradition, in Sydney at least, would have been preserved well into the present century. But with the ill-fated Gregory, Sheehy epitomized the lost cause of the Benedictines in Australia. The 'clerk' at Propaganda was never patient with lost causes

1

S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 9 October 1868. But as early as 1862 trouble was already brewing between Polding and Quinn of Brisbane about appointments. Polding wrote to Geoghegan 'Dr. Quinn has written to me suggesting...to leave the selection of new Bishops to the authorities at Rome!' S.A.A., 20 May 1862. The 'authorities' were to be Propaganda and Cullen.

2

From Paris Roger Therry wrote to Father Patrick Bermingham in astonishment at Sheehy's appointment. He considered him totally unfitted for the office and said 'I was fully under the impression that Dr. Murray was named as successor....' S.A.A., 20 January 1867. Therry's source on Murray was probably Dublin. Polding wrote a warm letter of introduction for Therry to Cullen, 2 March 1859. P.F. Moran, History, pp.316-7.

3

See John O'Brien, On Darlinghurst Hill (Sydney, 1952).

and the strong Roman in Dublin was the source from which the new men for Australia came.

Under the pontificate of Pio Nono, 1846-1878, there were seventeen episcopal appointments to Australian Sees.¹ By nationality there were two English, three Spaniards and twelve Irish. In all eleven did their studies for the priesthood, or worked as priests in the Papal States, mostly at Rome itself. Of the twelve Irish, eight studied at Rome, one in Lisbon and the other three at Maynooth. Cullen was suspicious of the training given at Maynooth because he thought that some of its professors were tainted with Gallicanism. 'It seems that the training at Maynooth does not favour the development of ecclesiastical virtues', he once remarked.² It was not easy for a Maynooth man to become a bishop in Ireland, or elsewhere, while Cullen reigned in Dublin, and the three who did so in Australia were men Cullen was sure of on other grounds.

Charles Henry Davis was nominated as the first bishop of Maitland in 1847.³ Polding needed a coadjutor and he

¹ Basic information on the bishops of the period is drawn from P.F. Moran, History, and The Official Year Book of the Catholic Church of Australia, New Zealand and Oceania, 1966-67 (Sydney, 1966).

² P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.II, p.424.

³ For Davis see R.A. Daly, 'Davis, Charles Henry' in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol.I (Melbourne, 1966), pp.292-3 and M. Shanahan, 'Bishop Davis: 1848-1854', Manna, no.6 (Sydney, 1963).

also wanted to rival the appointment of a Church of England bishop to Newcastle in that same year.¹ He had been Davis' novice master in Downside and he rejoiced to have the youthful, eager bishop at his side in Sydney. But Davis was blighted already with the heart disease which struck him down in his fortieth year, to the great distress of Polding and the recorded loss of the community at large.² To the Benedictines his loss was a blow from which they were never to recover. Davis was the one man capable of holding together the community at St Mary's Monastery, and as first president of Lyndhurst he endowed it with the finest traditions of Benedictine scholarship.³

With the gentle spirit of Bishop Davis there also passed away an aspect of ultramontaniam which the bishops stamped by the inflexible qualities of Cullen did not share. As Davis was dying in 1854,

In one of his lucid intervals he asked for a magazine he had been reading a few days previously, and he requested the attendant to read a passage that he pointed out. It

1

In 1842 Polding pointed out to Propaganda the advantage of anticipating Anglican appointments. See Polding to Propaganda, 19 January 1842 in Acta 1842-47.

2

'In him the University of Sydney loses one of the most useful and indefatigable members of its Senate', S.M.H., 18 May 1854.

3

See M. Forster, 'Lyndhurst and Benedictine Education' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (1946) vol. XXIV nos. 1, 2, 3 (1947).

related some of the impious practices of the Carbonari in Italy. When the reader had finished the Bishop said he hoped he had only been dreaming that he had so read it himself. He then appeared most deeply grieved, and said that he could not have believed that men would let themselves sink into such an abyss of wickedness. The Bishop then remained silent for some hours.¹

The Cullenite bishops had no difficulty in believing in the 'wickedness' of the Carbonari. Their training ensured that in their estimation those who were opposed to either the temporal or spiritual power of the papacy were wicked by definition.²

Roger Bede Vaughan was appointed in 1873 as Polding's coadjutor with right of succession. Sprung from an old Catholic family he went to Rome in 1855, aged twenty one, to continue his studies there. He was well known to Pio Nono and became a valuable member of the English Benedictine Congregation, as well as a scholar with a particular interest in Thomas Aquinas. He was sent back to Rome in 1869 'to watch over the interests of the Congregation'.³ From the very beginning of his episcopate

1

H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.II, p.212.

2

Pio Nono wrote to Goold, 27 August 1860, about 'the manifold deceits of wicked men', 'full of hatred to the Catholic Church, and this same See', - see letter in P.F. Moran, History, p.756.

3

Polding to Gregory, 1 February 1869. See H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.II, p.349.

he was always conscious of Propaganda as his superior.¹ He was conscious also of his fitness for office in Sydney,²

Dr. Polding is very hearty, and has given all the administration to me, his mind is the weakest part, and it was time that some one came out to take up the management of affairs.

When he died in 1883, after a short seven years as archbishop, he was acclaimed as 'the noblest Roman of them all'.³

The first two Spanish Benedictine bishops, Joseph Serra and Rosendo Salvado, were exotic flowers in the garden of early Australian Catholicism. John Brady the first but ill-fated bishop of Perth, met the two Benedictines when he was in Rome for consecration in 1845.⁴ They had completed their studies at the Italian Cassinese Abbey of La Cava at Naples and were anxious to go to the

1

Barnabò wrote to Vaughan, 3 April 1873, granting his request to remain in England until the end of the autumn, before proceeding to Australia, 'ho il piacere di annunziarle che la Santità Sua ha benignamente annuito a tutto'. S.A.A.

2

S.A.A., Vaughan to Smith, 8 May 1874.

3

James T. Donovan, His Grace the Most Reverend Roger Bede Vaughan, D.D., O.S.B., Archbishop of Sydney, Life and Labours (Sydney, 1883), p.5.

4

Polding said that Brady was appointed 'me inconsulto' and Murphy wrote of the appointment to Geoghegan 'it will come like a thunderclap upon the ears of the Archbishop. He thought that Rome would consult him when the consecration of a Suffragan was in contemplation.' See F. Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia (Adelaide, 1896), p.83.

mission fields. Brady brought them back with him in an entourage which included an Italian Papal Count, but they had a kind of fatality towards the mitre. Serra was consecrated in 1848 and Salvado in 1849, both by the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Frasoni, thus cementing the links begun in their student days with Rome and the Papal States. The third Spanish Benedictine was Martin Griver who was a physician before becoming a priest. He came to Perth with Serra in 1849 and was consecrated in Rome during the Vatican Council by Cullen. Goold was one of the co-consecrators.¹

James Alipius Goold, the first of the Irish bishops of the period, was an Augustinian who studied at Rome and Perugia. He worked for a time in Rome before coming to Australia in 1838 at Ullathorne's request. Goold was in constant and close contact with Cullen, especially after his appointment to Melbourne in 1847.² He had an uncle, Dr Hynes, the vicar-apostolic of British Guinea who helped to co-consecrate Cullen in Rome in 1850. At Melbourne, Goold was assisted by the Franciscan, Patrick Bonaventure

1

For an account of Griver see P.F. Moran, History, pp.568-576.

2

Goold made constant reference to his association with Cullen in his Diary. The Diary, now untraceable, was printed in extenso in P.F. Moran, History, pp.729-817.

Geoghegan who studied for the priesthood in Lisbon. Geoghegan was made second bishop of Adelaide in 1859. He had himself transferred to Goulburn as its first bishop in 1864, but died that year in Ireland without taking possession of the See. Geoghegan was close to Cullen who had always maintained 'great interest' in the affairs of the diocese of Adelaide.¹ In 1862 Cullen wrote to Geoghegan, 'The gold chain is solid and beautiful. I am exceedingly obliged to Yr. Lordship for it.'²

In 1859 Polding wrote to Geoghegan,³ 'Rev. Dr. Quinn - a Priest of the Dublin Mission - strongly recommended by the Archbishop (Dr Cullen) has been appointed....' The appointment was to the newly created diocese in the territory of Moreton Bay with its seat 'in the city or town of Brisbane'.⁴ James Quinn was taken to the Irish College in 1863 by his uncle, Father John Doyle, who was in turn a

1

See F. Byrne, History, p.40. Francis Murphy, Geoghegan's predecessor in Adelaide, was friendly with Cullen due to Murphy's association with Cullen's brother in Liverpool in the 1830's.

2

S.A.A., Cullen to Geoghegan, 29 October 1862.

3

S.A.A., Polding to Geoghegan, 21 June 1859.

4

The official Roman documents erecting the sees of the period are found in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.V, 1899 and vol.VI, 1900.

cousin of the Rector, Paul Cullen.¹ The youthful Quinn had the opportunity to reflect on the purpose of his stay in Rome, for over the single doorway of the College in the Via Mazzarini, his kinsman Cullen had put up the words of St Patrick, 'Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.'² Years later Quinn still showed that he had learnt the lesson well. He wanted an Australian College in Rome and said that 'every intelligent man must see the great utility of such a connecting link between the Australian Church and Rome.'³

Quinn, who called himself O'Quinn after 1875 in honour of O'Connell, was followed to Rome by his brother Matthew Quinn and his relative James Murray who were likewise students in the Irish College under Cullen. In 1842 Patrick Moran entered the College, aged twelve; Robert Dunne came in 1845 and succeeded Quinn to Brisbane on the latter's death in 1881. Two other students of the time were Thomas William Croke who went to Auckland as bishop in 1870 and Patrick

1

See C. Roberts, 'James Quinn's Roman Background' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol. XXXVII, no.1 and no.2 (Sydney, 1960).

2

Patrick's deference for the see of Rome was known to the Herald which reported that at his first council in Ireland he proclaimed 'si quae quaestiones in hac insula oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur', S.M.H., 3 January 1851.

3

James Quinn to McEncroe, 26 May 1862. McEncroe papers in the possession of Archbishop E.M. O'Brien, Manly.

Moran who became first bishop of Dunedin in 1869. This Moran was likewise a relative of Cullen. Surrounded by this group of young men, many related to him 'da stretta parentela'¹ the future archbishop of Dublin formed the bishops whom he later sent to rule the Church in the south.

Rome - that is, Rome under the Popes, before the revolutionary rabble had polluted and contaminated it - breathed into the young student the very spirit of faith and piety.... Above all, Rome then, as always, could boast of the most brilliant professors and masters in the world, many of whom have since become [sic] famous in history, theology, science and literature.²

Back in Dublin in 1847, James Quinn worked as head of the University School where he was closely associated with Newman. Cullen was ill and was thus unable to consecrate him personally in 1859, so Cullen's friend and successor in Armagh, Joseph Dixon, performed the ceremony. Goold brought the Brief of appointment to Brisbane from Rome and Quinn then returned to Rome where he read a public address before Pio Nono,

... condemning in the strongest terms the vile attempts of the secret societies throughout Italy, allied with the statesmen of England, to sow discontent and to stir up the embers

1

Polding to Propaganda in 1866 regarding the composition of the Australian hierarchy and their relationship with Quinn. S.A.A.

2

P.F. Moran, History, p.599.

of revolution throughout the Papal States.¹

In 1865 Cullen was able to provide two more bishops for Australia when he consecrated his secretary, James Murray, and Matthew Quinn as bishops of Maitland and Bathurst respectively.² Matthew Quinn had succeeded James Quinn as head of the University School, St Lawrence O'Toole's where he spent a good deal of his time trying to solve the Roman Question that so much agitated former Roman students in the period. James Murray retained to the end his predilection for Rome and its ways. 'I would be very glad that all my students went to Rome....' he wrote in 1867³ and the year before, on arrival in Australia, he wrote to Moran, 'Eccoci arrivati a terra firma, thanks be to God, after a voyage of 92 days.'⁴

The consecration of Murray and Quinn provided Cullen with the opportunity to arrange for the transfer of another bishop to Australia in the person of Daniel Murphy, who had acted as co-consecrator at the ceremony. Murphy was ordained

1

Ibid., p.608.

2

For Murray see R.A. Daly, 'Bishop Murray Settles into Maitland: 1867' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.XXXVII, no.3, 1960.

3

Ibid., p.194.

4

Murray to Moran, 23 October 1866 in Catholic Weekly, 6 October 1966.

from Maynooth in 1838 and consecrated vicar apostolic of Hyderabad in 1846, where he had worked since ordination. He then spent several months as Cullen's guest in Rome, and when he left for Hyderabad he took Matthew Quinn with him as one of his missionaries.¹ Meanwhile Robert Willson in Hobart was looking for a coadjutor. Though an Englishman, he recognized that 'it would be an act of folly to appoint other than Irish bishops for priests and people who were Irish'.² In 1861, Dean Butler of Launceston was appointed coadjutor at Willson's request, but Butler refused the nomination. The following year Willson was confused at events and wrote to Geoghegan 'The report of Dean Haynes being my coadjutor is news to me....'³ By 1863 Willson feared the appointment of 'a learned man who has taken degrees and is covered with medals.... Oh! that those who have the direction of affairs in Rome knew the position of this far off mission - I mean, of course, Australia.'⁴

1

Matthew Quinn remained with Murphy in Hyderabad until 1853 when ill health forced him to return to Dublin. See P.F. Moran, History, p.375.

2

Willson in 'Bishop Willson' by John H. Cullen. Australasian Catholic Record, vol.XXXI, no.1 (Sydney, 1954) p.16.

3

S.A.A., Willson to Geoghegan, 22 March 1862.

4

Willson to Polding, 31 December 1863 in H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.284.

In Dublin there was only limited interest in degrees and medals, but there was considerable clarity of purpose. Cullen, unlike Polding, Ullathorne and Willson, always made sure of his man before the appointment was announced. Murphy accepted the appointment and was installed in Hobart by early 1866. He lived to be its first archbishop and died in 1907 after an episcopate of sixty-one years - surely the last bishop of old Gregory XVI's making.

Laurence Bonaventure Sheil was a Franciscan who studied in Rome and taught theology and philosophy at the Franciscan Convent of St Isidore there after his ordination in 1839. He knew Cullen in Rome and again in Ireland before he left for Victoria in 1853. Goold consecrated Sheil for Adelaide in 1866. Sheil's appointment pleased the Romans in his diocese. Archdeacon Patrick Russell wrote to Moran,¹ 'We have now our Bishop and thanks to God we have a good Bishop: he is doing all he can for this neglected Diocese.' Russell, who was a contemporary of Moran at the Propaganda, mentioned the arrival also of one of the most colourful characters of the priesthood of the time, Henry Backhaus. 'We have had an increase to our numbers in the person of Dr. Backhouse [sic], he was in college with his Eminence [Cullen]....²

¹ S.A.A., Russell to Moran, 29 January 1867.

² Ibid. Backhaus was born in Paderborn, studied at the Propaganda, and worked later in India. He made a huge fortune buying land in Bendigo. He left the revenue to the diocese.

Goulburn remained vacant for a space of two years after the death of Geoghegan in 1864. Polding was anxious to have some say in the appointment of a new bishop there, and likewise to Armidale, which had been declared a see in 1864. He was keen to avoid a repetition of the situation in Maitland and Bathurst, where he found himself in the position of submitting names for sees that had already been filled from Dublin,¹ so he wrote to Rome in 1866. He wanted to add 'to the names of Priests from Ireland presented to Your Most Reverend Eminence by the Bishop of Brisbane and the Archbishop of Dublin' the names of some English priests and others who had 'served with merit on the mission in Australia'.²

Polding still hoped he could manage a mitre for Gregory, his beloved Abbot. Years earlier Murphy of Adelaide said to Willson 'Dr. Gregory will bring the Abps. grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.'³ But Rome was not

1

'You may mention to the Cardinal that in a few days time he will receive via England the nominal recommendations for the Sees filled up.' S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 21 December 1863.

2

S.A.A., Polding to Cardinal Prefect, 12 May 1866. Copy in Italian. At this Propaganda accepted letters in French and Italian, but not in English. In 1868 it told the bishops to use Latin alone, as more befitting 'fratres communi patriae romanae'. S.A.A. Document, Propaganda to Bishops, 29 September 1868.

3

S.A.A., Willson to Geoghegan, 13 July 1859.

moved by Polding's plea and William Lanigan was appointed to Goulburn in 1866. Lanigan was a Cashel priest. 'The strong recommendation of the Most Rev. Abp. of Cashel... had very great weight'¹ wrote Polding when he congratulated Lanigan. Patrick Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel 'was entirely Cullen's man'.² Lanigan moved quickly to have himself consecrated before Polding returned from overseas. In June 1867 he was consecrated in Goulburn by the original Cullen trio, the two Quinns and Murray.

Another of the students at the Irish College in the Cullen era was Timothy O'Mahony who was ordained in Rome in 1850. He worked in Cork and was Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith there. He was appointed as first bishop of Armidale in 1869. Although he appears to have been the most appealing of the new bishops he had to resign his See in 1878 after accusations against his character were listened to in Rome. Vaughan was convinced that the accusations were well founded and that O'Mahony's

1

S.A.A., Polding to Lanigan, 31 January. No year but certainly 1867.

2

E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.13. Though not a Roman, Leahy was 'anxious to put in evidence the attachment of the Irish scattered over the whole earth to Papal prerogatives'. From Emilio Campara, 'Il Concilio Vaticano' (Lugano, 1926), vol.I, p.771, in E.R. Norman. Op. cit., p.13.

retention in Armidale would have caused grave scandal.¹ This failure of one of the Cullenite Romans rankled for years so that when Moran wrote his history he was clearly influenced by the views of the Quinns and Murray. He whitewashed O'Mahony and implicated Vaughan in the resignation by linking him with O'Mahony's accuser, a priest who 'died most miserably'.²

In 1873 Christopher Augustine Reynolds was consecrated as the fourth bishop of Adelaide. A Dubliner, he did part of his studies for the priesthood in Subiaco, Italy.³ He came to Australia with Serra in 1853 and was ordained in Adelaide by Geoghegan. Matthew Quinn was keen that a Dublin priest, Michael O'Connor, be appointed to Adelaide after Sheil's death. He judged O'Connor fit for the position 'as reference to the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin will show'.⁴ In the event Reynolds took Adelaide and in 1887 became its first archbishop while O'Connor was appointed first bishop of Ballarat in 1874. O'Connor was

1

S.A.A., Vaughan to Smith, n.d. 1877. He wrote again, 3 August 1877 relating how Quinn and Murray wanted O'Mahony re-instated.

2

See P.F. Moran, History, p.400.

3

See 'Notes on Archbishop Reynolds' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.XXXIII, no.I (Sydney, 1956), p.70.

4

S.A.A., Quinn to Polding, 26 December 1872.

one of Cullen's senior parish priests in Dublin, but he went to Rome for consecration by Alexander Franchi, the Cardinal Prefect.

Goold seems to have made a mistake with the priest chosen as first bishop of Sandhurst. Dr Fortune, President of All Hallows College, refused the nomination on 11 May 1874. Goold was in Rome at the time and by 23 May 'Cardinal Bilio informed me of the nomination of Canon Maguire for the See of Sandhurst'.¹ Goold returned to Ireland and managed to persuade Maguire to accept the nomination. But on Goold's leaving Ireland to return to Australia Maguire changed his mind and withdrew. Cullen quickly had another candidate who accepted the nomination. He was Martin Crane who did his studies in Italy, became superior of the Augustinian house in Rome and, later, superior in Ireland, and well known to Cullen. He was consecrated in Dublin by Cullen with Patrick Francis Moran as a co-consecrator.²

The lists of bishops of the period 1846-1877 can be concluded with the name of one who, although he enjoyed episcopal jurisdiction as Vicar-Apostolic of Cooktown from

1

Goold's diary entry, 11 May, 23 May 1874 in P.F. Moran, History, p.815.

2

See P.F. Moran, History, pp.845-7.

1877, was not consecrated bishop until 1882.¹ By birth and education John Cani was the most Roman of all his fellows. He was born in the Papal States, studied at the Seminario Romano, and came to Queensland with Quinn in 1861. Cani was a theologian at the Plenary Council in Melbourne in 1869 where he 'gave proof of his profound knowledge of Canon Law and other branches of Sacred Science'.² In his appointment Polding was at least consulted. Franchi wrote to him in 1876 to ask for suggested names, but he gave Polding little latitude because he made it clear that an Italian was needed in the north.³ Even so Polding did not live to see Cani consecrated.

When Cullen returned to Ireland as an archbishop he prayed,⁴

May this noble spirit of attachment and obedience to the Holy See, which has distinguished the Irish Church since the days of our apostle St. Patrick, continue to animate and guide her until the end of time.

As in Rome, so in Ireland, and in those churches which

1

See E.M. O'Brien, 'The Catholic Church in Queensland' in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.VII, no.3 (Sydney, 1930).

2

P.F. Moran, History, p.649.

3

S.A.A., Franchi to Polding, 29 April 1876.

4

From Cullen's Pastoral of 29 June 1851 in Freeman's Journal, 23 October 1851.

were daughters, 'born in pain, of the Irish Church'¹ it was always Cullen's purpose to shape all in the Roman mould, whether men or institutions. In the minds of many he succeeded. The Daily Telegraph said that in Ireland 'Dr. Cullen made Ultramontaniam a new power.'² It went on,

There was a time when the priest in Ireland was more Irish than Roman, and, sprung directly from the peasantry, knew or cared little about the world wide interests of the Papal Court. But Dr. Cullen...changed all that; and the Irish Roman Catholic clergy are now, with few exceptions Ultramontane, and are bound tightly to the feet of Rome.

In the end result, in Australia, it is certain that men formed by Cullen assumed the guidance of the Catholic Church here. Most of them were Irish by background, but just as it was said of Cullen that he was Irish only in name, so in the same sense could it be said of the majority of the bishops he sent to Australia - before all else they were Romans.

By the late 1860's the Roman Irish surrounded the patriarch of the Australian Church, Polding, 'whose great mistake and only mistake was his predilection for the Benedictines'.³ If indeed it was a mistake it was one

¹ Archbishop Carr in a lecture to the students at Maynooth, 15 December 1898 in Australasian Catholic Record, vol.V, no.2 (1899), p.218.

² Quoted from Empire, 13 March 1865.

³ Murray to Moran, 19 February 1867 in R.A. Daly 'Bishop Murray', pp.192-3.

which stemmed from motives of loyalty and love for the ancient monastic institution in which he was nurtured. The great sorrow of his life was to see his dream church fade as the years went on, so that by the time he lay dying in Darlinghurst presbytery in 1877, he knew that the cause of the Black Monks was lost in Sydney. 'The secular clergy accepted the magnificent heritage that the monks had built up by fifty years of labour.'¹ Not the least part of that heritage was the spirit of poverty which Polding tried through forty two years to instil into the minds of his clergy and his people.²

If Polding was the father of the Australian hierarchy then Cullen must be seen as its moulder. But beyond Cullen stood Rome itself, Rome of the Republic and the long struggle of the fifties and the sixties. During those years the Papal claim to sovereignty in the temporal sphere was whittled away until nothing remained, and Rome, the centre of that struggle, was never far from the minds of those men who were formed within her walls. Over the figure of Cullen there always stood the figure of Pio Nono, who summed up in his own person the universal existence of the

1

Dom. P. Schmitz, Histoire, vol.IV, p.217.

2

See, for example, Polding's letter to a young priest, 13 February 1861, 'be poor in spirit like the first Christians' in P.F. Moran, History, pp.317-9.

Catholic Church in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is to Rome and to Pio Nono that attention must be turned in order to understand the major influences which moulded the Australian Church in this period.

CHAPTER 2

A NEW POPE FOR A NEW CHURCH

In 1841, while Polding was absent in Europe on the business of the new hierarchy, a report reached Sydney in a letter from 'a respectable gentleman in the Mauritius' that Gregory XVI was dead.¹ Polding was again abroad in 1846 when the old Camaldolese monk, turned pope, actually died on 1 June of that year. The news was treated with caution in Sydney where official word was awaited from the archbishop. On 29 June Polding wrote a pastoral letter from London which was full of praise for Gregory, like himself a son of St Benedict.² He asked whether Gregory's 'zeal, his piety, his humility, his wisdom, his patience, could ever pass into oblivion?' Polding remembered all that Gregory had done for Australia, especially the granting of a hierarchy in 1842, and wrote, 'No country has more reason to be grateful to the memory of Gregory XVI than Australia.'

Polding had good reason to lament the death of Gregory who had shared his vision of 'the institute that

¹ Australasian Chronicle, 23 September 1841.

² Sydney Chronicle, 19 December 1846.

civilized and christianized the North of Europe' repeating the work, a thousand years later, in the Southern Hemisphere.¹ Thus Gregory spoke to Serra and Salvado before they left Rome with Brady in 1845,²

Forget not that you are children of that great Patriarch our blessed father Benedict, be mindful of the example set you by those apostolic men, our brethren,...and remember that you are entering on a work like to theirs.

But if to Polding, and to a chosen few who had met him, the person of Gregory XVI meant something real, to Australian Catholics generally his was a remote and unreal figure.³ The authority of the pope was recognized as 'more extensive than ever'⁴ he was alleged to have spiritual power everywhere,⁵ but 'any rescript of his interfering with our temporal, political or civil rights,

1

S.A.A., address by Polding to the novices at the Benedictine Convent, Princethorpe. n.d.

2

P.F. Moran, History, p.563.

3

The Australasian Chronicle, 1839-43, Morning Chronicle, 1843-46 and Sydney Chronicle, 1846-48 made no reference to Gregory XVI as a person. Even on the reception of the false news of his death in 1841 the Australasian Chronicle only spoke of him as 'the most learned and talented [pope] of modern times', 23 September 1841.

4

Australasian Chronicle, 22 October 1839.

5

Ibid., 6 January 1842.

we regard as waste paper'.¹ It was, therefore, with little more than polite interest that Catholics here awaited the outcome of the papal election after Gregory's death.² No one imagined that a change in the person of the pope would alter the position and authority of the pope in the Church itself. It was a position which had scarcely changed since the defeat of the Conciliar Movement of the fifteenth century, and by 1846 post-Tridentine traditions were already three hundred years old.

After a conclave which lasted only two days, Giovanni-Maria Mastai-Ferretti was elected on 17 June 1846. The candidate himself, many of the cardinals, and the Court of Vienna, which sent a veto that arrived too late, were all surprised. Mastai-Ferretti was born at Sinigaglia in 1792. At Imola, near Bologna, where he was bishop he was popular, but elsewhere he was little known. The Romans, whom he blessed as Pius IX, received him with initial coolness, while awaiting an indication of his policies as their pontiff and king. The new pope took the name of Pius in memory of Pius VII, 1800-1823, who had also been bishop of Imola, patron of the young Mastai-Ferretti, and the

¹ Morning Chronicle, 11 June 1845.

² S.M.H., 21 October 1846 ran an article on 'How the Pope is Elected.'

prisoner of Napoleon.¹

Polding went to Rome from England and soon wrote home a description of the new pope. He was delighted at the pope's appearance because Pio Nono was not only the most English looking Italian he had ever met, but he also looked like 'a well bred English gentleman'.² The Romans, in their own way, confirmed Polding's judgement when they said 'What a fine stamp of a man he is' and exclaimed 'How handsome you are!'³ Later the Herald gave the view of an English traveller,⁴ 'Strip him of his robes of state - he would pass all the world over for a sagacious, clear headed, English country gentleman.' The archbishop had an audience with the pope and was impressed by his 'great acuteness of judgment accompanied by the most remarkable firmness and decision of character....'⁵ At the same time he was unable to resist a comparison with Gregory. Pio

1

The two works which I have used extensively on Pio Nono are E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono (London, 1954) and R. Aubert, Le pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878) (Paris, 1952). The latter is more detached and critical and is a work of great scholarship.

2

Sydney Chronicle, 4 August 1847.

3

Ibid. 26 December 1846. 'che bel pezzo d'uomo'.
'Quanto siete bello!'

4

S.M.H., 12 January 1849.

5

Sydney Chronicle, 14 July 1847.

Nono lacked 'that peculiar fatherliness of manner which so especially distinguished his predecessor'.¹ The pope was just two years older than the archbishop, and both of them were bishops before they reached the age of forty.

The first communication of the new pope with the new Church in Australia, where the hierarchy had only been established four years, was a letter to Polding dated 16 September 1846.² Pio Nono signed it 'apud S. Mariam Majorem', unaware that he was to be the last pope to use that address in his communications with the Catholic world. He was not unaware however that his election had taken place in 'very difficult times' so that, after thanking Polding for his congratulations, he requested prayers in order that he might have the strength to face the times. When Polding wrote home he ordered a Te Deum sung in St Mary's for the new pope. He prayed, and asked his people to pray that 'peace [may] be his portion, and the comfort of filial obedience his inheritance'.³

In 1846 the census taken of the colony of New South Wales showed that Roman Catholics were slightly less than

¹ Ibid., 4 August 1847.

² S.A.A., Pio Nono to Polding, 16 September 1846. The four bishops at Pio Nono's accession to the papacy were Polding, Willson, Murphy and Brady.

³ Sydney Chronicle, 23 December 1846

a third of the total population.¹ A quarter of the total population was born in Ireland, but before the Commonwealth census of 1911, it was not possible to give an accurate estimate of how many Irish born were Catholics. A figure of 70 per cent of Irish born Australians professing Catholicism is as close as can be reasonably asserted.² Thus the majority of the 56,000 Catholics in New South Wales were Irish born and most of the native Catholics were of Irish stock. The phenomenon of a pope who was initially a radical departure from the norm must be placed in the context of an Irish daughter Church in Australia in order to understand his influence.³

In places where national interests never, or rarely, conflicted with the political or religious interests of the Holy See, loyalty to the authority of Rome tended to be strong during the pontificates preceding that of Pío Nono. But in countries such as France and Austria,

1

See S.M.H., 21, 23, 28, 30 December 1846 for census figures and editorial comment. There were 56,000 Catholics in the colony while 48,000 out of a total population of 187,000 were Irish-born. A third of the total population was native born.

2

See T.L. Suttor, 'The Catholic Church', p.753.

3

For a discussion of American studies relevant to Irish Catholics of the nineteenth century see 'The Myth of the Irish: A Failure of American Catholic Scholarship' in Herder Correspondence, vol.3, no.11 (Freiburg, 1966).

Gallicanism and Josephism had deep roots in the national soil; in the latter case its origins can be seen as far back as the Investiture Conflict in the days of Hildebrand. Ireland preserved through the centuries since the days of Patrick an unbroken hierarchy, conscious of its own responsibilities and united with its priests and people. But prior to the coming of Cullen it was never a hierarchy subservient to Rome, and John MacHale of Tuam upheld its ancient traditions. The faith of the people reflected that of the hierarchy in that there was loyalty to Peter's Chair and veneration of the office, but the pope as such was remote as a person and his teaching authority was so rarely exercised in a tangible manner that its consequences were imperceptible.¹

Australian Catholics were soon given an opportunity to glimpse the convictions of their new pope. The Sydney Chronicle printed in full the text of his first encyclical Qui pluribus, dated 9 November 1846.² He clarified his

1

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that papal encyclicals began to be issued with any regularity. The Church in Ireland, or the Irish people, did not form the matter of an encyclical before Pío Nono. He also addressed the first encyclical to the Irish episcopate, Optime noscitis, granting a licence for a Catholic University in 1854. See A. Fremantle, ed., The Papal Encyclicals, pp.295-302.

2

Sydney Chronicle, 16 June 1847.

concept of the power of the Holy See by proclaiming that it was its function 'to settle away all controversies on matters of faith and morals with an infallible decision'. They were words which, in their sense at least, were to germinate in his thinking before they were brought to fruition in the definition of Papal Infallibility twenty four years later. He prepared for the full swing of the pendulum from conciliarism to papal absolutism in respect of the bishops when he called the See of Rome,

the centre of Catholic unity, the head of the Episcopacy, whence also, the Episcopacy itself, and the entire authority of that name and function has its source and origin.

Finally he referred to the secret societies 'which come forth from their darkness and obscurity to destroy and lay waste the commonwealth both of Church and State'. Two things in particular he condemned - 'the most crafty Bible Societies' and the 'most abominable doctrine of Communism'. It was the first papal statement on the latter subject.

The Catholics in Australia, were scarcely concerned with secret societies and Communism in 1846, and had little occasion to speculate on possible extensions of papal authority, ^{so} it was the figure of Pio Nono as a temporal ruler that caught their imagination. Pio Nono succeeded Gregory not only as pope, but also as monarch of the Papal States, and even in the days of Gregory, Catholics

here were reminded of the implications of the Papal monarchy when the Morning Chronicle printed a long letter from J. Miley on the insurrection at Rimini.¹

It appears that the whole affair was planned in London, whence the revolutionists received money for bribing the soldiery... [the Carbonari] want the political union under one central Government of the entire [sic] of Italy from end to end... [and what] that so-talked of liberty would be with which the Carbonari would bless it, we may readily guess from the liberal theories of their confreres, the regenerators of Switzerland.... As to governments who have under them vast masses of devoted Catholics, the very and most unwise plan they can take for securing the allegiance and tranquility [sic] of the latter, is to patronize disaffection in the Pope's States or send money to bribe his soldiery.

Nonetheless it was apparent that all was not well in the Papal States under the rule of Gregory.² The new pope took over 'a state which could not have been worse governed: finances in disorder, justice decried; police odious; crying abuses; general discontent and irritation which threatened each moment "to break out into revolt"'.³ During the conclave which elected Pio Nono the Tablet published an article favourable to Italian unity, because

1

Morning Chronicle, 25 February 1846.

2

See articles in Morning Chronicle, 13 March, 1 May, 21 August 1844 and Sydney Chronicle, 19 September 1846.

3

Pellegrino Rossi to Guizot in 1847, in G.F.H. Berkeley, Italy in the Making, 1815-46 (London, 1935), p.130.

it saw the seeds of open revolt in the Papal States, where ecclesiastics were inept in civil affairs. The Tablet hoped that the new pope would be firmly based on the love and loyalty of his people, rather than on Austrian bayonets or French fleets. It advised him to win that loyalty 'by a liberal, manly, generous, and enlightened policy suited to the altered circumstances of the time'.¹

As if in answer to the Tablet's advice, Pio Nono astonished the civilized world by beginning his reign with an amnesty to political prisoners.² In 1848 he granted a Civic Guard and an elected assembly, and, gradually, a much wider degree of lay participation was allowed in his government, which had hitherto been strictly clerical. Throughout the peninsula he was quickly hailed as 'il papa liberale' and even in England the Master of Balliol granted

1

Tablet, 20 June 1846 in Sydney Chronicle, 2 December 1846. The Tablet was founded in London in 1840 by Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism. Lucas removed it to Dublin in 1850.

2

Polding was quick to dispel any hasty comparisons with Gregory. From Rome he wrote, 'it is most remarkable that the project of amnesty, the publication of which has elicited such just and general satisfaction, was found in the handwriting of the late Pope'. Sydney Chronicle, 4 August 1847. I have not found any confirmation of this statement.

him the signal qualities of 'a capital fellow'.¹ On the surface at least it appeared as if the liberal pope would lead his states into a new era of political freedom and increased social enlightenment. Polding, who stayed on in Rome, 'owing to the pressure of business'² wrote to say that Pio Nono remained 'the object of universal admiration'.³

It is scarcely surprising that in Australia some observers of the Roman scene became uneasy about the alleged liberalism of Pio Nono. Just two months after printing Qui pluribus the Herald asked,⁴ 'Is there any change in Popery?' and replied 'There is no change in Popery; except indeed it be a change for the worse.' It added that the pope's 'liberality is confined to political and fiscal matters, and has not the least bearing on the questions which render Rome and England national enemies'. A week later 'A Colonist' under the banner 'Popery Unchangeable' partly proved his point by stating that Pio Nono was educated by the Jesuits and continued to show favour to

1

E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.17. F.A. Simpson in Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France (3rd ed., London, 1951) p.57, said Pio Nono gave his people 'in two years...as large a measure of constitutional progress as... [the English] had themselves won arduously in two centuries'.

2

Sydney Chronicle, 14 July 1847.

3

Ibid., 4 September 1847.

4

S.M.H., 3 August 1847.

them. Furthermore his lack of enlightenment was proved by his first 'Encyclic' [sic].¹ The Sydney Chronicle was quick to reply to 'Colonist'. The pope was one who would not be turned 'from the good work he has commenced either by the frowns of power or the flattery of would-be liberals'.²

The work which Pio Nono had wittingly or otherwise commenced was one that had as its logical extension the unification of Italy. This work involved a number of factors that Pio Nono was unprepared to meet. Although he meant what he said when he told the envoys of Milan, Venice and Sicily in 1848 'I am more Italian than you are, but you will not make the distinction in me between the Italian and the Pontiff',³ he failed to realize that to most Italians the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal was less clear than it was to those trained in the now ancient concepts of the medieval canon lawyers. Many Italians saw Pio Nono's election as the historical moment in which the

1

Ibid., 10 August 1847. Pio Nono was not educated by the Jesuits but by the Vincentians. In March 1848 he requested the Jesuits to leave the Papal States on the grounds that he could not guarantee their security. See Sydney Chronicle, 18 August 1847 and R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.26.

2

Sydney Chronicle, 14 August 1847. An editorial on 18 August called Pio Nono an 'angel of charity' and 'the holy man'.

3

See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.78.

nation of Italy would be given birth.¹ But in order to unify Italy a leader was necessary who accepted a political creed that combined nationalism and liberalism, and who was prepared to use military means to realize the centuries old longing of Italians, summed up in the expression 'Out with the barbarians.'

As early as 1847 Pio Nono was uneasy about some of the happenings in Rome. He forbade public assemblages that had been convened 'under the pretext of a scarcity of corn' and, as a result, was received with silence when he visited churches.² The Daily Mail reported that a certain wine cart driver, Ciceruacchio, who was 'a fellow very capable of mischief' and 'a sort of Wat Tyler' was the man responsible for 'symptoms of unmanageable wilfulness' on the part of the mob.³ Pio Nono's reaction to his Roman subjects did not cause the Herald to change its mind on him 'as a reformer of abuses',⁴ but it was surprised at him

¹ W.K. Hancock, Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany (London, 1926), p.77 holds that most Tuscan liberals were suspicious of the papacy as a source of salvation.

² Sydney Chronicle, 2 November 1847.

³ Reprinted in Sydney Chronicle, 2 November 1847.

⁴ S.M.H., 4 June 1847. The Herald reported that the Times thought the Animals Friend Society in London went too far when it asked Pio Nono to give his patronage to 'une société par protéger les bêtes'. Ibid.

'for establishing a heavy tax on newspapers and a stringent censorship'.¹

The reforming action of the new pope in one field in particular caused the Herald much satisfaction. In April 1847 it wrote up the unhappy plight of the Jews at Rome, whose existence was 'proverbially wretched'.² In January 1848 it was able to report that Pio Nono had permitted the installation of a new Chief Rabbi in Rome, after a lapse of twelve years during which no appointment was allowed. The ceremony of installation was concluded by a prayer said by the Chief Rabbi for Pio Nono. It conveyed an impression of the attitude to the new pope on the part of one section of his subjects in the Papal States:³

Thou art the Lord of Hosts, O God! Thine is the rod of strength. Thou liftest up the doer of good things, and givest us a king like unto thee. Now, who doth not see that the light has come, and freedom to those that were in bond? In Rome, the mistress of the Gentiles, the Lord is praised in the public place; His praise is in her gates. Not in the lance or in the shield is the hope of Israel; but in the will of Adonai. Israel was a bird without place for its foot: a branch is found for its rest. O, hills of Italy, rejoice! Piety and justice have kissed each

1 Ibid., 26 July 1847, extracted from the Universe.

2 Ibid., 16 April 1847.

3 Ibid., 27 January 1848. By 16 September 1848 the Herald was pleased to relate that the Roman ghetto was abolished and 'Jews can now hold domicile where they like'.

other. And the sons of Israel shall fight in thy battles, and keep sentinel on thy walls. Let it be told in the islands afar off. Let the works of the just king be known. He hath unlocked the dungeon door; his hand is outstretched to a lowly people. He hath held up an even balance. May his land have gold and corn! For reason is thy gift, O Lord! and error thou alone canst dispel.

Yet the good will to Pio Nono was not everywhere apparent for in the House of Commons the members were called upon to resist at every step in England 'the ascendancy of the Pope of Rome - ~~be~~ he enlightened as Pius IX, or bigoted as the gloomiest of his predecessors'.¹

In 1847 it seemed for a moment that Pio Nono was prepared to encourage military action when he stood up to Metternich, who had allowed Austrian troops to occupy Ferrara in the Romagna. His action was widely acclaimed throughout Italy, and even Garibaldi wrote from Montevideo offering the Italian legion 'to further the work of redemption of Pius IX'.² Military action was not, however, necessary because the Austrians withdrew when diplomatic pressure was brought to bear, after the pope made a general appeal to Europe. But the Herald, following the example of

¹ Ibid., 14 July 1847.

² See C. Hibbert, Garibaldi and His Enemies (London, 1966), p.27. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution Europe 1789-1848 (London, 1962), p.119 underestimated support for Pio Nono in 1847.

the Launceston Examiner of 2 February 1848, put the evacuation of Ferrara down to 'the fear inspired by the threat of those spiritual terrors which the church had in reserve'.¹ Thus, in spite of the placards on Roman cafes proclaiming 'Inghilterra appoggia la politica de [sic] Pio IX',² it was apparent that a change in attitudes to the liberal pope was taking place.

This first hint of trouble in the Papal States caused a reaction in Australia amongst Catholics. At Hobart, in March, a meeting was held at which a collection was taken up to forward to the pope. Those present sympathized with 'His Holiness Pope Pius IX in the present unhappy state of affairs in the Papal dominions, caused by the sacrilegious aggression of the Austrian government'.³ It was the first time in Australia that the word sacrilege was applied to aggression against the Papal States. Its very use implied that a special quality of a sacred nature was inherent in the temporal dominions of the papacy, and made those guilty of a distinctive form of wickedness who promoted or perpetrated violence against the States.

Polding returned from abroad in February 1848 to find a

¹ S.M.H., 8 February 1848.

² Ibid., 30 December 1847.

³ Sydney Chronicle, 20 April 1848.

storm about his ears.¹ He wrote to Murray of Dublin when the furore had somewhat abated:²

Your Grace will rejoice with me in the conversion of two ministers of the Anglican sect, Messrs. Sconce and Makinson, one of Oxford the other of Cambridge. They were considered before this step the most learned, pious and zealous in their body. Of course, afterwards, language could scarcely provide terms of vituperation to those whom they had left, to express contempt.

The conversion of the two ministers aroused again the issue of authority within the Church. The disputes which Broughton and Polding in Sydney, and Nixon and Willson in Hobart, had conducted on the level of rights to titles and episcopal insignia, were in fact arguments about the validity of papal authority. But with the Sconce and Makinson affair, Pio Nono was personally brought into the arena of local controversy. According to the Sydney Chronicle it was a case of deciding between 'Pope William Grant Broughton' or 'Pope Pius IX'.³ On the other side it was a question of the very victory of the Reformation, and the names of Pusey and Newman, the Oxford Movement and the

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He spoke of the probable speedy return of England to the old Church and the reception into the Church by Pio Nono of an English girl. See Sydney Chronicle, 15 February 1848.

2

Polding to Murray, 10 July 1848, in P.F. Moran, History, p.312.

3

Sydney Chronicle, 17 February 1848.

whole High Church party were held by many in dread:

I need hardly remind you of the rivers of blood which were shed for the achievement of the great Protestant Reformation, which enfranchised the human mind from bigotry, ignorance and superstition; nor that the scope and tendency of the Tractarian movement is to restore the blackness of darkness and thalldrom from which we have been emancipated.¹

Wounded, and perhaps bewildered, by the loss of their pastors 'A Layman' wrote to the Herald about 'The Two Perverted Clergy' who were 'wolves in sheeps clothing' and who would soon be 'heartily sorry for their union with the 'Holy See' and the 'See of Peter',² and 'A Layman of the Anglican Church' wrote of their 'apostacy to the corrupt and idolatrous Church of Rome',³ while another writer said of Sconce 'I think his secession far more matter of congratulations than condolence for he is now an open enemy'.⁴ 'Cornucopia' tried to smooth the troubled waters with erudition. He wrote to the Sydney Chronicle to give the

1

A lay speaker, Marshall Macdermott, spoke these words at a meeting in Adelaide in 1851. They summarized much of the feeling of 1848. See An Account of the Proceedings of the Laity and Clergy of the Church of England in South Australia (Adelaide, 1851), p.31.

2

S.M.H., 25 February 1848.

3

Ibid., 26 February 1848.

4

Ibid., 23 February 1848.

Latin, Greek and Syriac versions of the Petrine text, and concluded 'but Catholics do not want to quibble about words'.¹ Charles Lowe was more restrained than some of his brethren, but he was nonetheless emphatic when he told a meeting of the members of St Andrew's Anglican Congregation that,²

They were present...emphatically to deny that the Bishop of Rome ever had, or could have, lawful jurisdiction over that city or diocese,[and to record] 'Their hearty disavowal of the corruptions of Romish doctrine, and the pretensions of Papal supremacy.

In this atmosphere of hostility, in which conflicts within the Anglican, and in some Protestant Churches, tended to exacerbate their feelings towards the Catholic Church,³ the pope who stood 'alone against fearful odds'⁴ had to help mould an Australian Catholic Church which itself was rent at times by conflict, and was always pressed

1

Sydney Chronicle, 13 April 1848. 'W.T. Sen' refuted 'Cornucopia' in a full page letter to S.M.H., 21 April 1848.

2

S.M.H., 28 February 1848. For Sconce and Makinson see R.A. Daly, 'Sconce, Robert Knox', in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol.II (Melbourne, 1967), pp.424-6 and R.A. Daly, 'Makinson, Thomas Cooper', *ibid.*, pp.198-9.

3

See K.J. Cable, 'Broughton, William Grant', in Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol.I (Melbourne, 1966) pp.158-64 and D.W.A. Baker, 'Lang, John Dunmore', *ibid.*, vol.II, pp.76-82.

4

Times, 13 July 1847, in Sydney Chronicle, 16 November 1847.

by the day to day necessity of structural growth.

Pio Nono had hardly settled in the Chair of Peter before events themselves began to indicate to him that liberalism itself was as much a threat to the Church as any form of external aggression against the Papal States.

Father W.O. Woolfrey at Hobart spoke of the Pope fighting in Italy for liberty and when he defined his terms, said,¹

What then is true liberty? That people enjoy true liberty, when the powers that 'are of God', and vested in the rightful rulers, are exercised for their good and benefit.

But the liberals of Europe had begun long since to question those concepts and they were no longer content to accept unquestioningly the steps taken for 'their good and benefit',²

In Switzerland in 1847, the Protestant Federal Diet crushed the Catholic cantons and there were widespread demonstrations against the Jesuits.³ In Piedmont and Switzerland civil marriage laws were introduced, and the

1

Sydney Chronicle, 20 April 1848.

2

See Guido De Ruggiero, The History of European Liberalism, trans. by R.G. Collingwood (Boston, 1964 ed.)

3

Lord Minto in Rome 'nearly succeeded in persuading His Holiness that the war in Switzerland had been directed, not against the Catholic religion, but against the Jesuits'. S.M.H., 22 April 1848. Another article from the Times, of 13 December on 'Popery in Switzerland' appeared in S.M.H., 22 May 1848.

dissolution of the monasteries was begun. All of this took place to the accompanied refrain of applause by many of Pio Nono's own liberal subjects. Even on the level of national unity the Pope realized that Charles Albert of Savoy saw further than a Giobertian federation of Italy with the Pope as head. Charles perhaps saw the day when, with Austria defeated, the House of Savoy would reign over a united Italy, and that day would spell the doom of the Papal States.¹

In the meantime Pio Nono, with cries of 'Viva Pio IX' and 'Viva Italia!' around him and 'Down with the Austrians!' being shouted in Milan,² had to cope with the enthusiasm which his own actions against Austria had engendered. It was one thing to 'allow himself to be lifted to the summit of the revolution', but it was another to remain there once he saw the threat to the very 'existence of the States of the Church'.³

The year of revolution, 1848, although it was seen as one in which 'peaceful revolutions would take place, in Italy'⁴

¹ Charles Albert could 'win the crown of North Italy, nay of all Italy'. Express, 23 May 1848. See S.M.H., 16 September 1848.

² Atlas, 18 September 1847 in S.M.H., 19 January 1848.

³ See H. Ritter von Srbik, Metternich - der Staatsmann und der Mensch, 2 vols (Munich, 1957), vol.II, p.124.

⁴ S.M.H., 17 January 1848.

was to be decisive for Pio Nono. On 10 February he prayed 'Oh, then, Great God, shower thy blessings on Italy',¹ and in March Charles Albert declared war on Austria. The pope was faced with crowds on the Corso shouting 'Away with all moderation!... We want cannon! Viva Pio Nono solo!',² and his own conscience as Supreme Pastor. With his Allocution of 29 April 1848, he cut the bond between the papacy and the Risorgimento.³ Instead of blessing his troops in an offensive war against Austria, or excommunicating the Austrians themselves, he made it clear that he would have no further part in the aggression because, as the representative of 'Him who is the author of peace and the lover of concord... [he] seeks after and embraces all races, peoples and nations, with an equal devotion of paternal love',⁴

Throughout Italy reaction set in swiftly 'and in Florence people went about scratching off the walls the

¹ Ibid., 29 June 1848. Proclamation of 10 February of Pio Nono in full.

² Ibid., 21 June 1848.

³ 'The fact is that up until 30 April 1848 Pius IX was the friend of Independence and Italian freedom; after that day, while he lived, he was a reactionary Pius IX.' See Guiseppe Toscanelli, Religione E Patria Osteggiate Dal Papa (Florence, 1890), p.7.

⁴ From the text of the Allocution in E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.77.

legends in honour of Pius, [and] putting away the statuettes which glorified in his person the union of religion and nationalism,....'¹ Pio Nono was unable to come to terms with liberalism, nationalism and the principles of 1789. His inability to do so was still being eloquently testified to thirty three years later when by night his coffin was borne to San Lorenzo amidst the hoots of the Trasteverian mob, and the mud slung at it from the Tiber. On 31 August 1962 John XXIII stood before that tomb in San Lorenzo and said,² 'At Rome I find only coldness for the cause of Pio Nono: we still have liberalism with us yet.'

The news of the flight of Louis Philippe, which arrived in June 1848, caused the Herald to fear 'a general European war' in the near future.³ Readers were called upon 'to pray that our beloved country [England] may not, by again interfering in continental politics, be drawn to take part in a war....'⁴ An Extra in July dashed all hopes to the ground with the announcement,⁵ 'war had been declared by England and France in concert, against Russia, Austria and Prussia.'

1

W.K. Hancock, Ricasoli, pp.120-1.

2

Alberto Canestri, 'Pio IX e Propaganda' in Alma Mater (Rome, 1965), p.72.

3

S.M.H., 19 June 1848.

4

Ibid., 20 June 1848.

5

Ibid., 14 July 1848 captioned 'Europe in a Blaze'.

The casus belli is said to be the invasion of the Papal States by Austria, whose aggression is supported by Russia and Prussia.¹ This particular information came from the captain of the Mahomed Schah who had obtained it off Madeira on 29 April.¹ Three weeks later, when it was clear by other reports that England was not at war, the Herald expressed the hope that the captain of the Mahomed Schah would be suitably dealt with.² The intense interest of Australian newspapers in the introduction of steam so as to ensure a speedier and more reliable source of European news was constantly in evidence, and the difficulties under which editors laboured in securing and verifying news was always apparent.³ In 1851 the Herald was convinced that the news of the gold discoveries would bring out the steamers, but it was another ten years before they were permanently established on the Australian run.⁴

Though the news of events in Rome reached Australia slowly the events themselves happened quickly. Pio Nono

¹ Ibid., 14 July 1848. The captain also provided the information 'The King of Bavaria has abdicated and gone into temporary retirement with Lola Montez.'

² Ibid., 8 August 1848.

³ Ibid., see 10 October 1848, 23 April 1850, 14 February and 10 March 1851.

⁴ Ibid., 31 July 1851. See also Geoffrey Blainey, The Tyranny of Distance (Melbourne, 1966), chapter 9.

was held responsible for the defeat of Charles Albert in July 1848 and La Concordia trumpeted,¹

If the Grand Duke and Pius IX abandon the Italian cause we must say to the people: 'Abandon, abandon your princes to their blindness, and save the fatherland'.

The Times said the same thing,² 'the movement [against Austria] has completely failed...Pio Nono has jesuitically abandoned it,....'

Pellegrino Rossi, the Pope's Protestant Prime Minister, was stabbed to death on the steps of the Cancelleria on 15 November by Ciceruacchio's son, while the historian, Bishop Palma, Newman's only curial friend, was shot during the storming of the Papal Palace, the Quirinal, on the next day. 'The fate of Rossi and Palma proves the unfitness of such a race for constitutional government', said the Times.³ To Pio Nono it was sufficient proof that he could not longer rule in Rome.

'Pope Pius the Ninth, who was two years since the idol of his people had fled from Rome and taken refuge in

1

See A.C. Jemolo, Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni (Turin, 1952), p.104.

2

Times, quoted in S.M.H., 31 October 1848.

3

Times, 27 November 1848 in S.M.H., 6 April 1849. Rossi and Cullen were at that time about to begin a new Catholic daily in Rome to be called l'Eco del Vaticano. See P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.I, p.13.

Naples.' announced the Herald.¹ The pope had in fact made his escape to Gaeta, in the Neapolitan kingdom, where he was joined by Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli. An initial period was spent in a second class hotel, the Giardinetto, but then King Ferdinand of Naples put his border fortress at the disposal of the pope and his immediate retinue. At Hobart the Courier editorialized 'The Pope's Flight'.² Neither the pope nor the populace deserved much reproach because,

Slaves can only know the saturnalia, the riot of a holiday, not the regular order and calm determination of man educated in the principles and habits of liberty...[and] the hand which breaks the chains of bondage is wounded in the task....

With the flight to Gaeta the downfall of the temporal power of the papacy, which had extended over ten centuries, was finally begun. A period in which 'the chair of Peter was made more precious',³ in the eyes of those who regarded its occupant as Peter's successor also opened up throughout the Catholic Church.

In the minds of Catholics the flight of the Pope was

1

S.M.H., 5 April 1849. The next day the Herald published an editorial favourable to 'the struggle for the establishment of civil and religious liberty...in the long oppressed states of Continental Europe.'

2

Hobart Town Courier, 11 April 1849.

3

S.A.A., Pio Nono to Polding and his suffragan bishop 9 October 1871.

quickly associated with another element which was never far from their thoughts - the attitude of England to the papacy. Since the initial warmth with which Pio Nono was hailed at his election in England, as elsewhere, there was a gradual coolness due to a number of events that did not escape notice in Australia. The Queen's Colleges Bill of 31 July 1845 was regarded by some as initiating 'a gigantic scheme of godless education', but it took some hard work by Cullen in Rome to obtain a decision to condemn them.¹ In 1848 the Herald printed in full the papal rescript condemning the Colleges,² and a little later said that the rescript had caused great excitement because it was 'the first open and direct interference of the Pope with the English government since the Reformation'.³ To add to the excitement, it was rumoured that Newman was on his way back from Rome with a 'bull for the establishment of twelve bishops and an archbishop for England'.⁴ The further news that 'the

1

See P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.I, pp.16-17.

2

S.M.H., 1 March 1848.

3

Ibid., 10 March 1848. Meanwhile, closer to home, on 28 March, B. Lucas Watson of the Penrith Parsonage wrote in alarm to the Herald alleging that Mr J. Keating, the local priest was turning 'New South Wales into another Tipperary' and that 'If one wanted evidence of the persecuting and intolerant spirit of popery we have it here,'

4

Ibid., 6 April 1848.

standard of revolt' was raised in Ireland did nothing to improve the image of popery, although the revolt was quickly put down 'and had had no effect upon trade, which continued to improve'.¹

When the Courier commented on the Pope's flight, it made an inferential connection of events which did not pass unnoticed among 'the lower orders of the Irish population'.² It said,³

His Holiness would very probably now wish his interdict against the 'Godless Irish Colleges' withdrawn. The friendship of Great Britain was not a thing for a Pope to finesse with in these days.

This was followed by a statement that 'It is considered that Englishmen alone have taken a reasonable view of his [the pope's] situation, and unite in condemning his flight from the Quirinal.'⁴ Finally Ferdinand of Naples and Ireland itself were linked when the Courier reported an interview between the King and a certain Englishman, Mr Temple, who urged on Ferdinand a more liberal course towards his subjects in Sicily. Ferdinand replied,⁵

¹ Ibid., 14 November 1848.

² Hobart Town Courier, 4 April 1849.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 18 April 1849.

⁵ Ibid., 25 April, 1849.

'Mr. Temple, I will pledge myself to follow step by step in Sicily whatever measures your government shall set before me in Ireland.'

The Irish Exile; and Freedom's Advocate, edited in Hobart by Patrick O'Donohue, a rebel Irish lawyer, watched the Courier closely and tried to defend the Irish and Papal cause. To it Father Therry was 'The jewel of our sheen!' and 'the oppressed persecuted Irish priest'.¹ To the Courier he was a debtor and it was up to the Pope 'to pawn his keys' and pay the debt 'rather than disgrace St. Peter by repudiation'.² John Mitchel, on his arrival in April 1850, refused to take any part in 'Antarctic politics and journalism' after he saw that a local editor, John Morgan of the Britannia had just published a work called 'Give Us Light' the purpose of which was to undress 'the old lady of Rome and ... [show] her up in the licentious looseness of her dishabille' and to prove that 'the Romish priesthood are a curse'.³ When ^{an English} Archdeacon ~~Perry~~ said that 'the state

1

The Irish Exile; and Freedom's Advocate, 27 September, 16 March 1850.

2

Hobart Town Courier, 16 March 1850. E.M. O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archpriest Therry (Sydney, 1922) tells the history of the 'debt'.

3

The Irish Exile; and Freedom's Advocate, 6 April, 4 May, 27 April 1850.

of the natives of the Irish Isles, so far as regarded their conversion to Christianity, was more hopeless than that of the Australian Savage'¹ the attitude of the Irish Exile was not improved and it expressed its intense conviction on English compliance with Italian affairs:²

Exeter Hall, Downing-Street, and the Red Faction had taken counsel together against the Lord and His anointed, whose flight from the Holy City was to them a subject of congenial and hilarious ribaldry.

Initially Pio Nono remained moderate in his attitude to the newly proclaimed republic at Rome, but his moderation soon stiffened into a fixed determination to return and reign again both as Pope and King. Isolated as he was, he found himself exposed to the influence of Antonelli who was 'the embodiment of the most absolute hostility to what is called Liberalism throughout the world'.³ Antonelli never wavered in his purpose of

1

The Archbishop
Ibid., 18 May 1850. Letter 27 April 1850 from B.C. of Port Phillip. ~~Rory~~ allegedly passed the remark at 'a religious meeting held at Geelong,....' 'These words were addressed not to fanatics, but to the most respectable Protestants of Geelong....'

2

Ibid., 28 October 1850. The Irish Exile meanwhile published translated texts from Lamennais' Paroles d'un Croyant which was censured nomination in Singulari Nos by Gregory XVI in 1834.

3

Freeman's Journal, 13 January 1877 in an obituary notice of Antonelli.

retaining the Papal States, and he used all possible diplomatic and moral pressures to achieve his end. With Antonelli the pope drew up a protest on 1 January 1849 in which he spoke of 'that same gang of madmen which is still tyrannising, with a barbarous despotism, over Rome and the States of the Church'.¹ He also pronounced the Greater Excommunication of Trent, incurred ipso facto, against those who attacked the Temporal Power of the Papacy.² The mob, led by Ciceruacchio, consigned the document to the public latrines to the singing of the De Profundis. At the same time there were others besides the clergy, amongst whom were numbered Cullen and his Irish College and Propaganda students, who were anxious for the Pope to return. The shopkeepers, 'who assisted in driving out the Holy Pontiff now tremble in their shoes and all alike demand his immediate return'.³

'The Roman Republic will bear the stump [sic] of its

1

See A.J. Whyte, The Evolution of Modern Italy (Oxford 1944), p.73 and E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, pp.96-7.

2

Excommunication ipso facto differed from that called ferendae sententiae in that no judicial process or pronouncement of sentence was necessary. By the very fact that one, while aware of the penalty attached, knowingly and willingly committed the forbidden act, one was thereby automatically excommunicated. See Aertnys-Damen, Theologia Moralis, vol.2, p.742.

3

The Irish Exile; and Freedom's Advocate, 23 March 1850 from a letter from Rome of 13 November 1849.

origin', reported the Courier,¹ but in fact the regime set up by Mazzini was moderate when compared to similar regimes before or since. The Triumvir acted with great caution, no doubt aware that all of Europe watched the events in Rome with interest. In Australia the main source of attraction was the alleged discoveries made in the basement of the building of the Inquisition, which was taken over by the Republic. The Herald printed articles that worked up from the secrets of the confessional to skulls and skeletons and finally 'a large ring' that was 'supposed to have been used in administering the torture'.² Together with the Herald the Courier invited the 'undivided attention of our readers' to further disclosures on the Holy Office of the Inquisition.³ At this time Catholic reactions were muted because the Sydney Chronicle had ceased publication on 30 September 1848 and the Freeman's Journal did not commence until 27 June 1850. Meanwhile, however, Bishop Willson assured his people in Hobart that 'the centre of catholic unity is independent of cities, and requires no permanent locality,....' on the basis of which the Courier replied

¹ Hobart Town Courier, 1 August 1849.

² S.M.H., 11 September and 28 October 1849.

³ Hobart Town Courier, 3 November 1849. S.M.H., 28 October 1849.

that 'the whole question is [therefore] political: it is to be dealt with by politicians on common principles'.¹

The 'common principles' of the politicians in Rome resulted in an election for a Constituent Assembly in the Papal States. Disinterest, or Pio Nono's prohibition against participation, resulted in less than a third voting strength, many of whom voted for the pope, St Peter or the General of the Jesuits. When the Assembly began to sit it called forth a document from Gaeta on 20 April 1849, Quibus quantisque, of which the Herald said,² 'This document is highly interesting in a political as well as religious point of view....The members of the Roman Catholic Church in the colony, however, will peruse the following extracts with painful interest.' The pope asked,

Who does not know that the city of Rome, the principal seat of the Church, has now become, alas, a forest of roaring beasts, overflowing with men of every nation, apostates or heretics, or leaders of communism and socialism?

The pope also condemned and heartily rejected the proposition which in 1864 he wrote into the Syllabus of Errors.³ 'The abolition of the temporal power of which

¹ Hobart Town Courier, 24 October 1849.

² S.M.H., 23 October 1849.

³ See H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum ed. 31 by C. Rahner (Barcelona, 1946), Prop.76, p.490.

the Apostolic See is possessed would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the Church.' It was left to Polding to sum up the feelings of Australian Catholics when he wrote to Pio Nono of the 'sacrilegious hands which plunder the patrimony of Saint Peter, and while they despoil and afflict the Father they similarly afflict the whole family....'¹

To Pio Nono the sight of Mazzini, Ciceruacchio, Garibaldi and Sterbini scorning in Rome both his temporal and spiritual power was enough to convince him that both powers were inseparably linked. Mazzini only served to heighten the impression when he gave the 'allocation' from the balcony of St Peter's on Easter Sunday. It was a normal conclusion to the papal blessing, an event that signified much when it stemmed from a legitimate source, as a contemporary poem illustrated,²

The Papal Benediction from St. Peters

By that High-priest in prelude of deep prayer

Implored and sanctified,

The benediction of paternal care

Can never be denied.

1

S.A.A., Polding to Pio Nono, n.d. but of this early period.

2

The poem, sixteen stanzas in length, was written by R. Monckton Milnes. See Freeman's Journal, 27 February 1851.

The pope was determined to return and rule his kingdom unshackled by the chains, as he now saw them, of a pernicious and destructive liberalism. He called in French arms to help him regain his throne and the fate of Rome, once the French troops began to besiege it, was clear.

'The Roman people have exhibited qualities which have won the admiration of Europe....Fall, however, the city must.'¹

On 3 July 1849 the victors entered Rome while Garibaldi, Mazzini and Gavazzi, with all their colourful companions, departed. They spread throughout the rest of Italy, or as far as England itself where they joined others, like Achilli, who were at work stirring up hatred of the papacy.²

You know as well as I do that Popery is not Christianity: but a political system opposed to the most holy religion of Jesus Christ.... My brethren, I do not come here to counsel you to repel Rome by force of arms, although being a system purely political, you might well be justified in doing so....I am full of hope for the conversion of Italy but I cannot say I have much hope for the Pope,....

At Hobart the Courier continued to emphasize the role of England in the making of Italy and the destruction of papal temporal power. On this occasion England, lacking

1

Hobart Town Courier, 24 October 1849.

2

S.M.H., 26 February 1848. Achilli, formerly a priest, spoke at a meeting in August 1847, in England, held to solicit funds to erect a Protestant College in Malta.

the spirit of Elizabeth or Cromwell, had betrayed the Romans 'but the time will come when she will lay that priestly dictatorship in the dust, and silence the insolence of a despotism which has been the source of infinite evils,.....'¹

The celebrations in honour of the restoration of papal power in Rome seemed a 'farce' to the Herald which wondered 'what hope remains for this ill-advised Pontiff?', 'this once popular and benevolent Pope'.² The restraint of the Herald was heightened by the contempt of the Courier to which Pio Nono was now 'a dupe of the system which created him'.³ while the cardinals were 'shaven assassins' and 'sleek skinned voluptuaries' defiling Rome and claiming to be masters of the world.⁴ Whatever about the pope there was no necessity to prove that the cardinals were in nowise connected with Christianity.⁵ From England there came the echo of an event which the years to come saw so frequently repeated. A group of Italians in London in August 1849

¹ Hobart Town Courier, 17 November 1849.

² S.M.H., 9 November, 1 December, 3 December 1849.

³ Hobart Town Courier, 17 November 1849.

⁴ Ibid., 19 December 1849.

⁵ Ibid.

resolved 'That this meeting, highly condemning as tyrannical, infamous, anti-evangelical and impious, the conduct of Pope Pius IX...' invited all their compatriots to 'throw aside the Papal Church'. The Nonconformist on 15 August 1849 commented, 'The stagnant waters are beginning to be disturbed.'¹

Pio Nono did not return to Rome until 12 April 1850. The Freeman's Journal, which began publication on 27 June of that year, was delighted at the 'gratifying and reverential' reception he was accorded,² while the Irish Exile thought the return 'a new triumph for our most holy religion'.³ From the Spectator came a prophecy so wide of the mark that it deserved attention. Under the title 'The Pope at Home Again' it said,⁴

there can be no doubt that a great part of the spiritual influence possessed by the Sovereign

¹ S.M.H., 27 December 1849. At the time Dr Lang in a letter of 25 July 1849 to the British Banner called the Herald a 'High Tory Colonial Paper' whose editors were 'the incense burners and toadies of a Puseyite Bishop'. See S.M.H., 17 December 1849. The Herald's own stand was proclaimed in the words 'Sworn to no Master, of no Sect am I.'

² Freeman's Journal, 29 August 1850.

³ The Irish Exile; and Freedom's Advocate, 5 October 1850. Bolton King, A History of Italian Unity, 2 vols (London, 1899), vol.I, p.365 said that the pope was greeted 'with scarce a sign of popular welcome'.

⁴ The Spectator, 27 April 1850 in S.M.H., 30 August 1850.

Pontiff has been indissolubly connected with the temporal sovereignty and temporal abode of the Pontificate....But the bodily restoration of Pius IX to the capital of his states is not the restoration of the Pope to his spiritual throne. That can be no more effected.

Yet as the Spectator engaged in prophecy the new Church in Australia turned to action. In St Mary's, on 1 July 1850, Archdeacon McEncroe preached on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and £50.17. 4 was collected 'for the temporal exigencies of the Holy See'.¹ In Adelaide, Dr Short, the Anglican bishop, protested at the fact that £42.12.10 was collected for the first Peter's Pence.² The bishop was alarmed that 'alms have been solicited for the purpose of supporting the Bishop of Rome in his pretended claim to carry on the government of the Universal Church' and he felt 'in duty bound to maintain the lawful supremacy of Our Lady the Queen,.....'³ Polding and Davis wrote to Pio Nono in November to express their concern, and forwarded a sum of money for the use of the pope. When Pio Nono replied he said,⁴

You intimated how you were stricken with sorrow on account of the sad vicissitudes in Our affairs,

¹ Freeman's Journal, 4 July 1850.

² See F. Byrne, History, p.65.

³ See F. Byrne, 'Difficulties that Beset Missionary Enterprises in a New Continent' in Proceedings of the First Australian Catholic Congress (Sydney, 1900), pp.761-3.

⁴ S.A.A., Pio Nono to Polding and Davis, 23 June 1851.

and how you were filled with joy at Our return to this City and to the Apostolic See.

He went on to thank them for the generous gifts that they had already forwarded to him on two occasions, but said that he was unable to conceal his anxiety that such gifts might be a source of financial strain on the laity.¹ Polding wrote to his people to tell them to offer prayers of thanksgiving and to rejoice at the return to Rome of the Holy Father.²

In the four years between 1846 and 1850, the pope, who was to rule over the Church for the longest pontificate in history, was already set on a course from which he never turned back. Those years were a pattern, in outline at least, upon which the shape of future events was already traced. It would be an exaggeration to say that the flight to Gaeta and the Roman Republic caused a radical change in the pope. In his fundamental beliefs he was conservative and Qui pluribus illustrated that conservatism at the very outset of his reign. Metternich recognized the warmth of heart of Pio Nono, but he alleged that he lacked the practical sense needed to steer Peter's Barque through the

¹

Ibid. The new papal address was significant 'Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum',

²

Freeman's Journal, 26 December 1850.

changing social and political circumstances of nineteenth century Europe.¹ Yet Pio Nono's warm heart did not prevent him from withdrawing into a hard shell of intransigence in the face of a world he judged hostile to Christ and His Vicar. At the same time his lack of practical sense did not make him incapable of using every weapon he could find to strengthen his position as Christ's Vicar in the eyes of the Catholic world.

By 1850 the new Church in Australia had also changed in that it was now aware that it had a Chief Pastor whose very person, as well as office, was dear to the hearts of all his sons. To the degree that Pio Nono was turned against by those not of his flock, the Catholics in the Australian colonies turned towards him with love and veneration. Anti-popery strengthened popery, persecution caused sympathy, and deprivation brought assistance from Australian Catholics. There was an example of the extreme type of anti-popery of the period in a poem which dealt, in the main, with the early years of Pio Nono's pontificate. It was printed by the Australian Banner, which culled a good deal of its material from an Italian Protestant paper

¹

See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.67.

L' Eco di Savonarola.¹

From Gavazzi's Free Word

This big-bellied Pope,
 Like a pig in a rope,
 Plumped into the Vatican sty;

 But Sir Nero's grim sun
 Had all but outrun,
 With his belly of which he is chary.
 Oh, Mother ashore!
 Sir Peter of yore,
 With a score or two more,
 Through Saint Agnes' floor,
 Fell crash - for the love of sweet Mary.

 Sir Nero the Nine
 And his saintly swine,
 Laughed over the terrible din;
 They guzzled and roared,
 Sweet woe was restored,
 And a murderous horde
 To the Vatican poured,
 To rewelcome the Vicar of Sin.

1

Australian Banner, 3 January 1857. This was the first issue of the paper and the fact that it lasted only until 5 September of the same year possibly indicated a lack of support for the extremity of its views.

Gavazzi was an Italian priest who joined Garibaldi's legion after the fall of the Republic. He later went to England and America to lecture against the papacy. To the Freeman's Journal he was only 'A Catchpenny Savonarola' and a tool of Exeter Hall,¹ but he was frequently quoted in the press of the time as an expert on obscure Catholic and Vatican affairs.² The first verse of the poem was a clear reference to the election of Pio Nono. In the second verse an incident at which Polding was present was parodied. 'Of my tumble with the Holy Father at the old uninhabited Convt. of St. Agnes Your Lordship has undoubtedly heard', wrote Polding to Goold from Liverpool.³ Pio Nono, a group of cardinals and bishops, amongst whom were Cullen and Barnabò, and Propaganda students, were assembled at Saint Agnes' on the Porta Pia. The floor of the building gave way, precipitating all into the cellars beneath.⁴ Oral tradition in Propaganda College has it that as he fell Pio Nono cried

¹ Freeman's Journal, 6 August 1853, 6 May 1854.

² Empire, 10, 11, 13 December 1851.

³ S.A.A., Polding to Goold, 20 July. No year is given, but as the event referred to took place in 1854 it must have been that same year.

⁴ The one person seriously injured was an Irish student at the Propaganda, Daniel Fitzgibbon, in whom 'The Pope subsequently showed the tenderest sympathy....' He died in 1876 as Dean of Adelaide. See P.F. Moran, History, p.534.

out 'Vergine Immacolata, aiutateci!' ¹ The Australian Banner must in some way have been aware of the tradition, then only three years old, because the verse clearly connects the event with Pio Nono's well known veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Whether the last verse referred to the pope's return from Gaeta or from Saint Agnes', it indicated how the liberal pope had become the butt of the enraged liberals of Europe, and the feeling against him had spilled over to liberals everywhere. Few indeed chose the language of the Australian Banner to describe Pio Nono and the papal court. The unwillingness of the Herald to engage in such journalism sparked the ire of the Banner, which spoke of 'Its Papal Mask' and called it 'O Ye Hypocrite'.² Yet by 1850, with the overthrow of the Republic and the return of Pio Nono to Rome, anti-popery was burgeoning in England and on the continent. Australia reflected in its own way the passions which were stirred up in the embassies and editorial offices of Europe.

The very word 'popery' conjured up a background of memories in the Anglo-Saxon mind that were part fact and

1

The short prayer is used to this day in the Propaganda.

2

Australian Banner, 4 April 1857.

part fable, but in their totality presented a factor that Australians in the nineteenth century, Catholics or non-Catholics, could not ignore. Going back to and even beyond the Reformation the word had overtones ranging from fiscal extortion to interdicts, from the Armada to the excommunication of Elizabeth, from the sly machinations of Jesuits like Parsons to the bewildering heroism of others like Campion. On the doctrinal level it meant belief in a whole range of 'superstitions' that included 'the blessed matter of the Mass', the intercessory power of the Virgin and the saints, the existence of purgatory, and the justification of any evil means by a supposedly good end. The word, by extension, covered the whole hidden world of monk and nun, monastery and cloister, and expressed itself openly by the occasional revelations of a liberated inmate from either institution.

Finally, to the Anglo-Saxon, popery was connected in an unmistakable fashion with the Irish who were assumed to be priest-ridden, superstitious, anti-intellectual and indolent. In Australia the Irish not only caused irritation by their popery, but also by the fact that they showed faint yet clear signs of wanting to rise in social status from the level of the bog to that of the professional, merchant and propertied classes, and even into the higher realms of the Establishment preserve, government itself. Dr Lang in his

Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere and How to Check it Effectually was one instance of this mentality. The Herald received his pamphlet with scorn as 'noticeable for its impartiality; it abuses everybody' and 'his works are written in such an extremely bad spirit that they must disgust everybody'.¹ Yet the Herald still printed a long letter from Lang in 1848 that recounted the steps he was taking 'to prevent our degenerating into a mere Irish Roman Catholic province',² and by 1850 his concern with Caroline Chisholm, the 'artful female Jesuit' attempting 'to Romanize the Australian colonies', was noted.³ At the same time an unnamed author protested to Lord John Russell about the English Government offering 'head money to the priests of Rome' thus 'aiding, abetting and promoting,...the Slavery of the Soul in Australia'.⁴

None of this was new to Australian Catholics who were for the most part steeped in Irish traditions. The new element was the personification of it all in Pio Nono who assumed in the eyes of Catholics the heroic proportions of

¹ S.M.H., 10 July 1847.

² Ibid., 17 April 1848.

³ Ibid., 11 March 1850

⁴ Anti-Cant. Why does England encourage, with her money, Popery in Australia and Slavery in America? (London, 1850), pp.5, 12.

a universal pastor beleaguered by the forces of evil. To Pio Nono the struggle against liberalism, freemasonry and revolution was a combat in which both his spiritual and temporal powers were threatened. At a Secret Consistory on 20 May 1850 he spoke of the temporal power,¹

which the Sovereign Pontiff has held by the will of Almighty God, through so many successive ages, in just right, in order that in the Government of the Universal Church, Divinely committed to his charge, he may exercise his Apostolical authority, with that liberty which is necessary for his office and for securing the welfare of the flock of Christ.

This was an argument with which the Cullenite bishops of the ensuing decades agreed whole-heartedly, if for no other reason than that many of them had been shaped by the events that shaped Pio Nono. The Roman mould of the Australian Catholic Church was even more apparent under their guidance, and the stand taken by the Church here, not only on the temporal power, but on liberalism, freemasonry, education and relations with other Churches, was conditioned, if not shaped, by the stand taken by the new pope.

¹

Freeman's Journal, 10 October 1850.

CHAPTER 3AUSTRALIAN REACTIONS TO THE LOSS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER

The loss of the temporal power of the papacy, between the return to Rome of Pio Nono in 1850, and the entry of the Italian troops into the capital in 1870, was gradual and, in the main, peaceful. Yet it caused reactions within the Australian community which helped to shape the Catholic Church here in her Roman mould. These attitudes can be traced with particular clarity in a country like Australia because they revealed themselves in almost stark simplicity.

Australian Catholics were full of sympathy for Pio Nono during his initial misfortunes in 1848 and 1849. As time went by, and it was even more apparent that Piedmont was determined to wrest from Pio Nono the possession of his temporal kingdom, the mentality of Australian Catholics became ever more rigid. They saw the suffering of their Chief Pastor reflected in their own local misfortunes, and they identified with him to the same extent that they recognized his enemies, and the source of enmity, as of the same kind and quality as the forces against which they themselves were pitted. The principles of 'infidelity and anarchy and hatred of everything good'¹ were seen at work

¹ Freeman's Journal, 25 August 1877.

everywhere, but the very summit of such powers was seen to be most manifest when the centre and symbol of papal temporal power - Rome itself - was occupied in 1870.

In proportion to the identification of the forces that relieved Pio Nono of his temporal powers, belief in the lawfulness and necessity of that power was strengthened. The papal states themselves were seen as part of the common patrimony of all Catholics. They did not belong to the pope 'to deliver up' because 'the humblest Catholic in China, in South America, in Australia,...has an equal interest in the preservation of the integrity of the Roman States with the subjects of the Pope, or with the Pope himself'.¹ This fixed belief in the temporal power survived even the fall of Rome. 'We should be guilty of fickleness - our sense of religion should be very weak indeed, were we also to say that the temporal power is doomed', the Catholics of Hobart were told in November 1870.² While there was speculation as to the final form of temporal sovereignty, there was no discordant voice in Australian Catholicism on the conviction of its necessity. Where Pio Nono and his powers and possessions were concerned, bishops, priests and people in Australia were united.

1

Ibid., 25 January 1862.

2

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 21 November 1870.

Nonetheless, throughout this period, there were divisive factors in Australian Catholicism that tended to splinter the sensitive frame of the emerging organism. These factors were localized in the two fields of manpower and structure, which were the immediate areas of development for a Church in need of bishops and priests, and eventually brothers and nuns. At the same time churches, presbyteries, orphanages, schools and hospitals, had to be built to make this manpower viable and effective. While these factors have been dealt with elsewhere,¹ it is necessary to allude to them because they were part of the fabric into which was woven the all pervading thread of Roman unity.

The conflict that arose through the presence of a Benedictine nucleus in a church which quickly had to be served by secular clergy worked itself out mainly in Sydney, and was concluded in the lifetime of Polding. Other religious orders and societies, like the Christian brothers, found it almost impossible to accommodate themselves to the

1

See P.F. Moran, History; H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers; and E.M. O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry. T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy, treated them in some detail throughout the whole work. Mary M. Shanahan, 'Henry Gregory' dealt with the Benedictine upheavals. P.K. Phillips, 'John McEncroe', outlined the conflict between the secular and regular clergy and the revolt of 'a few men in Sydney' who used the Freeman's Journal to express their discontent.

Benedictine dream of Polding. The methods his vicar-general, Henry Gregory, used to implement the dream did not lessen the tensions. But Gregory was back in England permanently by 1861, and the Benedictine dream had faded before the arrival of Vaughan in 1873. In Melbourne, Goold, despite the uneasy fears of some at his 'Friar brigade', never attempted to build the Church in Victoria solely on manpower from the religious orders. When the histories of the religious orders in Australia and their associations with the diocesan clergy are written, it will probably be seen that Australia was singularly blessed in the overall harmony which prevailed.¹

It was necessary for bishops to obtain priests without delay for the Australian mission, which meant that at times less desirable elements passed like shadows across the canvass of Australian Catholicism. Polding was at times forced to suspend priests due to their 'bad conduct',² but in the main these shepherds, many of whom were chasing the rainbow of an ideal mission run on ideal lines, left no

1

'Generally, relations between the two groups, working side by side in the scattered Missions and under episcopal direction, were friendly.' See T.J. Linane, 'The Priest Who Borrowed a Tent - Patrick Dunne', Light (June 1967), p.15.

2

Polding to Murray, 19 October 1843, in P.F. Moran, History, p.311.

permanent mark. Authority was irksome to young priests who were placed in charge of outback missions where they were seldom hampered by the restrictions of proximate ecclesiastical superiors, with the result that some of them rebelled against its impositions. For all that, if an evaluation must be made of pioneer priests from Therry and Connolly, to Patrick Dunne and Patrick Bermingham, their monument was not the temporary uneasiness they caused their bishops, but the Church they planted, from Sydney to Launceston, from Geelong to Yass.

In the late 1850's a group of Catholic laymen in Sydney caused considerable unrest in ecclesiastical circles by writing articles and letters in the Freeman's Journal critical of ecclesiastical authority. Much of the criticism was directed at 'the great curse of this Church - the Benedictine monopoly',¹ and it resulted in the bishops issuing a Monitum Pastorale to warn the clergy against the 'insolent and most foul liberty' which gave free rein to such excesses.² An attempt has been made to link this situation with Haroldism in America, it has been called a manifestation of l'esprit presbyterien, and some relation

¹ Freeman's Journal, 1 September 1858.

² S.A.A., Monitum Pastorale, 11 June 1858. S.M.H., 2 July 1858 gave a translation.

between it and liberal Catholicism in England and on the continent has been seen.¹

Yet despite the unrest in certain restricted circles no group of Australian Catholics went into schism as the followers of Father Harold did in America, and no laymen here gained any real say in the control of ecclesiastical property. If the spirit of presbyterianism was strong, the flesh of episcopal authority was even stronger, and the elements of dissent were thereby controlled. The relationship of any element of Australian Catholicism to liberal Catholicism of the English or European variety can only be judged on the evidence.² The essence of liberal Catholicism extended in its critical range from matters such as the relations between the Church and the State, to the dogmatic definitions on Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception, and the propositions of the Syllabus of Errors. A degree of liberal Catholicism did exist here on the relations between the Church and the State. "A free church in a free state", is what M. de Montalembert desires and what no Catholic can dread, and when we demand freedom as a right for ourselves, we claim

1

See T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy, ch.5 and P.K. Phillips, 'John McEncroe', ch.12.

2

Döllinger, Moehler, de Maistre, Newman and others were read in Australia. See Freeman's Journal, 8 July 1852.

it also as a right for those who are opposed to us.'¹
 wrote W. Dolman in 1862. But there is no indication that
 even W.A. Duncan, perhaps the most advanced of the small
 group of liberal Catholics in Australia, ever questioned
 the rights of the papacy in its expression of faith and
 morals.² Liberal Catholicism here was only a pale shadow
 of its European, or even its English counterpart.

The guiding spirits of the movement by which
 Australian Catholics turned more and more Romewards between
 1850 and 1870 were the members of the hierarchy. The
 bishops, who were looked up to as the successors of the
 apostles, ruling their respective churches by divine
 institution under the authority of the pope,³ were of
 integral importance in the Australian Catholic community.
 When the school children of Burrowa addressed Bishop
 Lanigan on the occasion of his visit to them in 1872 they
 expressed the beliefs and aspirations of Catholics in
 regard to their bishop,⁴

1
Freeman's Journal, 23 December 1862.

2
 See M. Payten, 'William Augustine Duncan', (M.A. thesis,
 University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1965).

3
Codex Iuris Canonici, Canon 329 defined the office and
 function of the episcopate.

4
Freeman's Journal, 25 May 1872.

We congratulate ourselves on your Lordship's visit, knowing that you will effect so many blessings by your piety, zeal and practice of those high virtues with which you are adorned and identified. And we pray that your Lordship may be long spared to this diocese, to administer to our spiritual wants, and to diffuse religion and education amongst us.

Bishop Quinn of Brisbane expressed the episcopal view when he said in 1862: 'I am a sacred person; I have been ordained and received the Holy Ghost; anyone attacking my character commits a most gross and sacrilegious act.'¹

The very nature of the Catholic community made the position of the bishop one of pre-eminence on several grounds. In the main the Catholics were Irish by birth or background, and they occupied a lowly rung in the ladder of Australian society. Their race made them reverence the men who through long centuries had identified themselves with the people in the sufferings of the Irish nation, while their social status caused them to look up at those amongst them who were accorded a lordly title, wore the insignia that the episcopal office displayed, and mixed as equals with the upper levels of colonial society. Another ground upon which the bishops stood almost as awesome figures amongst their largely poorly-lettered flocks was that of education, a quality always treasured amongst the Irish.

1

Queensland Times, 19 August 1862.

With their continental education, their grasp of languages, their acquaintance with men and events beyond the ken of the normal layman, the bishops were able to lead their flocks even in fields that went beyond the normal confines of the pastoral office. They thereby helped to shape attitudes to political and social questions of the day.

In respect of the clergy and religious the bishops wielded an authority that far surpassed that of any earthly power. On the one level it dealt in the realm of the spirit, and the figure of Dunne unable to say Mass in Melbourne when suspended by Goold was eloquent testimony to the force of that authority.¹ In another sense the temporal well being of the clergy and religious depended upon the authority of the bishops. Their decisions decided the parochial location of the clergy or the peaceful, or otherwise, residence of the religious. In Sydney and Melbourne the manner in which priests were moved from place to place, or religious were at times harassed in the exercise of their apostolate, bore witness to the power of the bishops. Due to the small numbers every Australian bishop was able to know his clergy and religious personally,

1

See T.J. Linane, 'The Priest', Light, March 1967, p.16 and May 1967, p.11.

between 1840 and 1880.¹ Although contact with some of the clergy may have been spasmodic in the early period, due to the difficulty of communication, it was nonetheless possible for every bishop to meet all his priests, annually at least.

The bishops were the direct link between Rome and the local churches. Most of the Australian bishops could speak about Rome with the accents of Cullen himself who said: 'I have long been connected with the Holy City. I spent my youth - the greater part of my life there; and I could not but be infinitely attached and devoted to it.'² The Australian bishops visited Rome regularly for their ad limina visits, which were required by Canon Law every ten years from bishops in mission countries, and they were in constant contact with the Propaganda. They were the natural forgers of the bonds between the Church in Australia and the See of Rome, and the events that took place in Italy on the political level, and the reactions to them on the Australian scene, must be seen through their eyes in order to

1

T.L. Suttor, 'The Catholic Church', p.755 gave statistics. From one bishop with 26 clergy and 10 religious in 1841, the numbers rose to 10 bishops with 250 clergy and 350 religious in 1871. Such numbers were always manageable for any given bishop.

2

Cullen on his return to Dublin as cardinal in 1866. Freeman's Journal, 27 October 1866.

understand the direction taken by the Catholic Church in Australia.

In 1850 an event took place that Catholics considered was of purely religious significance, but which caused repercussions on other levels. Though it was of minor moment when compared to the other religious events of Pio Nono's reign, it warrants attention because it shaped another stone in the edifice of Catholic loyalty to the papacy. Chronologically it was significant in that it helped crystallize English and, by reflection, Australian non-Catholic reactions to Pio Nono. The matter in question was the restoration of the English hierarchy in 1850.

As early as 1847 Pio Nono turned over in his mind the thought of restoring the hierarchy in England. In 1848 Bishops Ullathorne and Grant went to Rome to hold discussions on the matter, but the events of the next year, as well as conflicts between elements in the Church in England, held up a decision, so that it was not until 1850 that the newly appointed Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, Nicholas Wiseman, issued his Pastoral Letter 'from out of the Flaminian Gate'. The storm that broke in England caused an outburst in Australia compared to which the setting up of the hierarchy here in 1842 was insignificant. In 1842 English reactions to the Australian hierarchy were mild. No one in authority in England was much concerned

with what Rome chose to do in far off Australia and Polding was told in London, 'Do what you like but don't come to us about it.'¹ It was another thing entirely when Rome set up bishops on English soil itself, and the consequent outcry was reflected in Australian society. Pio Nono was unfortunate in that had he acted before Gaeta, while he was still the charming liberal pope, he would probably have received much less criticism than in 1850, by which time he had become the object of almost universal obloquy.

The Herald was carried away with the excitement that prevailed in England, where Pio Nono was burnt in effigy and protest meetings abounded.² The Times professed to be shocked at the whole affair and stated 'we are not disposed to submit with perfect tameness or indifference to the wanton interference of a band of foreign priests in the affairs of this country'.³ The Herald compared the action

1

See P.F. Moran, History, p.226.

2

Some English reactions were light hearted. The Mitchell Library has a picture book portraying a group of protestors. It is entitled,

'Grand Procession against Papal Aggression
To Present the Address and Obtain Redress
In Order that We May Hear Less of His Holiness.'

It was published by the 'Society for the Confusion of Papal Knowledge' and the last page has 'George M. Sala fecit 1850'.

3

Times, 19 October 1850 in S.M.H., 11 February 1851.

in England to that of 1843 in Australia, the assumption in both cases being that 'there is...no Church but the Church which holds allegiance to Rome'.¹ An editorial on the same day stated:

The people of England have indeed demonstrated to the world, and thundered in the ears of the Sovereign Pontiff that...they are at heart truly and staunchly PROTESTANT, and will permit no encroachment to their PROTESTANT rights, no insult to their PROTESTANT feelings.²

The furore caused the Reverend Alexander Salmon to 'pronounce Popery to be one enormous lie',³ and 'the excitement... [continued] unabated' throughout March.⁴ But, just as in 1854, when the outbreak of the Crimean War put a damper on the controversy over the Immaculate Conception, and in 1865, when the burning of St Mary's Cathedral brought an abrupt halt to the arguments over the Syllabus of Errors, so too in 1851 a distraction was offered that took the spotlight away from events in England. On 15 May the new element burst onto the Australian scene under the simple headline GOLD, and although the following day the Herald regretted that 'it appears that this colony is to be cursed with a gold-digging

1 Ibid., 15 March 1851.

2 Ibid.

3 Letter to S.M.H., 17 March 1851.

4 Ibid., 1 April 1851.

mania,¹ it was to be an element that would dominate colonial thinking for many years to come.²

In Hobart, where the Irish Exile was about to wind up its affairs due to a lack of funds,³ O'Donohue had time to claim that 'The Anti-Popery cry raised by Protestant England appears to us to be very little short of insanity' and to warn 'normal' Englishmen not to be 'terrified by imaginary danger'.⁴ In Sydney the Freeman's Journal tried to pass the whole matter off as of small consequence. It asserted that 'The voice of reason and common sense is not likely to weigh with the Herald against the voice of Lord John Russell and Protestant fanaticism.'⁵ But its aplomb did not prevent an attempt to point up a lesson that was obliquely directed at the Established Church in England

1

Ibid., 15, 16 May 1851.

2

By the end of 1852 gold and the goldfields were accepted as a matter of course. 'There is no news of importance from the goldfields with the exception of two murders', S.M.H., 6 December 1852.

3

The last issue appeared on 19 April 1851.

4

Irish Exile, 29 March 1851.

5

Freeman's Journal, 20 March 1851. Lord John Russell was the object of frequent attacks by the Freeman's Journal. By 15 April 1852 he was 'a paltry, party-truckster, such a narrow-minded, little-souled official' and on 17 June the paper expressed its delight at his fall on the grounds that had he continued in office Australia would have revolted.

and Australia,¹

On the whole we must express our conviction that this recent unreasonable out pouring of Protestant wrath against unoffending Catholics will be productive of much good to them, both in a political and religious point of view. It will teach them to decline State patronage for their religion as its most dangerous and deadly enemy, and to depend on themselves and on the practical observance of their religion, as the only safe and certain means of advancing the interests of their Church under the guiding spirit and grace of its Divine Head and Founder.

The whole incident, especially when Bishop Broughton saw fit to link the situation in England with that in Australia in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury,² served to underline the links between Rome and the national churches. He likewise wrote to Wiseman about 'the false Supremacy of the Papal See, which, by absorbing within itself the just and natural privileges of clergy and people, enslaves both'.³ Back in Ireland Cullen pointed up the meaning of the controversy for Catholics. 'Our duty while the storm is raging is to aid our persecuted brethren by our prayers and to become more sincerely devoted

¹ Ibid., 27 March 1851.

² Ibid., 15 May 1851.

³ W.G. Broughton, A Letter to the Right Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., (Sydney, 1852), p.26. The letter was dated 2 December 1850.

to the Vicar of Christ.'¹ It was a lesson that Australian Catholics were quick to learn, and from then on any event of significance in the Catholic Church coalesced with the person and office of Pio Nono.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1851, by which the new titles of the English Catholic bishops were made illegal, passed off quietly, although Cullen chaired a meeting in Dublin 'at which it was determined to resist and defy' the Bill.² The Herald used the English episode to warn Catholics, and in particular McEncroe, 'against taking any steps by which similar commotions be produced here'.³ McEncroe had urged Catholics to vote for Alexander Longmore in the Legislative Council elections of 1851 'at such an important crisis in the history of the colony'.⁴ In the event neither Longmore nor any other Catholic, was elected.⁵

By the middle of 1850 the pope, despite the disturbance in England, was settled into the routine of normal affairs

1

P. Cullen, Pastoral letter to the clergy of Armagh, 26 November 1850, in P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.2, pp.61-2.

2

S.M.H., 4 December 1851.

3

Ibid., 21 May 1851.

4

Ibid., 28 July 1851.

5

Ibid., 4 December 1851.

in Rome. In the eyes of Catholics he was by now ranked with the great popes of the past, whose figures were enveloped by the charismatic cloud peculiar to confessors of the faith. A Catholic layman was carried away with enthusiasm at an audience. 'The eye of Pius IX I cannot describe - it literally beams with light,'¹ and a discourse of the pope reminded another writer of Leo or Gregory.² The changed outlook of Catholics had its counterpart in the non-Catholic world also. The Herald drew on the Times to record it,³

The Court of Rome resembles nothing so much as one of those Asiatic durbars...deceived by its own impenetrable ignorance....The only art practised in it with success is that of incessant intrigue;....In place of a wise and tolerant Pontiff, we have to deal with a bigot, bewildered by the dangers he has encountered, and circumscribed by the humiliating position in which he is placed....From such a power we are satisfied that nothing is to be obtained for the cause of justice, freedom, or humanity....

Despite some slight fluctuations, as, for example, during the Crimean War when Pio Nono was thought to be unfavourable to the Russians and thus became again 'the same single-minded and truly religious man he has always been',⁴

1

Freeman's Journal, 3 April 1851.

2

Ibid., 26 June 1851.

3

S.M.H., 10 January 1853, from the Times, 30 September 1852.

4

Ibid., 28 October 1854, from Argus, 23 October 1854.

an attitude of constant scorn was preserved in the non-Catholic community in Australia towards the pope. In the days before Gaeta intervention in Italian affairs to protect the pope from aggression was considered justifiable; especially when it was falsely imagined that England had intervened. After the fall of the Republic non-intervention was urged because the loss of the temporal power was seen as a good thing for all. Rome was to some a place where 'The people were weltering in ignorance; crime and vice were rampant, while an army of idle, profligate priests (loud cheers) lived luxuriously on the open plunder of the people.'¹ The 'sway of Russia' was no more barbarous and benumbing than that of 'the Pope at Rome'² so the sooner both despotic rules were concluded the better.

The Tasmanian Catholic Standard was the most vigorous organ of Australian Catholicism in its loyalty to the Holy See and the person of the pope. Yet in its first issue in July 1867 it managed to convey an impression of the weariness which crept over the Catholic world during the years 1850-1870 as the faithful watched from afar the almost agonizing progress of the downfall of the papal temporal

1

David Buchanan, An Australian Orator, Richmond Thatcher (ed.) (London, 1886), p.251.

2

Economist, 1 September 1855 in S.M.H., 30 November 1855.

power:¹

The news from Rome, by the May mail, is as satisfactory as we could well expect considering that the seemingly interminable Roman question is dragging its slow length along still, and is as near now to the Greek Calends, as it has been at any time these nine years back.

Pio Nono seemed invigorated, rather than wearied, by the events of his pontificate. Though he had been afflicted in his youth with attacks of epilepsy, which almost prevented his ordination to the priesthood,² he refused to accommodate the prophets who repeatedly foretold his resignation or impending death.³ The sight of the 'tired old man, sick as he is, without means or armies' impressed more than the anti-clerical politician Brofferio, who was applauded when he spoke those words in the Camera at Turin,⁴ and Catholics were prompted to sympathy and loyalty as the passing years rendered even the physical aspect of the pope

1

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 July 1867.

2

R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.14. Pius VIII had to intervene to overcome this obstacle to Mastai-Ferretti's ordination.

3

In 1852 the pope's health caused 'great uneasiness', S.M.H., 11 February 1852. By 1861 the Freeman's Journal was forced to dispose of a rumour that Pio Nono had nominated Wiseman to succeed him as Pius X. 'The pope has no power of nominating a successor', Freeman's Journal, 12 June 1861.

4

'I feel as if I am living in the days of a Gregory VII and I bow down and applaud him.' Pio Nono had just publicly condemned the Russian Czar. See Alberto Canestri, Pio Nono, p.71.

more benevolent. While others were moved to their various emotional responses, the pope himself was busily engaged in consolidating the policies of his pontificate, and all the while fighting to retain his temporal power.

Through the years 1850 to 1859 the affairs of the papal kingdom were relatively normal, and Pio Nono was able to rule his dominions much as he had done before his flight to Gaeta. The French ambassador at Rome reported in 1856 that 'the pontifical administration bears the marks of wisdom, reason and progress',¹ although General Lamoricière, a staunch defender of the papacy was convinced that nothing would be achieved in Rome until 'four monsignori have been strung up at the four corners of the city',² while Bishop Willson of Hobart visited a new prison on the Via Julia in 1854 and reported that except for one in France 'I have never visited one where defects of such magnitude exist',³ Yet papal power was preserved by the presence of a French garrison at Rome, while Austrian troops in the Legations kept that part of the Papal States free for the time being from annexation by Piedmont. Polding visited Rome in 1854

¹ E.F.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.157.

² R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.82.

³ John H. Cullen, 'Bishop Willson' in Australasian Catholic Record (Sydney, 1952), vol.XXVIII, p.42.

and wrote to assure McEncroe that

the Holy Father enjoys the best of health. I had the great privilege of an audience last Monday, and was delighted, comforted and encouraged by the cheerfulness and unbounded confidence of the Holy Father amidst all the storms that lower about his political horizons. More than once he repeated - let your constant thought be as mine: In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum.¹

When Pio Nono made a tour of his states in 1857 he was well pleased with what he saw, while the Freeman's Journal was able to assure its readers that 'The people of Rome is certainly one of the happiest in the world.'²

Nonetheless it was during those years that the stage was set for the final denouement that eventually deprived Pio Nono of his temporal sovereignty. The major participants in the struggle were Rome and Turin, with Paris involved as an acquiescent partner of the latter. The Herald deplored the taste for 'the blood of military despotism' of Louis Napoleon in 1852,³ but by 1855 he was applauded because 'he has pursued a course tending to draw towards him the sympathy of the British nation' despite 'those dark facts' of his past.⁴ On the other hand the Freeman's Journal was

¹ Polding to McEncroe, 20 May 1854. McEncroe Papers.

² Freeman's Journal, 22 November 1856.

³ S.M.H., 7 April 1852.

⁴ Ibid., 20 November 1855.

happy to print a letter which called Louis Napoleon 'Joshua' and 'in equal respect a Saviour' in 1852,¹ but by 1859 he was 'the Imperial despot' who placed 'in imminent peril the person of the Holy Father'.² In 1861, with considerable insight, the Freeman's Journal prophesied that ultimately Victor Emmanuel would seize Rome and 'after a proper quantity of humbug Louis Napoleon will give his reluctant consent'.³

The one constant factor in the whole matter, however, was the alleged involvement of England in the erosion of papal sovereignty. The force of the Catholic reactions, which strengthened the bonds of loyalty to Pio Nono, was evident in the degree of invective that was called forth by the heated denunciations of the pope and of his temporal power. When the Freeman's Journal printed a letter in 1855 that condemned the attitude of British politicians who hoped 'the governments of Italy will be overthrown and Popery with them...and Protestantism admitted and established in its place', it said that this was 'the key to all the whining about Italy among English Protestant

1

Freeman's Journal, 10 June 1852.

2

Ibid., 16 July 1859.

3

Ibid., 12 June 1861.

bigots'.¹ Later Archbishop Polding, in an unusually forthright statement, put his finger on what he considered was the basic reason for hostility, including English hostility, to the papal government. 'The real object of hatred is not the pretended faultiness of administration, but the simple fact that it is what it is, - a Christian Bishop's Government.'²

These Catholic reactions were caused by much of the reporting that the Times especially was responsible for in England, and which the Herald dutifully reproduced in Australia. Its reports of foreign news were calculated to turn away the minds of even the most impartial readers from any sympathy with Pio Nono.

The Papal Government continues to exhibit the total and irretrievable decay of its temporal authority in direct connection with unlimited and unprecedented claims to spiritual supremacy. A French brigade is its only defence in Rome; but in France it prohibits books, impugns the ecclesiastical law, suspends the clergy from their functions, and publishes edicts, which are received by French bishops 'on their knees', with the fulsome ejaculation, 'Peter has spoken by the lips of the immortal Pius IX!'"³

When political news from Rome was lacking it was not

1
Ibid., 8 December 1855.

2
S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral. Feast of the Precious Blood, 1860.

3
S.M.H., 18 July 1853.

uncommon to keep appetites wet with accounts like that of 'a miraculous image', which was 'enjoying the superstitious reverence of the lower orders' in that city.¹ At the same time the speeches of Palmerston and Lord John Russell on 'the despotic misrule which pervades a great part of Italy, and especially the Papal states,' were given, together with the reaction of the members of the papal court, including Pio Nono, 'who feared England and France may topple them by encouraging revolt or curtail their power'.² And if by any chance the Herald did not provide enough stimulation the Freeman's Journal was prepared to supply other sources. Either it printed letters which told Catholics to 'Rest assured that Exeter Hall is the voice proclaiming the downfall of all the Papal Kingdoms of Europe...[and] the utter annihilation from the earth of Hell-born Popes and Cardinals, and the bloody and tyrannical Papacy',³ or it quoted from 'that highly respectable publication' Cornhill, which called Pio Nono 'a fat old man, all in white, with a large, puffy, pasty face...wagging three fingers of a fat hand...scattering benedictions' and

¹ Ibid., 12 February 1855.

² Ibid., 29 November 1855.

³ Freeman's Journal, 9 August 1856.

from the Eclectic Review which referred to him as 'a wretched, drivelling old mendicant'.¹

Piedmont was the source in Italy from which stemmed the greater part of the agitation for the overthrow of papal sovereignty. At the end of 1852 Cavour came to power and he directed the struggle with Rome until his death in 1861. Perhaps more than all else it was the so called 'Law of the Convents' that confirmed Pio Nono in his attitude to Piedmont. In 1854, allegedly for economic purposes, Cavour allowed a bill to be put forward for the abolition of all religious societies in Piedmont except those devoted to public services. The Empire gave the Times version of the affair. After stating that 'the predominant influence of the Church of Rome is inconsistent with the permanence of liberal and enlightened institutions' it likened this period to that in English history when with 'the consent and approbation of the best and wisest in the nation' the government 'broke up the establishments of monasteries accumulated by the superstition and avarice of 700 years', which had 'impeded the accumulation of wealth and cursed the land with the evils of pauperism and indolence,....' It assured the government of Piedmont that 'they carry with

1

Ibid., 20 April 1861 and 26 October 1861.

them the hearty sympathy of the English nation'.¹ In Sydney a few years later, as a result of these measures, the Church of England Chronicle saw 'tyranny and oppression succumbing before the standard of liberty' in Italy, and announced that 'from Italy we still receive news of advancing Protestantism' hand in hand with the suppression of 'those Monastic institutions, which have been for ages the nurseries of idleness and immorality'.² But Emmanuel d'Azeglio wrote to Cavour, 'I have strongly warned Shaftesbury not to delude himself into thinking that we are going to become Protestants.'³

Cavour had plans that went far beyond the mere religious and political structure of the state of Piedmont.⁴ His ultimate objective was Italy and, at that, an Italy ruled by his own king. But two things stood in his path towards that objective - Austria, and Pio Nono with his Papal States. With the active military assistance of Napoleon the first

1

Empire, 20 April 1855 from Times, 11 January 1855.

2

Church of England Chronicle, 15 November 1860, 8 April 1861.

3

Le Relazione Diplomatiche Tra La Gran Bretagna ed Il Regno di Sardegna 1852-1856 (2 vols., Turin, 1956), vol.I, p.LXXI.

4

For an account of Pio Nono's contest with Victor Emmanuel, Cavour and Napoleon see P. Pirri (ed.), Pio Nono e Vittorio Emanuele II dal loro carteggio privato (4 vols., Rome, 1944-)

difficulty, Austria, could be eliminated by war. The pope was another matter, and both the plotters were aware that he could not be so easily set aside. Goold wrote to Geoghegan

The expectation of war is disturbing everybody. The French and Austrians withdraw their troops at the request of the Holy Father - he is prepared to defend his own dominions. God grant he may be able to do so.¹

In 1859, with the support of Piedmont, the Imperial army defeated the Austrians on the plains of Lombardy. Once the Austrians had withdrawn from the Romagna it was inevitable that that part of the Papal States was lost to Turin, and Pio Nono was incapable of regaining it. The military means available to the pope were too small to allow of any but defensive measures within the territories still under papal rule. It was idle for Pio Nono to think of diplomatic moves because the two interested greater powers were more than reconciled to the ultimate cessation of papal temporal sovereignty. Napoleon was prepared to resist Cavour if he tried to take Rome itself, but further than that he was not prepared to commit himself. This 'present disagreement' between Emperor and pope was seen as 'only a lover's quarrel' by the Rev. M. Baxter, who prophesized that the 'Papal Hierarchy will fall in 1873 and Napoleon will be worshipped

1

S.A.A., Goold to Geoghegan, from Rome, 10 March 1859.

as the Man of Sin by Papists'.¹ At Bendigo the Rev. C.E. Morris, an Anglican, rejected the prophecy on scriptural grounds, but he did not exonerate either of the contending parties.²

Umbria and the Marches were next in line for annexation, but Pio Nono was not prepared to let them go without a struggle. In the spring of 1860 a volunteer papal army began to assemble in Rome under the leadership of General Lamoricière, and part of that army was an Irish brigade under Major Myles O'Reilly. Back in Dublin a young priest named Matthew Quinn, the future first bishop of Bathurst, asked a pertinent question,³

Is it sensible and lawful for Irishmen to fight, for the last three centuries, England's battles all over the world - and not England's only, but those of every savage with whom she allies herself, and shall they be laughed at if they shoulder a musket for the love of the Head of their Faith and the staunchest friend of their fatherland?

Matthew Quinn helped to form a committee in Dublin and soon had an Irish Brigade in Rome. At the same time, in 1860, Cullen, with Moran as one of the secretaries and himself as

1

M. Baxter, Louis Napoleon the Destined Monarch of the World and Future Personal Antichrist (London, 1860, republished Melbourne, 1866), p.176 and p.13.

2

C.E. Morris, Let No Man Deceive You (Melbourne, 1866).

3

P.F. Moran, History, p.376.

president, formed 'The Confraternity of St. Peter', in Dublin. Its purpose was 'to unite all Catholics together in defence of the Holy Father'.¹

The Pontifical Zouaves proved no match for the Piedmontese under General Cialdini who exhorted his troops, 'Soldiers! - I am leading you against a band of drunken foreigners whom thirst for gold and a desire for plunder have brought into our country...'² The main body of the papal army was defeated, outnumbered three to one, at Castelfidardo on 18 September, while the 'Battalion of St. Patrick' hung on until 28 September at Ancona.³ Quinn went out to Paris to make arrangements for their return to Ireland.⁴ Years later a certain John Dunn, 'late of the

1

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, vol.IV, no.VI (Dublin, March 1868). Notice on inside back cover.

2

Hales, Pio Nono, p.212. Hales pointed out that the pay of the papal troops was 1½d. a day as compared to a shilling a day in the British army, p.209. The Irish Ecclesiastical Record, vol.IV, no.VI, March 1868, ran an article from Etudes Religieuses, Historiques, et Litteraries on 'The Faith and Devotion of the Pontifical Zouaves'. It said in part: 'As a mark of their vocation, God kindles in their souls a passionate love of Pius the Ninth. When they were wounded on the battle field, the only cry to be heard was, "I am wounded, but long live Pius the Ninth."' p.297.

3

P.F. Moran, History, p.376 overestimated the duration of the Irish resistance by exactly one month - until 28 October, 1860.

4

Ibid., p.377.

Pontifical Zouaves' and now resident in the Goulburn diocese, wrote to the Freeman's Journal. He asked that a cenotaph be erected in St Mary's Cathedral for the dead comrades 'who lie at Spoleto, Castelfidardo, Perugia, Ancona, Montano and Monte Rontado'. Dunn was sure that Bishop Murray of Bathurst would agree, because 'he saw the soldiers of Lamoricière in their short day of life, and has stood by their graves'. Murray 'was personally and intimately acquainted with the volunteers of 1860, and his heart is too generous to forget them'.¹

There is no record that anything was done about a cenotaph in 1873, but in 1861 Polding preached at a Requiem Mass in St Mary's for the Irish Brigade and said, 'We talk our faith: they have wrought theirs....'² There can be little doubt that when Cavour's troops defeated the papal army in 1860 and despoiled Pio Nono of Umbria and the Marches, something more than a mere military victory was effected. The participation of Irish troops in the campaign strengthened the loyalty of millions of Irish throughout the world to the person and prerogatives of Pio Nono.³ In

1

Freeman's Journal, 13 September 1873.

2

Ibid., 3 March 1861.

3

In Ireland another effect also was evident. 'The Papal movement in Ireland had raised the educational demands on to a height the bishops had hardly dared to expect.' See E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.52.

Australia itself the Irish Catholics, though led in New South Wales by two English Benedictines, Polding and Gregory, were not slow to respond.

On 9 May 1860, while the Pontifical Zouaves were assembling in Rome, Henry Gregory wrote a letter on the troubled state of the papal dominions and the difficulties of Pio Nono. Addressed to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Sydney it directed them, on the archbishop's orders, to say the Collect Pro Papa at Mass daily until the octave of Peter and Paul. Polding wrote a pastoral on the same subject, dated 1 July, and ordered collections to be taken up throughout the archdiocese before the first Sunday in August. He himself contributed £50, while McAlroy and Bermingham at Yass together put in another £50. Some 5400 people contributed £6,000 in all, with Carcoar giving £100, Ipswich £80 and Brisbane Water £40. Polding and 61 priests signed a letter of protest against the outrages perpetrated on Pio Nono. The whole collection and documents were printed in a 48 page pamphlet entitled Benevolence Fund Contributed in the Archdiocese of Sydney, New South Wales, For the Service of Pope Pius IX.¹

With that as a beginning a steady stream of money began

1

The document is in S.A.A. The final sum is taken from Freeman's Journal, 19 June 1861.

to flow from Australia to Rome.¹ That Pio Nono was in need of the money can be scarcely questioned because he now had to support a full civil administration on the revenue from a fragment of his former dominions. Goold wrote to Geoghegan from London in 1859 'As to a present from the Holy Father to the Melbourne public library - that is out of the question - he is too poor to give anything.'² But as far as the donors were concerned it was now a case of supporting the Head of the Church whose situation, at least on the level of the temporal order, seemed perilous. 'The Church throughout the whole world is engaged in an arduous struggle. If we have our difficulties, the Holy Father has far greater....' Polding wrote to Lanigan.³ The growth in loyalty and veneration for Pio Nono seemed proportionate to the growth of his difficulties, and they were far from fully grown as yet.

In Rome Pio Nono consoled himself with the fact that thousands upon thousands of people, including Italians, had written to him 'letters full of affection' in which they protested 'against the sacrilegious spoliation, committed

1

A regular Peter's Pence, by which annual contributions could be made to the pope, was suggested. Freeman's Journal, 19 June 1861.

2

S.A.A., Goold to Geoghegan, 4 August 1859.

3

S.A.A., Polding to Lanigan, 8 May 1860.

to the prejudice of Our person and the sovereignty of this See'.¹ Meanwhile, in Sydney, the Freeman's Journal warned 'Unfortunate Italians! They will suffer for their search after the phantom of liberty, by finding themselves... under an overwhelming tyranny.'² Monsignor Bedini, secretary of Propaganda Fide, preached in the Propaganda College chapel on 6 January 1861. He used the Gospel text to illustrate the futility of Herod's persecution, and suggested that soon it would be said, as it had been of the enemies of Christ, 'Defuncti sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri.'³

The words of Pio Nono, much less the prophecies of Mgr. Bedini, seemed to have no effect in Turin, where the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed on 27 January 1861 with Victor Emmanuel as king.⁴ On 27 March Cavour made his

1

From the French text of Pio Nono's allocution Iamdudum cernimus at a consistory 18 March 1861. Correspondance de Rome, 23 March 1861.

2

Freeman's Journal, 23 February 1861.

3

Correspondance de Rome, 19 January 1861.

4

If it achieved nothing else this proclamation made the task of the historian easier. Benedetto Croce said 'Before 1860 there are the separate histories of the Kingdoms.... But there is no history of Italy.' See Alexander Passerin D'Entréves, Reflections on the History of Italy (Oxford, 1947), p.7.

famous speech on 'a free Church in a free State',¹ after negotiations had gone on for some months with a view to an agreement between Rome and Piedmont. But Cavour poisoned his own wells, at which there was at least some prospect that Pio Nono and Antonelli would drink, by carrying through the very measures of spoliation in Umbria and the Marches against the Church that had so enraged the pope when they were put into effect initially in Turin.² Soon afterwards Cardinal Corsi, archbishop of Pisa, was arrested and kept in custody at Turin. Neither then, nor later, were the Piedmontese officials selective as to whom they arrested. In 1866 Polding wrote to Bernard Smith at Rome. 'I and F. Edm. were arrested at Turin, detained and taken to the Police Office....In vain we pleaded that we were British subjects....

1

A. Omodeo, Difesa del Risorgimento, second ed. (Turin, 1955), p.414 said that Montalembert was 'the inventor of the formula "Free Church in a free State"'. This was the speech in which Montalembert quoted Father Patrick Bermingham of Yass. Montalembert, of whom Pio Nono said, 'he speaks well but he ought to speak less' called Cavour's 'free Church in a Free State' nothing better than 'a despoiled Church in a spoliative State'. See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.223.

2

Cavour wrote to his commissioner in Umbria, Pepoli: 'Put into effect energetic measures against the friars...heal the leprosy of monachism which infects the territories remaining under the Roman domination.' See Jemolo, Chiesa e Stato, p.230. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.415, said that Vaughan persuaded Gladstone to intervene with the Italian authorities and thus save Monte Cassino 'from sharing the fate of other monastic edifices in Italy, which were dissolved by order of the Italian Government'.

About midnight we were allowed to return to our hotel,'¹

To all of this Pio Nono reacted with customary vigour. His consistorial allocution of 18 March 1861, Iamdudum cernimus, condemned the proposition that 'the injustice of an act, when successful, inflicts no injury on the sanctity of right', an obvious reference to the loss of his states. The other proposition which was to cause such heartburning when he included it, together with the one cited, in his Syllabus of Errors in 1864, firmly denied that 'The Roman Pontiff can and must be reconciled to and settle his differences with progress, liberalism and current civilization.'²

In the minds of Pio Nono and Antonelli 'progress, liberalism and current civilization' were words which Cavour, Mazzini and Louis Napoleon were fond of using, but they seemed to cover such activities as Rossi's murder, the loss of the temporal power, civil marriage laws, the arrest of prelates, the expulsion of nuns from convents and like measures. Pio Nono was unable to see that those words also meant things like economic progress, railroads, a free press,

1

S.A.A., Polding to Smith, 19 June 1866.

2

Syllabus of Errors. Propositions 61 and 80 in Denzinger, Enchiridion, pp.489, 490, and Correspondance de Rome, 23 March 1861.

better education and the many other social improvements which the liberals sought to effect. It was this kind of a reaction that the Melbourne Age had in mind eleven years later when it warned that

The danger to Roman Catholicism in Australia is its tendency to become identified with Ultramontanism....The Ultramontanians are in opposition to liberal progress in every land wherein they have a footing....Here they should have no vocation. Ultramontanism in Australia is an excrescence and an anachronism.¹

But the Catholic reaction in Australia to what was happening in Italy in 1860-1861 was as yet in no danger of assuming other than a pale guise of Roman Ultramontanism. Roger Therry had an audience with Pio Nono on 9 December 1860 in which the pope said 'everything has been taken from me but my capital Rome. I am bereft of all means, yet left responsible for everything....I have nothing to rely on but the free oblations of the faithful.'² Adelaide, like Sydney, responded and sent its 'free oblations' together with a protest against the 'sacrilegious hands' which 'seize on that Patrimony of St. Peter'.³ True Ultramontanism began to affect the Australian Church when Pio Nono started to mould that element of active sympathy with his cause into assent

¹ Age, 5 July 1872.

² Freeman's Journal, 23 February 1861.

³ Ibid., 19 October 1861.

for the condemnations contained in the Syllabus of Errors in 1864, and the dogmatic definition of Papal Infallibility in 1870.

Cavour died on 6 June 1861 after receiving the last rites of the Church.¹ Again Pio Nono's death was believed imminent, but Australian Catholics were consoled by the thought that the Church 'did not depend...upon the life or death of an individual, however exalted' while on the other hand there was no 'deficiency of men quite on a par with Cavour in wickedness, but the difficulty is in finding someone capable of carrying out the programme of injustice and spoliation he had inaugurated'.² Ricasoli was Cavour's successor and he was sincere when he said to Pio Nono 'Italy will give you a secure see, an entire liberty, a new grandeur.'³ Neither Pio Nono nor the Freeman's Journal believed him.

Pio Nono decided to profit by the ceremonies held in honour of the Japanese martyrs in June 1862 to call the attention of the bishops of the world to his perilous situation. He invited them all to the ceremony at St Peters.

1

A. Omodeo, Difesa, p.412 called it an act done only 'to respect social conventions'.

2

Freeman's Journal, 14 August 1861.

3

Ibid., 22 January 1862.

Polding wrote to tell the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda that he could not be present and spoke of the pope 'surrounded by so many waves of human wickedness'.¹ Moran noted in his diary, 'The Pope made a very beautiful address to the Bps: inter caetera, he said he wd never abandon Rome unless dragged from it.'² The assembled bishops, 323 in all, declared the temporal power a providential institution, but they did not proclaim that it was a truth of faith. Instead they told Pio Nono that they would follow his lead in defending the temporal power 'as far as prison and death'.³

All of this was of small consequence in the eyes of the government at Turin. It was up to Napoleon III to yield to Turin and relinquish his defence of what remained of the Papal States, or to be, as Antonelli hoped, 'the defender of the Holy See'.⁴ It was evident enough where Napoleon's

¹ S.A.A., Polding to the Cardinal Prefect, 21 April 1862.

² S.A.A., Moran Diary 1860-1862, 31 May 1862. On 29 June Moran noted 'Dr. Cullen said Mass at S. Pietro in Vinculi at the invitation of the Abbot, to give first Communion to the little converted Jew Mortara and some others....' The child in question was the central figure of the well known Mortara case.

³ R. Aubert, Le pontificat, pp.96-7.

⁴ M de la Fuye et Emile Albert Babeau, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte Avant L'Empire (Paris, 1951), p.377. But Palmerston was a better judge of Louis Napoleon: 'The Emperor's mind seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits', he said. See J.M. Thompson, Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire (Oxford, 1954), p.204.

inclinations lay, but it was not easy for him to turn a deaf ear to French Catholic protests, especially after the Japanese martyrs' ceremonies. Eventually, he agreed at the September Convention in 1864 that he would withdraw his troops from Rome within two years, provided the Piedmontese government agreed to preserve intact the remnants of the papal territories, and to move the capital elsewhere from Turin. Florence was chosen, and according to English opinion 'Florence is made a temporary capital, and only becomes a stage of the armies of revolution and the policy of infidelity on their way to Rome.'¹

In the 1860's the new bishops began to arrive. They brought with them their own convictions on loyalty to the Holy See and the settlement of the Roman Question. They were convictions that in several instances were shaped by exposure to the very events in Italy that the Church in Australia had experienced hitherto vicariously and, as a result, they were deeply imbedded in the wills and minds of their holders. James Quinn arrived in 1861. He had matured under Cullen in Dublin and he was slow to understand his new environment.² But the principles upon which he based

1

Freeman's Journal, 25 January 1865. The editor did not agree with English opinion in this instance. He thought that even Napoleon could be scarcely that untrustworthy.

2

See T.L. Suttor, Hierarchy, chapter 8.

his episcopate were those learnt between 1838-48 in the Roman schools, and the diocese he governed was quickly moulded on Roman lines of law and theology, together with the all pervasive element of loyalty to Pio Nono. It was to be the pattern for all the new dioceses of the future.

In Hobart, under the episcopate of Willson who died in 1866, the people were well versed in the difficulties of Pio Nono, and the alleged wickedness of his enemies. In 1864 Willson wrote a Lenten Pastoral and gave a long list of the calamities that had befallen the enemies of Pio Nono.¹ He did so not 'to exult...but to prove to you how vain are all the efforts, and boastings, and exultations of men against the See of Rome'. He deplored the fact that

One individual attached to Victor Emmanuel, seemed to be almost an idol. Even many ladies in these remote colonies, honoured him by wearing some part of their dress of a deep red colour, - I mean General Garibaldi.

This was good ground for Daniel Murphy, second bishop of Hobart, to work on. From Hyderabad he had written to Pio Nono in 1862 to tell him that he held 'the civil power of the Holy See to be providentially instituted...' and much of his later work in Tasmania was directed to ensuring that

1

Willson's Lenten Pastoral in Freeman's Journal, 10 February 1864. Mazzini was now an 'outcast', Farini 'insane', Depretis 'has lately had a serious attack of madness'.

in that island the papacy had 'perfect liberty to defend and propagate the Catholic faith and to rule and govern the entire Christian republic'.¹

The two arrivals in October 1866 were Matthew Quinn for Bathurst, and James Murray for Maitland. After their consecration by Cullen in Dublin, with Murphy as a co-consecrator, in November 1865, 'they set out for Rome to receive further instructions from the Holy Father...and they remained there until Easter of the following year'.² Matthew Quinn as promotor of the Irish Brigade, and James Murray as intimate of its members, need no introduction in this context. They were followed in later years by prelates like O'Mahoney, Crane and O'Connor, all of whom were motivated by the same sentiments of attachment to the Holy See, and a determination to see it a fixed part of the mind of the Church in Australia. The archbishop of Baltimore, Martin Spalding, summed up the mind of the Roman bishops of his day in a pastoral written in 1870.³

Fidelity to the Pope by the Bishops secures to the latter the fidelity and obedience of priests

1

Murphy to Pio Nono, 21 September 1862. In P.F. Moran, History, p.284.

2

Ibid., p.378.

3

S.A.A., M.J. Spalding, Pastoral Letter, Rome, 19 July 1870, p.32. Spalding was a close friend of Cullen.

and people under their jurisdiction; while the rejection of papal authority has invariably ended in the Bishops becoming the slaves of the civil power or the subservient instruments of the flock over whom they are placed; all history proclaims this truth.

Perhaps the best source for an understanding of the attitude of Australian Catholics towards the vicissitudes of Pio Nono during the last years of his reign as pope-king is the Tasmanian Catholic Standard. Under the aegis of Murphy it began publication in Hobart Town on 20 July 1867, and devoted itself almost without variation to the defence of the Holy See, until it ceased publication in June 1872. By the third issue on 20 September 1867 eight out of fourteen pages were given over to Rome and Pio Nono.¹ The Bishop assisted with his pastoral letters, while sermons and addresses on the topic proliferated.² When the news of Garibaldi's defeat at Mentana was known the poet had to be evoked to express the feeling,³

¹ Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 September 1867.

² Murphy's Lenten Pastoral of 1868 asked the people to pray for Pio Nono 'Assailed by the most inveterate enemies of all law...and aided by no human power upon which he can rely.' Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 February 1868. Rev. Dr Beechinor, a former student of the Propaganda, and nephew of Murphy, gave a lecture on the 'immortal Pius IX' at Hobart on 9 October 1867. The evening concluded with the singing of Rossini's Ode to Pius IX 'Su fratelli cantiamo', which was spiritedly rendered by the ladies and gentlemen of St. Joseph's choir'. Ibid., 19 October 1867. The paper acquired its own Roman correspondent in September 1867.

³ Ibid., 20 February 1868. From Tablet, 7 December 1867.

Tis the joy of a new Lepanto,
The fierce freebooter is flying.

In August 1868 Murphy wrote another pastoral that said 'if we cannot send him [Pio Nono] soldiers, let us at least send him money. Sydney, Maitland, Bathurst and Victoria have already taken up this noble work'.¹ In 1869 the clergy and people of the diocese of Hobart addressed a letter to Pio Nono.²

We, too, Most Blessed Father, although so far distant from the Eternal City, even in these remote regions, have been witnesses to Peter's faith and constancy...[You are] the undaunted champion of the rights, temporal as well as spiritual of Your See,....

They sent a money offering of £212, which 'small though it be, and corresponding to our straightened circumstances rather than to our desires', elicited a reply from Pio Nono in 1870 that almost sent the editor into a delirium of joy.³ In June 1870 the Bishop, writing from Rome, decided to put Peter's Pence on a permanent basis. He asked a penny from each Catholic annually, which would have amounted to about £80 a year from the diocese. 'By this penny we can enter our protest against the unchristian principle of invading a

1

Pastoral Letter of Bishop Murphy, *ibid.*, 20 August 1868.

2

Letter of Clergy and People of Hobart Town Diocese, 8 October 1869, *ibid.*, 20 October 1869.

3

Letter from Pio Nono, 26 February 1870, *ibid.*, 20 May 1870.

neighbouring territory in time of peace.... By this penny we shall testify our loyalty to the Holy See of Peter....¹

The editor further explained the need on the grounds that 'in 1859 the revolution, or in other words the infidel Government of Turin robbed the Holy Father of sixteen provinces,..... France looking on and consenting to the sacrilege'.²

In Italy events had been moving towards their logical conclusion. The French garrison had remained on at Rome since 1864, but it was clear that if ever the occasion arose when Napoleon had need of all his available troops Rome would be, in effect, an open city. In July 1870 the Franco-Prussian war began, and by early August the French troops were leaving Rome for the front. Harry Jervoise, successor to Odo Russell in Rome, wrote to Earl Granville on 29 July 1870. He said that in audience with Antonelli that day the latter had told him that Banneville, the French ambassador,

1

Ibid., 20 June 1870.

2

Ibid. The name 'revolution' was normally used by the Italian Jesuit magazine, Civiltà Cattolica, for the process that is usually called the Risorgimento. Sometimes the Civiltà Cattolica saw other than its intended effects: 'The Revolution, under the hand of God who plays on the face of the earth has become a very effective instrument of victory for the Church, and a miraculous means of glory for the Roman Pontiff.' See 'La Rivoluzione e l' Enciclica Pontificia' in Civiltà Cattolica, Serie VI, vol.1, Rome, 18 February 1865, p.387.

said 'guarantees had been required from and given by Italy that the Pope's dominions should be protected from revolutionary attempts from without'.¹

It was of course precisely on those alleged grounds that Victor Emmanuel decided to occupy Rome. He wrote to tell Pio Nono that his troops would occupy key positions within the Patrimony in order to protect the papacy.² The British government sent a ship, the Defence, to offer safe conduct to the pope, but neither he himself, nor 'a large mass of the people' wanted the papacy out of Rome.³ On 20 September the Italian troops began the bombardment of the city, but the Papal Zouaves were given orders to offer only token resistance, and an armistice was signed that same day.⁴ There must have been some active resistance however.

¹ Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Rome 1870-71, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Consent of Her Majesty (London, 1871), p.1.

² Letter from Victor Emmanuel to Pio Nono, Florence, 8 September 1870, 'per la sicurezza della Vostra Santità e pel mantenimento dell'ordine'. See Pirri, Pio Nono, parte II, pp.269-71. The pope replied in part, 'Benedico Dio che ha permesso a V.M. di ricolmare di amarezza l'ultimo periodo della mia vita'. Ibid., p.273.

³ Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Rome 1870-71, p.4 and p.39.

⁴ Edoardo Soderini, whose views were anti-papal, writing in 1894 admitted that 'The occupation of Rome, though unexpected when it happened, was long since prepared for both by the government of Piedmont and by its followers'. E. Soderini, Roma Ed Il Governo 1870 al 1894. (Rome, 1894), p.3.

Bishop Quinn of Brisbane,¹

was present in Rome in September when the assault on the city was made by the Italian army, and, with his usual earnestness, he hastened to the point of attack on the Porta Pia to comfort the Papal Irish Zouaves by his presence, and to administer the consolations of religion to those that might be dying or wounded in the assault. The Zouaves subsequently related that he displayed the greatest courage on this occasion, not only exercising his sacred ministry, but also visiting the men and bringing them refreshments under fire.

The Herald's epitaph on the temporal power was succinct. The occupation of Rome caused no surprise, General Cadorna and his Italian troops were welcomed 'with cries of exultation' and then the people went to the Vatican where they looked 'up towards the Papal residence, [and] began hissing and howling in a frightful manner'.² The pope was thought to be sensible in staying on in Rome and the whole event signified a further trend towards the separation of

1

P.F. Moran, History, p.615. Moran also related how Quinn, 'a perfect master of the Italian language' dealt with a group of Italian Carbonari who drew stiletos on him in a restaurant in Ancona because he criticised the 'usurpation by the Italian Government', *ibid.*

2

S.M.H., 22 November 1870. The Freeman's Journal quoted from the Roman correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette of 26 September who said that 'a mob of Roman roughs swarmed into the piazza of St. Peter's and made a rush at the entrance to the Vatican, shouting "Death to Antonelli!" "Death to the Pope!"' Freeman's Journal, 10 December 1870.

Church and State.¹ Meanwhile, the Rev. James Brotherstone Laughton addressed the first sederunt as the newly elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales and called Catholicism 'this monstrous system of falsehood and iniquity,.....' while he thought that Infallibility was 'an audacious and intolerable blasphemy'.²

Pio Nono was, by his own choice, a prisoner in the Vatican, on the grounds that he could not move freely as a citizen in a city over which he had so lately ruled as king. The Freeman's Journal was quick to use the phrase that won Catholic sympathy with the popes through to Pius XI, and the signing of the Concordat in 1929. 'On the 20th of last month, after a reign of almost unexampled splendour and duration the Holy Father was, if the late telegrams are to be trusted, a prisoner in his palace of the Vatican.' Some small consolation was offered to readers by stating that whether he was restored or died in exile was 'to him and to us, as concerns the Divine protection of our Faith, a matter of infinite indifference', because he would still be pope wherever he was.³

¹ S.M.H., 22 November 1870.

² Ibid., 5 November 1870. The first news of Italian occupation of Rome was printed in S.M.H., 25 October 1870.

³ Freeman's Journal, 29 October 1870.

The bishops who had attended the Vatican Council had mostly returned by early 1871, and they were quick to ask for support for Pio Nono in their pastoral letters during Lent of that year.¹ At Maitland on 19 March 'the largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in the Hunter River district' expressed 'Sympathy with His Holiness The Pope And Abhorrence At The Occupation Of His Territory.' The Freeman's Journal report ran to 10,000 words.² On 22 April Bishop Murray visited Talbragar where the people in an address said, 'We fear not the consequences, we know that he will be sustained, for even banishment, would but increase his power and our love. His throne, even then, would be secure in the hearts of his people.'³ The bishops of Hobart, Maitland and Armidale attended a demonstration arranged by Quinn of Bathurst in his Cathedral on 12 March 1871 to express sympathy with Pio Nono, and an address was sent to Rome from the bishops, clergy and people.⁴ When Bishop O'Mahoney was welcomed to Grafton on 23 July the address accused other states of having allowed 'the law of

1

Ibid., 25 February 1871. Murray of Maitland said 'The Holy Father is now a prisoner in Rome, and in the hands of his enemies....'

2

Ibid., 1 April 1871.

3

Ibid., 6 May 1871.

4

P.F. Moran, History, pp.387-8.

might over right' to hold sway and warned that it 'must eventually operate against the peace and happiness of the world'.¹

In Hobart where Bishop Murphy did not arrive until March, a martial note had been struck by S.V. Vogt in November.²

Ye Catholics of every land,
Unite with those at Rome,
To aid the Sovereign Pontiff,
And guard his ancient throne.

The people were assured that 'The glories of the Popedom cannot long be obscured by contact with the foul atmosphere of an Italian rabble - ...'³ and Murphy told them that Pio Nono 'would be restored to his sovereignty'.⁴ In Melbourne protest meetings were similarly held and one appeal, at St Francis' Church, raised £75 for the pope.⁵ Melbourne raised some £600 in all which was sent to Pio Nono through Cullen in Dublin, and Antonelli wrote back a special letter of thanks.⁶

1 Freeman's Journal, 29 July 1871.

2 Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 21 November 1870

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 20 March 1871.

5 Ibid., 21 July 1871.

6 Freeman's Journal, 6 July 1872.

When Pio Nono wrote to Polding and his suffragan bishops on 9 October 1871 he perhaps exaggerated when he spoke of the 'restriction of the freedom of our supreme ministry; upon the exercise of which the guidance of the whole catholic family depends'.¹ The facts were that, despite some limitations on Pio Nono in the allocation of clerical benefices, the Law of Guarantees framed by the Italian State, but not agreed to by Pio Nono and Antonelli, left the pope complete freedom in the exercise of his apostolic office. In any case, whatever about Italy, where the papacy stood in a particular relationship with the state, Pio Nono could not justly say that any limitations were placed on him in his relations with the universal church. With the Church in Australia relations remained as normal as at any other period. Five months after his letter to Polding the pope was able to deal with the difficulties that arose during the vacancy of the see of Adelaide, by sending Murphy and Quinn of Bathurst as apostolic visitors to remedy the situation. On their departure on 2 July 1872 a Catholic layman, Dr Gunson, read an address of thanks in which he said,²

1

S.A.A., Letter of Pio Nono to Polding and his suffragan bishops, Rome, 9 October 1871.

2

P.F. Moran, History, text of address, p.531.

We are sure you will allow us this opportunity of proclaiming our devoted attachment to the illustrious Head of the Church, Pius IX, who, though surrounded by bitter enemies and oppressed by severe trials and persecutions, has been mindful of his children in this distant land.

Murphy assured the people that 'the result of our investigations will be laid before the Holy Father, and he will apply the remedy quickly, I am confident'.¹ Christopher Augustine Reynolds, a Dubliner, trained in his youth in the Papal States, was the remedy, when he was appointed bishop of Adelaide the following year.

On other grounds, however, Pio Nono was completely in agreement with his bishops. They told him, he said, that 'the see of Peter had been made dearer to them' on account of 'the wicked occupation of our temporal kingdom'. The pope expressed his profound gratitude for their concern.² Perhaps by 1871, with his own kind of wisdom, Pio Nono was able to enjoy a certain degree of complacency as to the outcome of the Roman Question.³ Manning said in a sermon in London that 'many declared the Roman question at an end.

1

Ibid., p.532.

2

S.A.A., Pio Nono to Polding, 9 October 1871.

3

While the Italian troops occupied Rome the pope allegedly busied himself working out a riddle on the verb 'tremare'. See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.315. Pirri, La Questione Romana, Parte I, p.313 said the story was unfounded.

Not so; the Roman question is only beginning.¹ It was a matter which would drag on for another sixty years, but for Pio Nono the final outcome was of small consequence, because he had used it in a way that would last beyond the confines of arguments about territorial sovereignty. In the same month in which that event which signalled the end of papal temporal power, the Franco-Prussian war, was declared, July 1870, Pio Nono was himself declared the infallible pope.

When the Herald came to write its editorial summing up the year 1870 the incident that occupied its interest was the fall of the French Republic. The occupation of Rome and the Vatican Council, with the definition of Infallibility, did not rate a mention.² The editor of the Freeman's Journal in 1871 saw things in another light.³ He entitled his editorial 'Digitus Dei':

The most important event of the century, most important to the future of the Church, is that event which we know to have been the work of the Holy Ghost - the Definition of the Infallibility of the Pope.... [If tried 30 years before it would have been impossible, or would have caused schism] because the hearts of Catholics, in those days, were less turned towards Rome, and they took less interest in

1 S.M.H., 5 December 1870.

2 Ibid., 31 December 1870.

3 Freeman's Journal, 11 November 1871.

their chief. Devotion, personal devotion to the Pope has been the gradual growth and characteristic of the last twenty years, and this devotion has been fostered and matured, not so much by the character of the present Pontiff as by the persecutions he has suffered. Pity is the mother of love, and these persecutions...have drawn towards him the hearts of his children throughout the world; they have secured for him a veneration and a love such as no other Pontiff probably possessed during life....

It was in these persecutions and their consequences that the editor invited his readers to see 'The Finger of God' at work.

In the final years of the papal temporal power a series of traumatic events took place in New South Wales that would have no place here were it not for the fact that they bound the Catholics of the colonies more closely together, and inclined them to see in their own misfortunes a reflection of the difficulties under which Pio Nono laboured in Rome. As a result, an extension of their own self pity, their feeling of estrangement from the community in which they themselves lived, was easily projected to embrace the common father of the Church, Pio Nono.

When Henry James O'Farrell attempted to murder the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf, Sydney, in March 1868 the Freeman's Journal was quick to call him a 'monster', to pray 'that he be not an Irishman', but to concur that 'if the atrocious ruffian be of our race, then Irishmen must bow

their heads in sorrow,....'¹ O'Farrell was duly found to be Irish, sane,² a former candidate for the priesthood,³ guilty, and promptly hung. On 9 June William Lanigan, bishop of Goulburn, wrote a pastoral letter in which he compared the calumnies hurled at Catholics over the O'Farrell case in Australia to those hurled at the pope. 'As of Rome so of Irish faith the trial seems to be perpetual,....' The bishop called for prayers and a collection for the pope.⁴

On 29 June 1865 the mother church of Australian Catholicism, St Mary's in Sydney, was burnt to the ground, uninsured. It was decided to erect a temporary structure, sufficiently large to accommodate the congregation, while a

1

Ibid., 14 March 1868. But an editorial, 12 October 1867, entitled 'An Ill Starred Prince', was not calculated to engender loyalty in anyone's heart. When he actually arrived, however, he was wished 'a pleasant stay here and a safe voyage home'. Ibid., 25 January 1868.

2

O'Farrell was only five months old when his family came out to Victoria. As to his sanity his former physician, Dr Whitcombe of Ballarat, said that he had treated him for insanity. See Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 March 1868 and 20 April 1868. If he was sane it was a streak of sanity which seemed peculiar to the family, and was impartial in its application. In 1882 Archbishop Goold of Melbourne was the victim of an unsuccessful attempt at murder by a certain P. O'Farrell, brother of the Clontarf 'monster'. See P.F. Moran, History, p.830.

3

S.A.A., Polding to Cardinal Prefect, 26 February 1869. Polding said that O'Farrell was believed to have taken deacon's orders.

4

Freeman's Journal, 20 June 1868.

new cathedral was in course of construction. On 5 January 1869 St Mary's Temporary Cathedral, as the Herald called it, was burnt down.¹ While deploring the loss the Herald doubted if it was the work of an incendiary, an opinion with which a public inquiry later concurred.² However, suspicions were aroused and it was pointed out that another attempt had been made to burn the cathedral, while the Newtown church had been recently violated.³

Polding, who had written a Pastoral Letter on the attempted assassination,⁴ attended a public meeting on the day after the fire at which he said, 'Let us have no conjectures now as to the cause of this affliction which has so grieved us, no suspicions unworthy of ourselves....'⁵ 'Only let us submit ourselves to the adorable will of God....'⁶ Yet a few weeks later he wrote to the Cardinal

¹ S.M.H., 6 January 1869.

² Ibid.

³ Freeman's Journal, 9 January 1869.

⁴ S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral, 29 March 1869. Polding regretted that as a Christian and a bishop he was forced to condemn publicly an act which any normal man would consider atrocious. The frenzied state of public opinion, however, left him no alternative.

⁵ S.M.H., 6 January 1869.

⁶ Freeman's Journal, 9 January 1869.

Prefect in Rome to relate the great personal disaster that had befallen him in the loss, for the second time, of his cathedral. He then said, 'On the basis of some evidence and from carefully weighing the circumstances of the matter, it is considered that the event was due to human malice rather than negligence or chance. Although it cannot be proved in a legal way the thought has come to many "an enemy hath done this to us"'. The archbishop went on to say that the cause of the whole unfortunate occurrence was the attempted assassination by O'Farrell.¹

It was scarcely a coincidence therefore that, while the Catholics of every Australian colony were exerting themselves financially to collect money for the building of a new cathedral, they were likewise subscribing to Peter's Pence with renewed interest. The Freeman's Journal on the one hand hoped that 'a couple of companies of native youth, genuine Australians, . . . ' would join the Canadians who had volunteered for the papal army,² and on the other hoped that the subscriptions from the 'Church in Australia, together with 'our discountenance of "Public Schools"' would enable 'the Holy Father to cope with the mightiest moral evil the world ever saw'.³ Meanwhile the Church in Australia

¹ S.A.A., Polding to Cardinal Prefect, 26 February 1869.

² Freeman's Journal, 20 June 1868.

³ Ibid., 4 July 1868.

closed her ranks and tried to recover from the O'Farrell incident and the slur of being a breeding ground for Fenianism. It was a strange quirk of fate for the Cullenite bishops, who hated Fenianism and all revolutionaries with something of the energy of their moulders, Pio Nono and Cullen, to find their flocks tainted by accusations of that kind in Australia.

Catholic historians who work in the field of the nineteenth century on topics related to their Church can suffer from the myopia of seeing the world with the eyes of Pio Nono. But if any evaluation is to be made of the Catholic Church in that period it is necessary to see Pio Nono through the eyes of the world in which he lived, Catholic and non-Catholic. Why did he become the central figure in Australian Catholicism between 1850-1878? When he came to the papacy in 1846 he was certainly acknowledged in these colonies as the Head of the Church. But he was a remote figure, far from the minds and hearts of Australian Catholics. Then came Gaeta and the Roman Republic, and Catholics were reminded of Pius VII hounded out of Rome by Napoleon, or even of Hildebrand dying in exile.

As the years passed and Pio Nono suffered the loss of his States, coupled with the widespread aversion to his person and office evidenced by non-Catholics, it was natural that Catholic attitudes towards their Chief Pastor would

change and solidify. By 1871 the 'prisoner of the Vatican' was a figure of immense importance, the subject of love, pity and veneration by Australian Catholics. Lacking as they did that quality which possessed so many of their fellow Australians by which their eyes turned to London and the person of the Queen for a figurehead and an expression of their national sentiments and loyalties, Australian Catholics were inclined to look to the Vatican to the person of Pio Nono. It would be an exaggeration to allege that this duality impaired the civic loyalty of Australian Catholics. But it is no exaggeration to state that, led by a hierarchy largely Roman trained and totally Roman orientated, the Catholic Church in this period, while it retained its Irish qualities, and began to fit in more closely to the new Australian scene, was continually and firmly shaped in a Roman mould.

CHAPTER 4THE DOCTRINAL SHAPE OF THE ROMAN MOULD

'Nowhere was...[the] solemn definition of the privilege of our Immaculate Lady received with greater enthusiasm and delight than in the Australian Church, which under the title of the Help of Christians honours her as Chief Patron.'¹ From the earliest origins of the Church in Australia devotion to Mary was one of its most notable characteristics due, partly, to Father Therry who placed the old St Mary's in Sydney under the protection of the 'Help of Christians'. In 1847 Rome granted a rescript which spoke of Our Lady Help of Christians as 'Patroness of Australia' and the feast with its element of national patronage gained gradual recognition.² Amongst the Irish, devotion to Mary was always regarded as a keystone in the arch of Christian faith, with the result that the Irish priests and people, who in the main made up the Australian Church, were well prepared for any doctrinal evolution in that element of their faith.

1

P.F. Moran, History, p.447.

2

See article by W.P.C. 'Patrona Totius Australiae' in Manly, vol.2, no.2 (Melbourne, 1923), pp.89-90 and Catholic Directory (Sydney, 1887). The decision to petition Rome was made at the first Provincial Council in 1844.

For several hundred years prior to 1854 belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was practically universal throughout the Catholic Church. The Catholick Almanack for the year 1687 listed for December 8,

The Conception of the glorious and ever B. Virgin Mary, Mother of God; A Feast first instituted by St. Anselme, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Monk of S. Bennets Order, in the Year 1070 and commanded afterwards by Sixtus the Fourth to be generally observ'd, Anno 1476.¹

But in the East and West the exact meaning of the belief was argued about for centuries. The differences between the Franciscans and Dominicans on the matter became so acrimonious that at the Council of Constance in 1417 further discussion was forbidden.² Nonetheless the doctrine itself was especially dear to Polding. A document in the Propaganda archives dated 23 May 1843, noted,

The Archbishop of Sydney...(illegible) requests for New Holland to be able to add in the Preface of the Mass of the Conception the title Immaculate and³ in the Litany of Loreto sine labe concepta.

¹ The Catholick Almanack for the year 1687 (London, 1687), M.L.

² See J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, 53 vols (Paris, 1923-1927), vol.28, col.503.

³ See I.H. Burns, Foundation, pp.287-88. When the Rev. W. McIntyre caused riots in Maitland in 1860 by lecturing on Popery, part of the reason was that he read aloud the Litany of Loreto and called it 'idolatrous'. See W. McIntyre, The Heathenism of Popery, Proved and Illustrated (Maitland, 1860), p.29.

Nothing could have come of Polding's request because when he heard of Bishop Davis' illness in 1849 he vowed to add the title to the Litany should Davis recover.¹ The belief itself had caused Bishop Broughton to speak of a hymn to Mary as 'abominable idolatry' and led the Sydney Chronicle to defend it:- 'And is it blasphemy to call her immaculate, who was declared by God himself by the mouth of his angel FULL OF GRACE?'²

The early years of the Catholic Church in Western Australia also bore witness to the fact that before Pio Nono declared the dogmatic definition in 1854, devotion to Mary under the title of Immaculate Conception was alive there. Dr Joseph Serra, after his consecration as bishop of Port Victoria in Rome in 1848, requested the pope to place the new diocese under Mary's protection with that title. Serra never went to Port Victoria, but his request was granted, as it was again when he asked the same for Perth in 1854.³ Although it is known today as St Mary's,⁴ the cathedral in

1

H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.212.

2

Sydney Chronicle, 7, 21 September 1844.

3

P.F. Moran, History, p.568 gave the details of these transactions saying that he saw the original petitions, with the signature of the pope on them, in the Perth diocesan archives.

4

Official Year Book, 1966-1967, p.265.

Perth was called 'Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception' by Moran.¹

Not only was the belief in the Immaculate Conception strong from the English and Spanish Benedictines sources, Ireland also witnessed to devotion to Mary under that title. One of Cullen's most important functions on his return to Ireland was to preside over the National Council of Thurles in 1850. In their Synodical address the assembled prelates at the end of the Council said 'it is our wish that she shall be for the future invoked under the title of the Immaculate Conception'.² The fact that the Irish bishops by 1850 appear to have been unanimous in their wish is perhaps a testimony to Cullen's influence because in 1849 he had reported to Propaganda that Murray of Dublin 'appears to be against the definition of this doctrine as a dogma'.³

However in the 1840's, as has been seen in the case of Polding, many bishops were showing interest in the Immaculate Conception, both as an object of devotion and as a definable article of faith. Gregory XVI preferred to let the matter rest because of 'opposition in Jansenist circles and reticence amongst English, Irish and especially German

¹ P.F. Moran, History, opp. p.568.

² Freeman's Journal, 23 January 1851.

³ Cullen to Frasoni, Rome, 26 October 1849 in Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.3, p.69.

bishops,....¹ In 1847 Father Perrone published a memoir in which he stated that in his opinion the devotion could form the object of a dogmatic definition. As a result Pio Nono set up a commission of twenty theologians in June 1848 to study the matter. In 1849, while at Gaeta, the pope addressed an encyclical, Ubi primum, to the world's bishops, asking their prayers and their advice on whether a definition was opportune, or otherwise.² The proceedings were watched with interest in Australia. Under the title 'The Immaculate Conception' the Freeman's Journal wrote:

The Supreme Pontiff is said to be engaged 'in a very peculiar manner' with this deeply interesting question. It will be a great consolation to the Holy Father in his trials, if God should accede to him the privilege of declaring the authoritative voice of the Church in matters bearing so directly upon the glory of our Blessed Lady.³

Pio Nono, who, depending upon one's point of view, was 'as superstitious as a Calabrian peasant',⁴ or a man of deep faith, was quick to thank 'the Immaculate Mother of God, to whose powerful intercession our safety is due',⁵ on his

¹ R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.278.

² The best account of the historical development of the dogma and the proceedings which led up to its definition is found in Dictionnaire de la Théologie Catholique, 'L'Immaculée Conception' by X. le Bachelet, vol.7, part 1, cols.845-1218.

³ Freeman's Journal, 14 November 1850.

⁴ W.R. Thayer, The Dawn of Italian Independence, vol.2, p.268.

⁵ From the text of Allocution at a Secret Consistory, 20 May 1850 in Freeman's Journal, 10 October 1850.

return to Rome after the fall of the Republic. He then proceeded to work on projects drawn up by the Jesuit theologians Perrone and Passaglia with a view to a definition, given that nine-tenths of the bishops had signified their agreement. His enthusiasm for the definition was shared in Australia where the Freeman's Journal spoke of 'that hope of a dogmatical decree on the Immaculate Conception which now fills the hearts of the faithful with anticipatory exultation'.¹ The consequences of a 'dogmatical decree' did not escape the notice of Alexander Salmon who said that Catholics 'are much divided at present on the subject of the Pope's infallibility and supremacy'. Salmon thought that those who denied utterly any such dogmas were resident in lands where 'the Bible is freely circulated, and where the blessed light of the Reformation most clearly shines'.²

In 1854 a commission, led by Passaglia, worked on a formula which was to be presented to the assembled bishops who had responded to the pope's invitation to be present in Rome for the definition. Passaglia's draft was ready by November and Moran, then a young priest in Rome, noted in

1

Ibid., 15 May 1851. The Freeman's Journal of this date quoted from a sermon of Newman in which he said 'amid the jubilation of the whole church, she will be acknowledged as immaculate in her conception'.

2

S.M.H., 22 February 1851.

his diary:

Dr. Cullen receives the Bull which had been drawn up by Father Passaglia, and which was adopted by the Commission especially appointed by the H. Father to make all the preparations for the dogmatical decision. Pius IX had himself written a very beautiful and brief Bull, Monsignor [unnamed] also presented another to the Commission, but these considered it more expedient to introduce into the Bull, an elaborate and as far as possible complete exposition of the doctrinal grounds on which this Cath. doctrine rested. Passaglia's was about 50 pages long, and presented more than one hundred references to the Fathers.¹

Two days later Moran noted that he had examined,²
'these various references to the works of the Fathers...
[found] many of them erroneous: some too made to spurious works: and the same sermon...cited at one time (pag.4 not. 2.) as Pseudo-Augustine, at another (pag.9 not.1.) as of S. Fulgentius'. As a result of what was probably a joint examination of Passaglia's sources,

Dr. C. [Cullen] goes to Barnabò and asks him if it would be displeasing to the H.F. did the Bishops make any difficulties in regard of the manner in which the Bull had been drawn up. Monsig. B. answers that nothing would please the H.F. more: that he was anxious that the Bishops should have a part in preparing; and had invited them especially to deliberate on

1

S.A.A., Moran Diary entry, 16 November 1854.

2

Ibid., 18 November 1854. R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.279 called Passaglia 'the great scholar of Greek and oriental tradition'.

the manner of proposing the doctrine to the faithful.¹

With this background the bishops met on 20 November and were able to introduce several modifications into the proposed text. Pio Nono was 'a little mortified to see strangers pretending to give lessons to the Roman theologians' but accepted the 'humiliation' to avoid accusations of being controlled by the Jesuits.² But the pope must have been gratified by the intervention of Polding in the debate. It deserves to be reproduced in full,

We know the grave deliberations that preceded the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. It may interest Catholics in England and Australia to learn of the decisive part taken by Dr. Polding. A piece of parchment lying before the writer's eyes, evidently prepared at the very date, or soon after, tells the reader:-

'About 110 Bishops sat for several days in discussion upon the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The last half hour of the meeting was one of the most memorable in the annals of the Church. There had been discussions and hard arguments, when Archbishop Polding rose and came forward saying that he was the representative of 11 Bishops in Australia and was come to bow down to the Holy See. "Thou art Pius; we are thy children. Teach us, lead us, confirm our Faith." He expressed himself in very simple and touching words. At once the whole assembly was calm - discussion gave way to faith. The Bishops became of one mind and

1

S.A.A., Moran diary entry, 19 November 1854.

2

R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.279.

one heart, they wished to be taken to the Pope, to throw themselves at his feet. The Cardinal Legate and whole Episcopate shed tears of joy and consolation. A Jesuit present said he had never realised the visible action of the Holy Ghost as he did in that last half hour.¹

This account is valuable in that it illustrates perfectly what was happening to the Catholic Church and its episcopate by 1854. Allowing for the fact that the author does not give his source, and that it is scarcely believable that many of the bishops were likely subjects for 'tears of joy and consolation', it remains clear that the episcopate had by 1854 become the willing subjects, rather than the colleagues, of Pio Nono and the Roman Curia. If the pope had not undergone the humiliations of exile, if he had not become a despised figure in the eyes of the European liberals, and finally if he had not chosen as his first step towards papal absolutism a dogma concerning Mary, so dear to the whole Catholic world, it is doubtful if the dogma could ever have been defined in the way it ultimately was. That the bishop-founder of the church in Australia played a central role in this final act of submission is perhaps the best illustration of the fact that in a country such as this

1

H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.201. John MacHale of Tuam approved the intervention of 'the Archbishop of the remote regions of Australia' in a letter he wrote to his people. See Freeman's Journal, 7 April 1855.

Rome was able to exercise its authority in a manner designed to form a church after its own faith and discipline.¹

On 8 December 1854 Pio Nono dogmatically defined that Mary was 'from the first instant of her conception, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the human race, preserved immune from the stain of original sin'.² Cullen wrote to Newman,³ 'Vere Petrus per Pium locutus est' while Polding reported that 300 medals to commemorate the definition were struck from 'about 100 ounces [of gold which] were sent as a present to the Pope by the miners'.⁴ But it was Monsignor Talbot who understood that something much more significant had taken place than the actual definition of the dogma. He said that the most important thing was not the dogma in itself, 'but the manner in which

1

It would be of interest to know whether Polding's intervention was entirely spontaneous given that the reputation of Passaglia, the papal theologian, was at stake. How Polding allegedly claimed to speak in the name of eleven 'Bishops in Australia' is another difficulty as there were only six bishops at the time who could claim the title. Polding possibly spoke in the name of the missionary bishops of Oceania as well.

2

The text of the definition, from the Bull Ineffabilis Deus, is in Denzinger, Enchiridion, pp.458-9.

3

Cullen to Newman, 20 December 1854. In P. Mac Suibhne, Paul Cullen, vol.2, p.178.

4

H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.224.

it was proclaimed'.¹ Certainly Pio Nono had taken the trouble to ask the opinion of the episcopate on the dogma, but when he came to define it authoritatively he did so on his own prerogative without any reference to the bishops, who assisted as mere spectators. It was a decisive step towards the ultimate definition of 1870 on the infallibility of the pope. On this level the Church in Australia was apparently unaware that anything unusual had taken place.

In Australia the reaction of the Herald did not go beyond that of the Times and the Examiner. To the Times it was a 'bold experiment on the credulity of mankind', comparable to Mahomet's improvisation of a chapter in the Koran 'to re-establish the more than questionable character of his favourite wife'.² To the Examiner it was 'a dogma of blasphemous nonsense' which caused the 'Romans [to] dance with drunken joy'. The 'half-clad Romans' [in mid-December?] 'shout and scream at a poor human creature, affecting to impose...a new dogma on mankind'.³

On 7 May the Herald began a series of five letters on the dogma signed 'Ex Dissidentibus'. The tone was set

1

R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.279.

2

S.M.H., 3 April 1855.

3

Ibid. The Examiner pointed out that as only 200 bishops were present, four fifths of the votes were therefore by proxy.

when the opening letter addressed the editor 'You and I, Sir, as Protestants....' The dogma was 'a practice combined of superstition and ignorance' and it indicated that Romanism would fall again into paganism now that it had developed 'the worship of the Virgin into that of a Goddess,....'¹ Father Hallinan of Windsor replied to the Herald's theologian on 10 and 18 May.² He argued on the grounds of authority that, although there was perfect liberty of discussion beforehand, 'when the Church decided, all are bound to submit'. By July titles such as the Immaculate Conception were forgotten because there were new 'bright lights on the page of history' forming 'a fixed star in the firmament of England's glory'. The new lights were Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman.³ In Sydney a matter of moral moment in the form of two-up, which a 'Citizen' reported was being played on the racecourse, proved of more enduring interest than the definition of 8 December 1854.⁴ In the midst of the caustic debates on the Immaculate Conception

1

Ibid., 7 and 8 May 1855. 'Ex Dissidentibus' dismissed Newman as 'the Oxford pervert....'

2

Ibid., 10 and 18 May 1855.

3

Ibid., 2 July 1855. Taken from a speech by Wiseman on the war!

4

Ibid., 25 August 1855. The writer wanted to know 'if these pests to society are to be allowed to carry on such nefarious and evil practices?'

the essential nature of colonial society manifested itself when a group of eighty five Italian labourers 'all of the Catholic persuasion'¹ but penniless, arrived in Sydney. The Herald set up an appeal committee for the Italians and they were soon found employment. When John West, a Congregationalist minister and editor of the Herald in 1855 died in 1873, some Catholics remembered him with gratitude. 'Truth and Justice' wrote to the Freeman's Journal to affirm that West was 'a friend, a patriot a gentleman and a Christian...[in whom] there was no sectarianism'.²

Amongst Australian Catholics the new dogma was received as 'no more than the authoritative promulgation of the Church's traditional belief'.³ Father Therry laid the foundation stone of a church at South Parramatta, which was dedicated to Mary under her new title,⁴ while Dean Coffey published a pamphlet on the dogma.⁵ A letter writer signing himself 'E.L.' tried to sum up Australian feelings:⁶

1 Ibid., 12 May, 19 June 1855.

2 Freeman's Journal, 3 January 1874. The writer also thought that West was responsible for stopping public fury 'and most probably bloodshed' over the O'Farrell incident.

3 Freeman's Journal, 14 April 1855.

4 Ibid., 22 December 1855.

5 Ibid., 14 July 1855.

6 Ibid., 12 May 1855.

Oh glorious Pontiff! may we exclaim here at the ends of the earth, worthy successor of the Prince of the Apostles, for your happy reign and our own times it was reserved to confer a new honour on Mary, for you Holy Father to translate into language the pious sentiments of millions of your Spiritual Children...your infallible decree shall remain till time has run its course.

Far from merely being 'a new honour on Mary' the dogma was, in the eyes of Australian Catholics, a means by which Pío Nono was able to exercise in their plenitude the powers of the papacy. No thought was given to the mode of action, nor to its possible consequences in the minds of those who were unprepared to accept Christ's mother as immaculate, or His Vicar as infallible. Thus began the era, which Catholic theologians of a later age have termed one of triumphalism, and which in its own way served to unite on the one hand that section of the Christian world that called itself Catholic, while on the other it alienated even further that other section of Christendom that considered itself 'reformed'.

The Church in Australia quickly put into practice the impetus to devotion to Mary that the definition of the dogma provided. Between 1854 and 1900 about 280 parishes were opened in Australia with 130 churches dedicated to Mary under various titles, of which 26 were to the Immaculate

Conception.¹ Polding wrote a pastoral in 1856 on the dogma 'bright and clear in the intellect and utterance of the Church....'² Again in 1867 he claimed that 'In an age from which faith is fading, and naturalism is moving forward like a flood, the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception stands a bulwark of the faith, an evidence of the most absolutely supernatural fact.'³

In 1854 Father Therry led the way of the local bards with a poem referring to the Immaculate Conception,⁴ and others in the years ahead took up their pens to construct verses in Mary's honour under that same title.⁵ What had been a part of common belief before 1854 rapidly and easily became a solemn affirmation in the content of Catholic faith, and the absolute belief of Pio Nono in the Immaculate Conception of Mary became meaningful to Australian Catholics as an element of their religion.

1

The Official Year Book, Sydney 1966. The figures cannot be exact due to the fact that some dioceses do not give the dates of opening of new parishes.

2

S.A.A., Pastoral Letter, 3 December 1856.

3

S.A.A., Pastoral Letter, 6 September 1867. Bishop Murray wrote a Pastoral, 3 December 1869, on devotion to Mary. See Freeman's Journal, 18 December 1869.

4

Freeman's Journal, 19 August 1854.

5

Ibid., 17 March 1866. Unsigned poem entitled 'Sine Labe Concepta'. Another by A.A.E. appeared on 7 April, 1866.

Meanwhile, through the years, the non-Catholic press and sundry preachers kept the dogma before their readers and hearers. The Church of England Chronicle stated that four ecclesiastics 'renowned for their erudition, morality and charity' were excommunicated at Paris for denying the Immaculate Conception in 1857.¹ This was probably stated unmindful of the fact that one of them, variously called Verger, Verner and Virger, had stabbed the Archbishop of Paris to death crying 'A bas les déesses' as he struck.² The Australian Banner said 'Verger, is an instrument in the hands of the Almighty, to subvert the impious doctrine'; called Mary 'the Great Whore' and deplored 'The foeted womb of the Papacy' which 'conceived, and brought forth the impious dogma'.³ The Rev. B. Butchers, a Methodist parson, speaking at Wodonga, Victoria, said, 'They have set up two great idols in this temple - an immaculate woman and an infallible man - worshipping the one under the name of

1

Church of England Chronicle, 15 December 1857. In July 1857 it was highlighting a protest of 'Dutch Romish Bishops' against the dogma. The bishops in question were members of the schismatic Old Catholic Church who were anything but 'Romish'.

2

Australian Banner, 11 and 18 April 1857.

3

Ibid., 11 April 1857. Archbishop Sibour, the assassinated prelate, was one of the very few bishops who told Pio Nono in 1849 that he did not think the dogma was definable. See R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.278.

Queen of Heaven, and the other as Vicar of Christ;....¹

Years later Cardinal Moran rejoiced at the fact that 'even the humblest Catholic homestead in the various colonies felt the thrill of the universal rejoicing',² and stated that 'the definition of the Immaculate Conception...shall ever remain one of the chief triumphs of religion in modern times'.³ Moran's words were correct in that while the actual definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was relatively unimportant when considered in the light of the fact that it added nothing essentially new to the faith of the Catholic Church in Australia, it must also be recognized that it gave a new dimension to Catholic faith, here as elsewhere. Henceforth, while there could be discussion about the right of bishops to consultation on matters of dogma, there could be no discussion about the right of the papacy to define dogma on its own initiative and authority. With a simple act Pío Nono took into his own hands powers that through the centuries had always been restricted to some form of

1

Rev. B. Butchers, Special Sermon For The Times (Melbourne 1874), p.10.

2

P.F. Moran, History, p.447.

3

P.F. Moran, 'The Catholic Church in the 19th Century' in Proceedings of the First Australasian Catholic Congress (Sydney 1900), p.7. The Freeman's Journal thought that the definition was 'the distinguishing glory of the reign' of Pío Nono, 17 June 1865.

conciliar activity. Discussion on infallibility, which always centered around the pope acting with the Church, now centered on the precise power of the papacy itself. Ten years later Pio Nono clouded the issue with the promulgation of the Syllabus of Errors, a document, the infallibility of which, only the Church in Australia seemed to accept without question.

For at least four years Pio Nono had toyed with the idea of issuing a document which would condemn those errors he judged peculiar to his time. The final cause that prompted his action was Montalembert's speech to the first congress of Belgian Catholics at Malines in the summer of 1863. The burden of Montalembert's thought was that progress consisted in solidarity between Catholicism and liberty. He thought of himself as both a Catholic and a liberal. 'The Spanish inquisitor saying to the heretic: "The truth or death" is as odious to me as the French terrorist saying to my grand father: "Liberty, fraternity or death." The human conscience has the right to demand that these hideous alternatives are never put to it.'¹

A position such as Montalembert's was inconceivable to Pio Nono. He saw in the very liberalism that the great Frenchman applauded all the evils that by 1863 had reduced

1

R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.251.

his civil status to the kingship of Rome with a small 'garden' surrounding it.¹ Further than that the pope thought that liberalism, with its tenets on the freedom of the press, conscience and political authority, was the very antithesis of 'progress', as he understood it. The discourses of Montalembert summed up in the eyes of Pio Nono, and those who surrounded him at Rome, the degree to which liberalism had infected Catholic intellectual circles in France and Germany. To Pio Nono it was no longer a question of whether he ought to condemn the dispositions of modern society. From the time he had assumed office in 1846, he had repeatedly condemned these tendencies in his encyclicals and discourses.² It was now only a question of when he ought to act on a grand scale.

'The Pope remains impassable. Not Oedipus himself could divine the secret of the Roman sphinx. Whether he approves the Convention or not is still unknown.'³ The

1

'Pius IX is entirely influenced by...1848,....' Cardinal Andrea interviewed at Naples in Paris, Temps, 10 January 1865. See S.M.H., 25 March 1865.

2

When texts were proposed for the Syllabus, the pope rejected others in favour of simply repeating propositions from his already published encyclicals and discourses.

3

Age, 28 December 1864. Reprint of a letter to the Germania of 26 October 1864.

Convention in question was that between Paris and Turin in September 1864. As far as Pio Nono and Antonelli were concerned its main fruit was a conviction that Napoleon would not defend the remnants of papal temporal power. Antonelli had persuaded the pope to stay his hand on the Syllabus until after the Convention in the hope that Napoleon would save the temporal power, and in the knowledge that the proposed Syllabus would prove a frontal assault on so much that Napoleon embodied. After September Antonelli withdrew his opposition so that the encyclical Quanta Cura with its accompanying Syllabus were issued on 8 December 1864 - the tenth anniversary of the definition of the Immaculate Conception.¹ Odo Russell wrote to his uncle, 'The struggle is now no longer between the Pope and Italy alone, but between the Papacy and modern civilization....'²

The Syllabus consisted of a list of eighty propositions embracing the principle errors of our age, which have been censured in the consistorial Allocutions, Encyclicals and

1

The texts of Quanta Cura and the Syllabus, in Latin and Italian are in Civiltà Cattolica, Rome, 7 January 1865, S.VI, V.1, pp.5-42. Manning's English translation is in A Free Church in a Free State, The Catholic Church, Italy, Germany, France 1864-1914. E.C. Helmreich (ed.), (Boston, 1964), pp.1-5. Denzinger, Enchiridion, has the Latin Syllabus, pp.482-490.

2

Odo Russell to Earl Russell, Rome, 31 December 1864. In N. Blakiston (ed.), The Roman Question (London, 1962), p.302.

other apostolic Letters'¹ of the reigning pope. Its main headings were:

1. Pantheism, naturalism and absolute rationalism. Props. 1-7.²
2. Moderate Rationalism. Props. 8-14.
3. Indifferentism and latitudinarianism. Props. 15-18.
4. A section then followed, not enumerated as a proposition, in which Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Biblical Societies and Clerical-Liberal Societies were condemned. The pope listed the public documents in which 'pests of this kind' were mentioned.
5. Errors regarding the Church and her rights. Props. 19-38.
6. Errors regarding civil society seen in itself and in its relations with the Church. Props. 39-55.
7. Errors regarding natural and Christian ethics. Props. 56-64.
8. Errors regarding Christian marriage. Props. 65-74.
9. Errors regarding the civil power of the Roman Pontiff. Props. 75-76.
10. Errors connected with Contemporary Liberalism. Props. 77-80.

Within its broad sweep the Syllabus condemned many 'errors' which were peculiarly applicable to the situation then current in Italy itself.³ Some liberal Catholics, even

1

Denzinger, Enchiridion, p.483. I have used this version throughout.

2

Döllinger said that it was comical to condemn the first seven errors. It put him in mind of condemning belief in the divinity of Juno. See J.B. Bury, History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1930), p.12.

3

For a discussion of the Syllabus and England see D. McElrath, The Syllabus of Pius IX, Some Reactions in England (Louvain, 1964). More widely R. Aubert, Le pontificat, ch.VIII and Civiltà Cattolica S.VI, vol.I (Rome, 1865).

in England and Ireland, had reservations about the retention of the temporal power of the papacy.¹ But in the main, section 9, on the temporal power, was directed specifically at Italy. It was, however, the seemingly total and intransigent nature of the last proposition, 80, which caused the greatest outcry. It read:

The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to and settle his differences with progress, liberalism and with modern civilization.²

It was in vain that the Civiltà Cattolica pointed out that the pope had not condemned modern liberty, but modern civilization.³ It alleged that 'This modern civilization is

1

In Ireland 'many Catholics of position were opposed to the Temporal Power itself'. See E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.47. Newman thought the temporal power 'had a distinct tendency to strengthen the spirit of the world in the Church'. See J.L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic, p.132.

2

'Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civiltate sese reconciliare et componere.' Enchiridion, Denzinger, p.490. Just as civitas in Augustine's De Civitate Dei is not easily rendered in English, so also civiltas in this sense is difficult. The Civiltà Cattolica, given its own name, probably knew what it meant.

3

A certain Eugene Yung [sic] writing in Débats, Paris, 29 December and 1 January 1865 aroused the ire of the Civiltà Cattolica. Yung translated 'recenti civiltate' as modern liberty. The Civiltà drew attention to the fact that the pope spoke of Civiltà moderna, not libertà moderna. See Civiltà Cattolica, Series VI, vol.I, 1865, p.223.

a product which stems totally from liberalism and freemasonry and it has killed true liberty.' Then,

Decked out in many different colours, liberalism is always in fact tyrannical, and, what is worse, hypocritical. In a single word, the Church is not an enemy of liberty but of liberalism, which itself is as much an enemy of the Church as it is of liberty.¹

Proposition 80 was drawn from the Allocution Iamdudum cernimus of 18 March 1861 in which the pope had rejected the concepts of progress, liberalism and modern civilization as portrayed in Piedmont. In Piedmont such 'progress' meant amongst other things, the enforced closing of convents and monasteries and the implementation of secular education. In the letter which Cardinal Antonelli wrote to introduce the Syllabus he clearly stated that all the propositions were drawn from papal statements and the Syllabus itself gave clear references to those statements.² As such the propositions of the Syllabus were intended to be seen in a certain specific context. But it is not surprising that the Syllabus was summed up in its last proposition as 'a declaration of the utter irreconciliability of the Church of

1

Ibid., p.223. on 25 September 1865 Pio Nono gave an Allocution On Freemasonry. 'Surely a society which thus avoids the light of day must be impious and criminal... we reprove and condemn this Masonic society and other societies of the same kind,....' Text in Freeman's Journal, 6 January 1866.

2

Denzinger, Enchiridion, p.482.

Rome with modern progress and civilization....'¹ Large sections of the Syllabus were directed in fact at the Italian situation, but the document itself was addressed to 'every Bishop'² of the Catholic Church. It was translated and commented on by journalists and politicians who did not have the opportunity, if they had the inclination, to examine the exact setting of every proposition.³ It is possible that Dupanloup, bishop of Orleans, had others than journalists and politicians in mind when he said in January 1865 'The past month may truly be called in history the month of fools.'⁴

Although the Syllabus had been long expected in European circles, it does not seem to have been foreshadowed in Australia. In a General Summary of News on 11 February

1

S.M.H., 20 March 1865.

2

Antonelli's letter in Denzinger, Echiridion, p.482.

3

The Civiltà Cattolica observed that those who translated the text for Débats made more than seventy errors in sense and grammar. Civiltà Cattolica, S.VI, vol.I, p.390. The Herald was not interested in such niceties, 'minute criticisms will hardly interest the public, who naturally suppose that the common understanding of a document must be on the whole its true one'. S.M.H., 14 April 1865.

4

S.M.H., 18 April 1865. In this edition the Herald gave most of Dupanloup's pamphlet The September Convention and the Encyclical of December 8 in their own translation from La France, 24 January 1865.

1865 the Herald announced 'The Pope has issued a Bull condemning all religious and political doctrines hostile to the Roman Catholic Church.'¹ The Freeman's Journal knew nothing about the document and simply repeated the Herald's statement of fact.² Thus the main secular reactions to the Syllabus in Australia were basically little more than reflections of reactions from the English press. 'The ridicule occasioned by the appearance of the mediaeval encyclical letter increases here as the contents of that singular document become more widely known.'³ It was regarded as the 'self-condemnation'⁴ of the papacy, 'a political event'⁵ and 'condemned on the Continent, and especially by the French Press, as aiming at the destruction of modern progress, civil and religious liberty, and constitutional reforms and modern Governments'.⁶ At the

1

Ibid., 11 February 1865.

2

Freeman's Journal, 15 February 1865.

3

S.M.H., 16 March 1865.

4

Ibid., 13 March 1865.

5

Ibid., 16 March 1865. From the Paris correspondent of the Daily Telegraph.

6

Ibid., 18 March 1865. The French Press had a heyday because the French government had forbidden the reception or publication of the Syllabus by the French hierarchy or clergy as it contained propositions 'contrary to the principles on which the constitution is based'. Ibid., 18 March 1865. 'Stella', the Herald's correspondent,

(continued next page)

same time it provided the Paris correspondent of the Herald with an opportunity to berate the Catholic Church. The Church was 'the friend of darkness and the enemy of light', the Syllabus a 'comprehensive piece of cursing' and an 'astoundingly ill-judged publication'.¹ Antonelli, however, was excused from any complicity in the production of the documents. The Jesuits and 'that hot-headed soldier priest M. de Merode' were responsible.²

While the Herald was prepared to print invective against the 'impotent and senile denunciations of the poor old man'³ it also found space for the full text of the Encyclical and Syllabus.⁴ A letter from a Catholic to the

6 (continued from p.198)
justified this action of the government on the grounds that it was according to the Concordat. Ibid., 20 March 1865. She then confused the issue completely by stating that the clergy could read the Syllabus from the pulpit, but not the Encyclical, Quanta Cura. The exact opposite was true. Ibid., 20 March 1865.

1

Ibid., 20 March 1865.

2

Ibid., 20 March 1865. 'The Civiltà Catholica [sic] is the source of all evil.' Ibid., 25 March 1865. This was the opinion of Cardinal Andrea. But 'Stella' thought that he was no more than a fake liberal. Ibid., 20 March 1865. Xavier de Mérode was a Belgian, son of Felix de Mérode who had won Belgian independence. He was a brother-in-law of Montalembert. After some time as a soldier he became a priest and Papal Chamberlain, close to Pio Nono. He was mainly responsible for the formation of the papal army in 1860.

3

Ibid., 23 March 1865. From Herald's London correspondent on 6 January.

4

Ibid., 22 March 1865. From Times, 21 December 1864.

Herald upbraided the European and Australian press for condemning or approving the Syllabus 'without judgment or discrimination'. The writer held that 'British Catholics are not obliged to receive political fallacies even from a Pope, and that even those among us who think the Pope infallible in his religious teaching may, if they please, think him a very bad authority on subjects of political government.'¹ The editor of the Herald conceded that no one 'can look with indifference upon this discussion' amongst Catholics on the Syllabus,² but to non-Catholics, due to the 'definite opinions commonly entertained on the subject of the Papacy in the British dominions', the whole thing was of little consequence because there was nothing in the pope's assertion 'which advances beyond the received idea of the Roman Catholic Church'.³ By 25 April 1865 'The general "row" created by the famous Encyclical had nearly died down', despite the rumour that Liszt had 'just set the whole of the tremendous document to music!'⁴

1

Ibid., 4 April 1865.

2

Ibid., 14 April 1865. 'In England and America it is only a categorical assertion of religious doctrines long held by a denomination.'

3

Ibid., 14 April 1865.

4

Ibid., 25 April 1865.

One section of the Syllabus which the Herald singled out for specific attention was that on Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism. The four propositions in this section, 15-18, were summed up by stating that the pope 'carefully points out that whoever imagines a Protestant can receive eternal salvation is most seriously in the wrong'.¹ The Empire likewise accused the pope of this notion.² Although this particular section of the Syllabus was the cause of much controversy in England,³ it did not receive other than passing attention here. That such a concept of exclusive salvation was in fact regarded as 'the received idea of the Roman Catholic Church' may have been accepted by most Australians interested in the question.

The Empire, while it observed that Pio Nono 'has attempted in earnest the feat which King Canute performed in irony; and that, as the waves of progress will not at his command refrain from wetting his sacred feet, he must either withdraw his venerable chair to a more safe position,

1

Ibid., 15 March 1865.

2

Empire, 18 March 1865.

3

See D. McElrath, The Syllabus, part 1. In fact the propositions themselves, 15-18, revolved around highly complicated theological interpretations of the words 'vera Christi ecclesia' which did not necessarily exclude those belonging to 'Protestantismus'.

or allow it to be swept away by the tide', was nonetheless chagrined that the pope had stated that 'a marriage contract is null; if the sacrament does not exist'.¹ This also was an incursion into theological matters that elicited no response in Australia. In England on the other hand it received great attention, especially when Gladstone brought the matter up again in 1874.²

After the initial announcement by the Freeman's Journal that the pope had issued the Syllabus³ the paper took issue with 'Stella', the Herald's correspondent. While conceding, 'It can hardly be supposed that a passion for foreign intelligence possesses a community such as ours'⁴ the editor was clearly mortified that his intelligence of the Syllabus came from a source whom he eventually called a 'lovely Flunkey'⁵ and later 'a calumniator and a

1

Empire, 20 March 1865.

2

See D. McIlraith, The Syllabus, part 3. The proposition in question 74, referred to the civil legislation regarding marriage in Piedmont in 1851. In his Vaticanism: An Answer to Replies and Reproofs (Australian edition, Melbourne, 1875) pp.8-18 Gladstone dealt with the Syllabus.

3

Freeman's Journal, 15 February 1865.

4

Ibid., 22 February 1865.

5

Ibid., 20 May 1865.

contemptible bigot'.¹ In March, with the documents before him, the editor said that the Syllabus was no more than a catalogue of already condemned errors and concluded that 'it is a matter inspiring confidence and satisfaction that the Holy Father has by the step he has taken pushed enmity to the verge of delirium....'² There was no attempt either to analyse or understand the Syllabus.

A letter to the Freeman's Journal signed 'Sigma'³ began by applauding 'This divine authority [that] condemns all who, under whatever name, are attempting to undermine the foundation of faith by means of the specious cry of liberty and freedom.' 'Sigma' stated further that the articles of the Syllabus were 'authoritative declarations of the Holy See', delivered 'by the immediate and supernatural dictation of the Holy Ghost'. At his time of writing 'Sigma' was unlikely to have had access to the Dublin Review, April 1865, in which the editor, W.G. Ward, said

1

Ibid., 23 July 1870. 'Quousque Catalina abuteris patientia nostra? How long thou modern Pythonissa wilt thou trifle with Australian intelligence?' asked 'Vox in Deserto'. Five years previously the editor said that 'Stella's' feelings towards Pio Nono 'almost seem to be tinged with bitter personal hostility'. Ibid., 22 February 1865.

2

Ibid., 22 March 1865. The full text of the Syllabus was printed in the Freeman's Journal, 25 March 1865.

3

Ibid., 21 June 1865.

that the doctrinal declarations of the Encyclical 'possess absolute infallibility'.¹ The year before Newman had written to a friend, 'The theology of the Dublin is, to my mind, monstrous....'² In the Australian colonies no clerical or lay theologian took any exception to the manner in which 'Sigma' canonized the Syllabus.

The Catholic Church in Australia in the 1860's was part of a society that stood firmly for many of the principles that appeared to be condemned in the Syllabus.³ Separation of Church and State was openly praised by Catholics in the person of Governor Bourke who said before his departure from Australia 'I have done my duty in conferring upon Australia the charter of her liberties: let Australia now do her duty by preserving that charter inviolate.'⁴ It was not without purpose that the Freeman's Journal reminded its readers of those words during the height of the local controversy on the Syllabus in 1865.

1

See D. McElrath, The Syllabus, p.103.

2

Ibid., p.127. Newman in a letter to James Scott (1812-1873) dated 6 July 1864. Scott became a Catholic in 1851. Ibid., p.127.

3

R. Aubert in 'Religious Liberty from "Mirari vos" to the "Syllabus"', Concilium, vol.7, no.1 (London, 1965) asserted that Rome 'never considered going back on the acceptance in fact of the constitutions based on the recognition of modern liberties,....', p.56.

4

Freeman's Journal, 6 May 1865.

Archbishop Polding was not unwilling to have his Church compete with others in a society that opted for none on the grounds that 'no Church founded in truth can perish under this fair state of things.'¹ In this society a matter like the freedom of the press was a commonplace and the Freeman's Journal never hesitated to defend it against ecclesiastical authority.² The final proposition of the Syllabus, which declared the pope unable to reconcile himself with 'progress, liberalism and modern civilization' was best understood in its Italian setting, for the simple reason that no one saw fit to apply it to the society then being shaped in Australia. The Church in Australia was never at enmity with such concepts in their moderate form, and in fact through many of its leading laymen, such as J.H. Plunkett, Roger Therry, W.A. Duncan and Edward Butler, was contributing to their application.

In only one field was the Syllabus seen as especially applicable to Australian society. In February 1869 Cardinal Cullen gave evidence before the Powis Commission on Primary Education in Ireland. 'When asked if he concurred in the Papal condemnation of the education of Catholics in purely

1

See J. Kenny, History of the commencement and progress of Catholicity in Australia up to the year 1840 (Sydney, 1886), p.95.

2

As the fact of the Monitum Pastorale proved.

secular knowledge, as given in the Syllabus of Errors, Cullen replied that it could be taken as the summary of all his evidence.¹ In April of that same year the Australian bishops met in Melbourne at their Second Provincial Council. The bishops, 'in order that the clergy may have in mind sound principles of education with which the faithful may be continuously instructed' inserted into their decrees three propositions that had been condemned in the Syllabus.²

Proposition 45. 'The entire government of public schools, in which the youth of any Christian state is educated, except, with reasonable provisos, episcopal seminaries, can and must be given to the civil authority, and at that to such a degree that no other authority of any kind will be recognised as having the right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, in the direction of the studies, in the conferring of degrees and in the selection or approval of teachers.'

Proposition 47. 'The best system of civil society demands that common schools that are open to the children of all classes of the people, and generally all public institutions dealing in letters and more advanced studies and to which are entrusted the education of youth, should

1

See E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.440.

2

Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum, Tomus Tertius (Friburgi Brisgoviae, MDCCCLXXV), p.1077.

be removed from all ecclesiastical authority, control or interference, and should be completely subject to the will of the civil and political authority as it best suits those who rule, and exactly according to the common opinion of the times.'

Proposition 48. 'Catholics may approve of that system of teaching youth, which is separated from the Catholic faith and from ecclesiastical authority, and which totally, or at least primarily, sees as its purpose the knowledge of natural sciences and of the social life of this world.' The bishops then included a decree, number 17, which obliged the clergy to read the decrees and allocutions of the pope and to explain them to the faithful.¹

Bishop Murray of Maitland had studied the Syllabus closely before the bishops met in Council at Melbourne in 1869. In his pastoral Letter of 8 December 1867, he said that it was necessary to go to the Head of the Church to get 'the Catholic view of education....'² He cited propositions 45, 47 and 48 of the Syllabus as illustrative of that view and said that if the Holy Father had not put out the Syllabus in 1864 'one would fancy that he had before his eyes the Public Schools Act', or, alternatively, it was

1

Ibid., p.1081.

2

Text of Pastoral in Freeman's Journal, 28 December 1867.

possible that the framers of the Act saw the Syllabus and based their legislation on it. He thought it not unlikely that the Colonial Secretary had examined the method of 'education adopted in Rome' and proposed the opposite. The syllogism concluded with the sentiment that 'if we... [wished] to be true children of the Church...' it was necessary to repudiate the proposed system.¹

Whilst it is difficult to estimate the degree to which the Australian bishops were influenced in their attitude to secular education by the Syllabus it is scarcely possible that before its publication a Catholic bishop could have identified educational policy with fundamental dogma. In 1867 Bishop Quinn of Bathurst said, 'As I believe...in the Truth and in the Incarnation, so do I disbelieve in an infidel education, and as I would shed my blood sooner than relinquish my belief in the Trinity, so would I shed my blood for Catholic education.'² In any case it was an

¹ Ibid., 28 December 1867. In 1873 Murray again quoted from the Syllabus in a pastoral on education. Text Freeman's Journal, 20 December 1873. The Roman system of education did not go unnoticed by Polding in 1866. He wrote to Prior Sheridan, 21 April 1866. In Rome 'schools of every kind abounded, and they were open gratuitously to everyone...a fact that their legislators here in New South Wales would do well to take into consideration....' The Archbishop thought that the Church in Australia should follow 'the glorious example' set by Rome. 'They indeed prove themselves the true children of the church who deposit in the safe keeping of the church their children for their education.' Freeman's Journal, 30 June 1866.

² Ibid., 15 June 1867.

influence that had far reaching consequences for the whole future of Australian Catholicism for the very reason that the response of Bishop Quinn was the one that the Australian bishops acted upon, and bound their people to accept, for well nigh a century afterwards.

Immediate interest in the Syllabus was shortlived, possibly as a result of the burning of St Mary's on 29 June 1865, when the scene shifted to bickering as to whether non-Catholics ought, or ought not, subscribe towards 'the erection or the re-edification of a place of worship belonging to the Church of Rome'. The Anglican bishop, Dr Barker, was not in favour, though 'his reasons he would not state'.¹ After Gladstone used the decrees of the Syllabus in 1875 to prove that Catholics could not be trusted in their civil allegiance, Catholics in Australia left it to Manning and Newman to fight the case for them.² When Pastor D. Allen gave a lecture in Sydney on 12 March 1875, with Dr Lang in the chair, and stated 'I am convinced that no person can be true to the Decrees of the

1

Church of England Chronicle, 8 and 21 July 1865. In fact public sympathy was widespread and many non-Catholics contributed to a new building fund.

2

See Freeman's Journal, 23 and 30 January, 13 February 1875. On 1 May the Freeman's Journal said 'This controversy has served the purpose of bringing to the surface the rubbish and refuse which had lurked unobserved for many years in our midst.'

Vatican and loyal to any Protestant prince at the same time', and warned 'let us not sleep while devils toil'¹ there appears to have been no local response. The Freeman's Journal wondered what caused Gladstone to act as he did; was it his desire to regain popularity with Protestants or was it no more than 'mere vulgar love of inflicting pain and breeding strife?'² An unknown young man in Melbourne, godson of Bishop Allen Collier was given as likely a reason as any public ones offered,

You will see that Gladstone goes on writing rubbish against the Church. I can understand the reason. Ten years ago he was on the point of being made a convert. [Ambition stopped him and now he has lost temporal honours.] He is now stung by remorse and vexation and instead of asking pardon of God gives way to a fit of passion.³

It was due to the attack of Gladstone, combined with the loss of popularity of the British Liberals in Ireland, that from 1875 onwards the words 'Liberal' as applied to a party, and 'Liberalism' as applied to a political

1

See Pastor D. Allen, The Pope Versus The Queen in the Vatican Decrees (Sydney, 1875), p.4. The latter statement may have prompted the Freeman's Journal to say that the crux of the whole controversy was 'God or Man', 29 May 1875.

2

Freeman's Journal, 30 January 1875.

3

S.A.A., letter to 'My dear Godson' from W.B. Allen Collier, Coventry, 5 May 1875. Collier advised his godson not to become a priest on the grounds that the work he was doing for prisoners and the sick 'is more pleasing to God'.

philosophy, began to take on that meaning amongst Catholics in Australia that was understood in the Syllabus. By June 1877 the Syllabus was seen to contain 'a synopsis of the religious, social, and political errors of the Liberal party'.¹ Later it was, 'that spirit of "liberalism" which the Holy Father has denounced in the Syllabus'² which showed itself in such things as divorce laws and education bills in Europe and in Australia. 'The hoof and horns...[were] equally-discernible in it all.'³ Although Gladstone called the propositions of the Syllabus 'rusty tools' they remained tools that were wielded to effect against many of the tenets of liberalism on the grounds that 'if allowed to develop [sic] and become general, [they] would banish morality and God altogether from the world'.⁴ To many Catholics, Gladstone and those who held his views were to show a felicity 'for annihilating or transferring the reality of facts', while to Pio Nono 'Error is...error, and injustice is injustice;'⁵

¹ Freeman's Journal, 30 June 1877.

² Ibid., 25 August 1877.

³ Ibid.

⁴ P.M. O'Mahony, Rome, Semper Eadem (London, 1875), p.85.

⁵ Henry Canon Neville, A Few Comments on Mr. Gladstone's Expostulations (London, 1875), p.107.

In 1877 Archbishop Vaughan wrote a Pastoral Letter, Pius IX and The Revolution. He judged the Syllabus as the document which killed 'Pride of Intellect' and 'We shall never know how great has been the service rendered to Society by the Syllabus', 'the principles of [which] can never be extinguished'.¹ After the death of Pio Nono in 1878 Vaughan wrote of 'that immortal document':

I need not allude to the Syllabus as being the most masterly condemnation of that ground-work of error on which modern society - guided by atheists, deists and infidels, secret and proclaimed - has been endeavouring to raise the superstructure of so-called civilization and progress.²

Pio Nono never doubted the wisdom or the timeliness of the Syllabus. If any doubts crossed his mind they must have been expelled on 20 September 1870 when the Italian troops entered the Porta Pia. The troops were followed closely by a colporteur, one Francesco Modon, formerly a member of Garibaldi's legion, but now 'eager to share in the privilege of giving the Word of God' to the Romans.³ Modon had a dog-cart filled with Bibles and liberal tracts which he proceeded to distribute to the populace. The name of his

1

Roger Bede Vaughan, Pius IX and The Revolution (Sydney, 1877), pp.23 and 24.

2

Freeman's Journal, 23 February 1878.

3

Duane Koenig, 'Francesco Modon : Colporteur and Evangelist at Rome, 1870' in Church History, vol.XXXV, no.4, (New York, 1966).

dog was Pio Nono.¹ Even in death Pio Nono was disturbed by 'Progress' in the form of a bomb which hit the church of San Lorenzo where he lay buried.²

When Pio Nono died in 1878 the South Australian Advertiser said in an editorial, 'If, however, he was to be bereft of his authority as a king, he had been determined that his spiritual power should be augmented.'³ The major steps that Pio Nono took to strengthen his 'spiritual power', the Syllabus of Errors and the two definitions of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility, formed a triune platform on which the papacy was enabled to build a structure of devotion, dogma and, ultimately, social teaching. While it would be an exaggeration to say that Pio Nono consciously used matters of faith to bolster up what appeared to be the declining prestige of the papacy, it is certain that these vital events of his reign ensured that the papacy enjoyed a position of authority at the time of his death unequalled in the whole previous history of that office.

Insofar as the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility are concerned there can be little doubt

1 Ibid., pp.438-9.

2 See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.331.

3 South Australian Advertiser, 11 February 1878.

that Pio Nono from the very beginning of his reign was personally convinced of their essential content as part of the traditional belief of the Church. In his eyes all that remained was to give them verbal formulation and official ratification. It was a question of a choice of procedure rather than the elaboration of something entirely new. But the very choice of procedure involved in itself questions that were intended to clarify and cement the role of the papacy in the whole Church. His procedure in defining the Immaculate Conception in 1854 was only a prelude to the ultimate step by which he defined Papal Infallibility in 1870.

The Syllabus of Errors, leaving aside the degree to which it was intended as binding the minds and consciences of the members of the Church, differed from the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, in that it grew out of the circumstances of the day. In the preceding three chapters those circumstances have been outlined. Some authors have judged the Syllabus as no more than a political document - the answer of the papacy to political events.¹ Perhaps it could be said that in the same degree

¹ A notable example is J.B. Bury in History of the Papacy, passim. T.G. Jalland, The Church and the Papacy (London, 1944) said, 'it is scarcely too much to say that the general ecclesiastical policy of the Pisan regime is best explained as a reaction to the prevailing political situation', p.501.

as those who, like Cavour, Mazzini, and the agents of Victor Emmanuel, were motivated by politics, so too was Pio Nono. On the other hand it ought to be granted that Pio Nono and Antonelli were given good cause to see other forces than religion at work in the Risorgimento.¹ To that degree, as a reaction, it is probable that they in their turn were motivated by what they considered was religion. On this basis the Freeman's Journal defended the Syllabus in 1875. 'The Syllabus and the Encyclical are only embodiments of the Church's teachings which were published by the Holy Father to meet the dangers peculiar to the age in which we live.'²

Insofar as these definitions and condemnations of Pio Nono had a formative effect on the Catholic Church in Australia, that effect was due to the readiness with which a compliant hierarchy accepted their dogmatic content, and applied them to the life of the Church here. No

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Mazzini in A Letter to the Members of the Oecumenical Council wrote 'Your dogma may be summed up in the two terms, FALL and REDEMPTION; our own in the terms GOD and PROGRESS' in The Duties of Man and Other Essays (London, 1929), p.302. Garibaldi, after Pio Nono fell from grace in 1848, said to his troops: 'I am Christian as you are - it is the Pope who is anti-Christ.' By 1867 the papacy was 'the negation of God'. See J. Hibberd, Garibaldi, pp.215 and 354. He did not object to being called 'Il nostro secondo Gesu Cristo', p.267 and to being so depicted, even to the stigmata. See picture opp. p.160, E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono.

2

Freeman's Journal, 23 January 1875.

Australian bishop would have disagreed with Ullathorne's concept that 'the Episcopate is the generative power of the Church',¹ or with the judgment of the Freeman's Journal that 'The Bishops are the strength of the Church in the nineteenth century.'² It has already been argued that there was no genuine element of liberal Catholicism in Australia. Certainly, with one or two minor exceptions, there is no evidence that the Catholic laity did other than accept with enthusiasm the dogmatic definitions of the Immaculate Conception and Infallibility, while the Syllabus, insofar as it was understood to be applicable to Australian conditions, was similarly accepted and defended without any serious advertence to its alleged political content.

In this period of formative and painful growth for the Australian Church it is scarcely to be wondered at that reactions of an intellectual nature to papal pronouncements were almost non-existent. Without a seminary system for

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See H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.1, p.212. In the mind of John Moore Capes, convert Anglican and founder of the Rambler, Ullathorne held that 'the one function of bishops is to govern, and the one duty of priests and laity to obey'. See J.L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement, p.18. In any case Acton thought Ullathorne a member of 'a hostile and illiterate episcopate', *ibid.*, p.129, while the bishops' opinion of Ullathorne was perhaps summed up in their nickname for him 'Monsignor Ego Solus'. See E.M. O'Brien, Life and Letters of Archbishop John Joseph Therry, p.160.

2

Freeman's Journal, 16 May 1874.

the local formation of the clergy, and given that only a very small percentage of the laity enjoyed a university education, such reactions could not be expected. Yet the degree to which the Church in Australia welcomed the definition of the Immaculate Conception and immediately began to make it part of her life in devotion and in fabric indicates the receptivity of a young Church, ready to follow the lead of a Chief Pastor who had, by his sufferings, won respect and love. The Syllabus could be, and was, in the main, ignored except for those sections of it which struck home in the Australian scene. Education was rapidly becoming the central issue and the attitude of intransigence adopted by the Syllabus was well suited to a mentality that reacted against the world around it and saw salvation and enlightenment only from within. Despite, perhaps even because of the very paucity of the resources available to him, Pio Nono was prepared to face and challenge the world which, in his estimate, threatened his sacred prerogatives. It was the kind of example that the Church in Australia could understand, sympathize with, and follow. Only one thing now remained to strengthen the interior assent of Catholics and give them assurance that the lead they followed was in all things safe. The ultimate prerogative of the Chief Pastor, his personal quality of infallibility, had to be clarified and

proclaimed. Whatever mistakes Pio Nono may have made he could not be accused of an inability to read the signs of the times. The Catholic Church in the second half of the nineteenth century was ready for Papal Infallibility and Pio Nono knew it. If he cared to think about the young Church in the South he probably realised that it was not only ready for the dogma - it needed it.

CHAPTER 5AN INFALLIBLE GUIDE FOR A HESITANT CHURCH

By the late 1860's the Church in Australia had developed from the embryonic growth of tutelage and dependency of the thirties and forties to a stage in which it had begun to show its own characteristics. In Bathurst Bishop Quinn founded a seminary to train local aspirants to the priesthood, and called it after Saint Charles Borromeo, bishop of Milan.¹ Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart began their Catholic papers, the Southern Cross, 1867, the Advocate, 1868, and the Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 1867. The new bishops had arrived in Hobart, Brisbane, Maitland and Bathurst, while Polding in Sydney and Goold in Melbourne were already long established as the pastors of their people.

Yet the outward image of a Church that mirrored the ancient traditions of its origins in Ireland and England failed to compensate for the other elements that troubled and perplexed an unsure hierarchy, and at times disturbed a laity that grappled for a foothold within a new society. The education question with its concomitant problems of

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Catholic Weekly, 5 October 1967.

personnel, buildings, curricula and finance has received its due attention from historians.¹ But there were other problems that were perhaps even more vital to the young Church precisely because they were less tangible. Mixed marriages, association with non-Catholics and even non-believers, participation in a society that rejected sacral goals, even the question of education itself, were only manifestations of the identical problem that the Church had faced from the days of her earliest origins when she grew out of the synagogue and confronted a hostile empire. The difference now was that the Church was faced with other Christian communities that called themselves Churches and claimed to lead men to God equally well, if not better than, the Church founded on Peter. In a country like Australia this problem was perhaps more evident than elsewhere because neither tradition nor civil approval gave much advantage to any of the Churches, and to the degree that they did the advantage was not in favour of Catholicism.

In Europe, especially amongst some Catholics in Spain, Italy and France, the reaction to the new situation of the Church since the French revolution was to turn inwards to the centre of authority and to claim that only in utter

¹

See especially R. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950, 2 vols (Melbourne), 1959).

dependence upon Christ's Vicar, the pope, certainty, clarity and ultimately salvation were to be found. These Catholics looked beyond the mountains, to Rome, for their guidance and they were called after their essence - ultramontane.¹ However, even amongst the staunchest members of the Church in those countries, there were some who mistrusted the spirit that tended to breed servility and false confidence, even though it appeared to be grounded in faith. Foremost of them all was Charles de Montalembert who deserves immortal fame even in the annals of Australian Catholicism if for no other reason than that he embodied so many qualities which the immature, questing Church here appeared to lack - a sense of true tradition, a love of deep learning, inflexible integrity and enlightened loyalty to his Church and his country, above all a courage that impelled him to state his innermost convictions although they wounded those whom he loved.

While the Vatican Council was in session at Rome, in the last week of February 1870, Montalembert was dying at Paris. Yet on 28 February he summoned up sufficient energy to write a letter that was published in the Gazette de

¹ The attitude of the French Ultramontanists, identical with the Spaniards was summarized by R. Aubert in 'Religious Liberty', Concilium, p.55. 'Our unique faith is henceforth [after the Syllabus] to stigmatize liberalism, progress and modern civilization as anti-Catholic. We condemn as anti-Catholic these abortions of hell.'

France on 7 March 1870.¹ Montalembert asserted that he had always been a staunch opponent of 'the oppressive or vexatious intervention of the temporal power in spiritual interests', but that he had never agreed with the Ultramontanism of his day, which, quoting from a letter of the late Archbishop Sibour of Paris, 'leads us to a double idolatry - the idolatry of the temporal power and the spiritual power'.

Montalembert castigated with unrestrained language the behaviour of those segments of the clergy and 'those lay theologians of absolutism' who 'immolated justice and truth, reason and history, in one great holocaust to the idol they raised up for themselves at the Vatican'. On the other hand he hailed 'with the most grateful admiration' those 'who have had the courage to place themselves across the path of the torrent of adulation, imposture, and servility by which we risk being swallowed up'. Montalembert was dead within the week. In Rome Pio Nono mourned his passing, privately, but would not allow the Count's brother-in-law, Archbishop de Mérode, to arrange a solemn Requiem. In Sydney the Freeman's Journal was sorry to hear that he was dead, because he 'loved Ireland'.²

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S.M.H., 21 May 1870 gave the full text of the letter.

2

Freeman's Journal, 21 May 1870.

On 12 March 1870 Pio Nono wrote to Dom Guéranger, the Benedictine Abbot of Solesmes.¹ He hit out at those who 'unlike other Catholics, do not believe that the Council is ruled by the Holy Spirit'; and who 'are not ashamed to designate by the name ultramontane party the remainder of the Catholic family which thinks differently from themselves'. Back in 1863 it was Montalembert who pushed the pope towards the publication of the Syllabus. In 1870 it was Montalembert again who, by his letter, convinced Pio Nono that his own intervention in the Council was justified. The pope instructed the Presidents to bring forward discussion on the Infallibility question in the Council. Within a few weeks it was no longer a question - it was dogma to be received and believed by the whole Catholic world.

In 1846, the Morning Chronicle had run extracts from a work called A Catholic Misrepresented and Presented by Rev. John Gother. The author stated that because the pope was Peter's successor Catholics were 'obliged to show that respect, submission and obedience, which is due to his place' but they were 'not obliged to believe them [his office and function] infallible, this being a point never

¹

Civiltà Cattolica, S.VII, vol.X, p.222.

defined by the Church,....'¹ Furthermore, 'It is no part of the faith of the Catholic truly represented to believe that the Pope has authority to dispense with his allegiance to his sovereign.'² In July 1868 the Freeman's Journal, lineal descendant of the Morning Chronicle, stated emphatically in an editorial, 'The Pope is infallible,....'³ The reason for his infallibility was 'that the Church may not be deceived'.⁴ Within a couple of months it was known in Australia that on 29 June 1868 Pio Nono had set an exact date for the first Vatican Council which was to be officially opened in Rome on the pope's chosen day, 8 December, in the following year, 1869.⁵ In these same months of 1868 the situation in Italy was constantly before the minds of Australian Catholics. Sydney took up a collection 'For Our Most holy Father' in June.⁶ Lanigan of Goulburn wrote a pastoral on the pope and ordered a collection.⁷ Matthew

¹ Morning Chronicle, 24 January 1846.

² Ibid.

³ Freeman's Journal, 18 July 1868.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 21 September 1868. It was the anniversary of the Immaculate Conception definition and the Syllabus.

⁶ Freeman's Journal, 4 July 1868.

⁷ Ibid., 20 June 1868.

Quinn wrote one in July¹ and the Freeman's Journal printed over three issues a lecture by P.F. Moran on the Temporal Power of the Pope, given in Dublin, which began,²

O Rome! my country! city of the soul!
The orphan of the heart must turn to thee.

Archbishop Polding wrote a pastoral letter on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 2 February 1869, and said, 'The Oecumenical Council that is approaching will be of unspeakable interest to the church and the world.'³ At the same time he thought it was unnecessary for the bishops to hold their Provincial Council in that year because such matters as marriage, the relations between the Church and the State, and the problems of the clergy would be discussed later in the year at Rome.⁴ The Provincial Council went ahead in April in Melbourne 1869 amidst warnings from the Age that,

The Australian prelates would do well to abstain from any attempt to import into Australia the intolerance of liberty which has more than anything else led to the indifferentism and infidelity which disgraces those lands where liberty of conscience has been until lately, if not even now, a thing unknown.⁵

1 Ibid., 11 July 1868.

2 Ibid., 7, 14, 21 November 1868.

3 S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral, 2 February 1869.

4 S.A.A., Polding to Lanigan, 26 February 1869.

5 Age, 27 April 1869.

The bishops made their decision on Catholic education, incorporating into their pronouncements the four propositions of the Syllabus, while the Age heightened their point by stating 'The State can support no schools that are not so completely secular as to admit of the attendance of every possible mixture of scholars.'¹ At the Grand Dejeuner given to honour the prelates present at the Council in Melbourne Gavan Duffy responded to the toast to 'The Laity of Victoria'. 'With all deference to the venerable Archbishop...he was sure that the roots of Catholicity and its progress, was its Irish nationality.'²

It was in Rome seven months later that Gavan Duffy's point was evident to Moran who noted in his diary on 6 December,³

Dr. O'Mahony, my old companion in this college arrived. He was consecrated last Tuesday and started next day for Rome....there are now in Rome six Irish Australian Bps viz. Drs. O'Mahony, Shiel, J. Quinn, Lanigan, Murphy and Brady: and one Spanish Australian i.e. Dr. Salvado. Dr. Goold another Hiberno-Australian Bp. will be here in about a month.

Polding himself 'was anxious to know whether the Pope will dispense with my attendance at the Vatican Council.'⁴ He

¹ Ibid.

² Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 May 1869.

³ S.A.A., Moran Diary, 6 December 1869.

⁴ H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.355.

did not obtain the necessary permission so set out in October accompanied by James Quinn of Brisbane,¹ after writing another pastoral asking all to pray for the success of the Council.² It was Polding's fifth trip back to Europe since his arrival 25 years before, and the old missionary was almost spent. The heat in the Indian Ocean proved too much for him, so he returned after landing at Aden.³ The Church in Australia was not represented at the Council by her English Benedictine pioneer, but Ullathorne carried the Benedictine torch and his diary formed the basis of the best work in English on the Council, The Vatican Council, by Cuthbert Butler.⁴ Polding was unable to present the tribute of the Australasian Holy Catholic Guild which proclaimed that 'Australian hearts beat in unison with the centre of Catholic unity, and that the great Pontiff King, Pius IX, whom God long preserve, has our love, our gratitude, our admiration.'⁵ But Bishop

¹ Freeman's Journal, 9 October 1869. Polding was presented with £700 for his journey and £722 for the pope. See Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 November 1869.

² S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral, Feast of St Mary Magdalene, 1869.

³ H.N. Birt, Benedictine Pioneers, vol.2, p.357.

⁴ Cuthbert Butler, The Vatican Council 1869-1870, ed. Christopher Butler (Maryland, 1962).

⁵ Freeman's Journal, 17 July 1869.

Murphy of Hobart left on 8 October with a money offering and a Latin address for the pope from the laity of his diocese.¹

Australian Catholics were full of hope for the Council. To the Freeman's Journal it was 'our only hope and the world's salvation'.² Provided the whole direction of the Council was left to the pope and the bishops, all would be well with the Church because 'to believe with the Protestants that she can overstep her powers...is simply absurd, - but to attempt to guide her, as unfortunately it appears some liberal Catholics - heaven save the mark - are now intent upon in Europe, is worse than that again'.³ The members of the Catholic Association for the Promotion of Religion and Education in the Archdiocese of Sydney judged 'from the tenor of the Syllabus...[that] there cannot be the slightest doubt that secular or mixed education shall receive in the forthcoming Council solemn and final condemnation.'⁴

¹ Tasmanian Standard, 20 October 1869. The sum was £212.

² Freeman's Journal, 6 November 1869

³ Ibid., 13 November 1869.

⁴ See Second Annual Report of the Central Council of the Catholic Association (Sydney, 1869), p.16.

As early as 1867, when the Council was first indicated, links were seen between the work of the Council and the completion of the work 'begun by the Encyclical'¹ and the Syllabus. By mid 1869 the Herald quoting the Spectator, was proclaiming anxiously that Pio Nono wanted,

to make...infallibility a dogma the acceptance of which is essential to salvation. This demand, which was tacitly put forward in the Syllabus, - a document which without it is impertinent nonsense, but with it is one of the most important ever issued to man - has staggered the Catholic divines and Bishops in every country....²

By August the Herald was certain of the purpose of the Council, 'to erect its [Syllabus'] principles into articles of faith binding on all men....'³ It rejoiced to see that 'a thousand persons met in Germany to enter a protest against the principles of the Syllabus and against the assertion of authority on behalf of the forthcoming Council.'⁴

In Europe itself, since 1864, there had been much discussion on the dogmatic content of the Syllabus. Once the Council was announced in 1867 there were in fact some extremists like Veuillot, editor of the Univers at Paris,

¹ Freeman's Journal, 28 December 1867, taken from New York Tablet.

² S.M.H., 14 June 1869.

³ Ibid., 2 August 1869.

⁴ Ibid., 14 August 1869.

who hoped to see the Syllabus made a binding document. But between the Syllabus and the question of Infallibility, which rapidly moved to the centre of the stage, there was no connection except in the minds of theologians of the calibre of W.G. Ward and 'Sigma' of the Freeman's Journal who saw the Syllabus as an infallible pronouncement. Despite this the Herald spent itself in numerous editorials from August 1869 through to July 1870 trying to stir up enthusiasm against the Council on the grounds that it was about to dogmatise the Syllabus. The Herald refrained from taking the side of those who attributed 'hypocrisy, falsehood, licentiousness, and every other vice' to Catholics.¹ This attitude did not prevent the Freeman's Journal from calling the Herald our 'vilest enemy...in this country',² but the very moderation of its views on the Council, as compared to the views of other sections of the non-Catholic community, made it the best source for informed opinion as seen through the pages of 'a Protestant journal'.³ In the midst of the education controversy the

¹ S.M.H., 3 August 1870.

² Freeman's Journal, 19 February 1870. The editorial praised John West as a capable and liberal man, but deplored his reverend successor.

³ S.M.H., 3 August 1870. When Father S. Sheehy wrote to the Herald on 24 November and complained of 'a growing
(continued next page)

Herald saw a link between the international conspiracy taking place at Rome, which had as its purpose the application of papal claims 'to govern the whole world'¹ and the Catholic ecclesiastical opposition to secular education in Australia,

We believe, in fact, that the opposition is not in consequence of any serious practical grievance, but springs from an ecclesiastical theory founded upon an interpretation of the essential power of the Church...The object sought is therefore not a local change for its own sake, but as the part of a great plan of spiritual government, of which the Roman Pontiff is the head, and his agents the ministers. It is useless, therefore, debating small points or expecting any good from the adoption of new arrangements unless they comprehend the grand idea which is the inspiration of this opposition.²

David Buchanan quickly took up the cue and asked in an election speech, 'were we to have secular government or ecclesiastical government,...the law in our hands, or... in the hands of the priesthood? (Applause and confusion) ...It was time that this benighted bigotry should be put down. (Uproar)'³ In his speech, when elected on

3 (continued from p.230)

hostility...towards Roman Catholics' the Herald replied 'We have never professed to be otherwise than Protestant; but so Protestant as to have a fair regard for the equal rights of the whole community....' Ibid., 27 November 1869.

1

Ibid., 2 August 1869.

2

Ibid., 17 November 1869.

3

Ibid., 3 December 1869.

6 December, he praised Garibaldi 'a man worthy of admiration', who, according to Buchanan, hated the Roman Catholics probably 'more perfectly' than anyone else.¹ At the same time Parkes was proving in the Legislative Assembly, by quoting from appropriate authorities, that 'Irish Roman Catholics were undesirable colonists',² and 'Christian Prayer' wrote to the Herald to suggest three days each week of fast and alms-giving during December for the Council because to 'effect a change in the organization, doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church would be a greater wonder than all the stupendous miracles recorded in the Old or New Testaments'.³

The serious vein of local comment on the Council was relieved for a time when it was reported that in reply to Pio Nono's letter on the Council addressed to Eastern Rite Bishops and Protestants⁴ 'Among the candidates for a seat in the Council is our old friend Dr. Cumming'.⁵ Cumming, a Scot Presbyterian, given to prophetic utterances,

¹ Ibid., 6 December 1869.

² Ibid., 15 October 1869. From proceedings in Assembly, 14 October 1869.

³ Ibid., 22 November 1869.

⁴ Text in Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 21 December 1868.

⁵ S.M.H., 30 October 1869.

accepted Pio Nono's invitation, but did not actually go out to Rome. The Freeman's Journal suggested that an Italian Barnum exhibit him on arrival 'as a curiosity of impudence and vulgarity'.¹ On another level the Reverend John Graham of Sydney wrote a courteous letter to Pio Nono to decline the invitation and observed for the pope's benefit that when the separation of Church and state 'is effected it will be eminently conducive to the holiness of the future Bishop of Rome'.² Finally, to signal the opening of the Council on 8 December, the Herald printed a letter from Daniel P.M. Hulbert of Goulburn addressed to Archbishop Manning repudiating Manning's defence of the Syllabus.³ The non-Catholics of New South Wales were at the same time assured by the Herald that it was 'of little moment to the Protestant world whether the POPE is to be held infallible or not, or whether that infallibility resides in the Council'.⁴ Catholics, on the other hand, could take some comfort in their views because:

Where countries are Protestant, the Catholic mind is far more in harmony with the Roman

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Freeman's Journal, 4 December 1869.

2

S.M.H., 20 August 1869.

3

Ibid., 8 December 1869.

4

Ibid., 26 November 1869.

party, because the relations of the people are more spiritual, and less influenced by considerations of policy or government.¹

On 11 December the Reverend William McIntyre began a series of 'Lectures on the Errors of the Papacy' in St George's Church.² Catholics themselves went to confession and communion to gain the Plenary Indulgence which Pio Nono had granted for the opening of the Council,³ and were soon able to read Polding's pastoral asking them 'to devote the exercises and the holy resolutions of this Lent, to the intentions of co-operating with the great Council,....'⁴

In Rome, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception 1869, the Council was opened by Pio Nono in the presence of some 700 bishops. It was the first General Council of the Church since the Council of Trent concluded in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the assembled fathers showed the changes that had come over the world since that time. Not only did they come from every continent, but they came too from lands in which the separation of Church and State was an accepted fact, and from some in which the Church was

1

Ibid.

2

Ibid., 11 December 1869.

3

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 August 1869.

4

S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral, Lent 1870.

now a minority in a community of Christians who all professed to believe in the same Lord, but who held strongly to their belief in a reformed Church. The sight of the bishops gladdened the heart of Pio Nono, but the presence of so many amongst them who depended for their sustenance whilst in Rome on his liberality gave him the occasion to throw off his well known remark 'Non so se il Papa uscirà di questo Concilio fallibile od infallibile; ma questo è certo che sarà fallito.'¹ Bishop Murphy possibly realized the situation because he soon wrote home to Hobart to tell his people how financially harassed the pope was, and urged them to subscribe to Peter's Pence before the end of the year.²

While Bishop Murphy was interested in the Council's composition on the grounds that 80 of the 150 English speaking bishops were of Irish birth or descent,³ the Herald was interested in its possible alignments.⁴ Following its

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E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.298. 'I don't know whether the Pope will come out of this Council fallible or infallible; but one thing is certain, he will be broke.'

2

Pastoral of Daniel Murphy, bishop of Hobart, from Albano, 11 February 1870, in Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 April 1870.

3

Ibid.

4

The Herald was anxious to prove the existence of conflicting alignments. See editorial 29 January 1870.

own opinion that 'The Council at Rome now attracts the attention of the whole civilized world.'¹ it proceeded to analyse its composition.² The Italian bishops were the most numerous as a body. Then there were the bishops who had sees in partibus; those whose 'nominal adherents are in vast proportion to their faithful followers, as in France and Italy...'; the Spaniards who still ruled 'partly as a result of years of sanguinary repression,' and the Germans 'who, with few exceptions, are slightly imbued with the liberal ideas of their country'. Finally there were the 'Bishops of America and those who are the subject of the Queen....'³

The history of Vatican I, insofar as the Church in Australia was concerned, was essentially linked with the participation of the Australian bishops in the proceedings of the Council itself. Reactions to the Council while it was in progress, or to its one important work - the

1
Ibid.

2
S.M.H.. 23 March 1870.

3
R. Aubert, Vatican I, Histoire Des Conciles Oecumeniques, vol.12, pp.98-102 gives figures. Italy 166. Bishops with titular sees in partibus, 111. France 48. Spain 41. Germany 22. America 49. Ireland 20. England 14. Canada 18. Australia 10 and so on. Aubert calculated that the figures never rose above 700 actually present (out of 1170 possible) and that by July 1870 only about 600 were present. More than 20 died during the Council.

definition of Infallibility - were secondary to the role of the bishops because by their behaviour at the Council they revealed clearly their attitude to the papacy and its prerogatives. What shape the Church in Australia would take depended largely on its pastors, especially its bishops, and whether their guide lines were to be Roman or otherwise was made apparent at the Council.¹ Polding, Matthew Quinn of Bathurst and James Murray of Maitland were not present,² so to the eight names already mentioned from Moran's diary those of Griver, who was consecrated in Rome by Cullen in June 1871 as administrator of Perth, and Serra who had resigned in 1862 to return to Spain, but who apparently thought of himself as still connected with the Church in Australia, can be

1

The best sources for information on the Council are the collection of official documents in J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, 53 vols (Paris, 1923-1927), vols. 49-53 and Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum, Collectio Lacensis, 7 vols. (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1890), vol.7.

2

P.F. Moran, History, p.342, said 'In 1872 Dr. Murray paid his first visit to the home countries,...' On p.388 in reference to Matthew Quinn he said, 'His first voyage homeward was in 1874:' As Polding was expected to be absent for the Council it was probably decided that some of the bishops ought to remain at home, especially given the state of the education question. Quinn and Henry Parkes clashed over the question in January 1870. The Herald, 7 January 1870, summed up Quinn's views as being the same as Cullen's - intransigent. Then 'Such a position will probably be assumed by the Ultramontane section of the Church at the Council now met at Rome.'

added.¹ In its own peculiar way Perth contributed three of the ten Australians, Brady who was still nominally bishop of Perth, Serra who succeeded Brady as coadjutor until 1862, and Griver who took over from Serra but did not become bishop in his own right until Brady died in 1871.

The historian of the Council for the Australian Church was Goold of Melbourne. His diary, now lost, but reproduced in large part by P.F. Moran in his History,² while it represents the personal views of only one of the Australian bishops is an invaluable source for information on the conciliar proceedings.³ When supplemented by the official documents and the letters of Ullathorne it makes possible a detailed study of the activity of the Australian episcopate at the Council.

¹ P.F. Moran estimated that eleven Australian bishops were at the Council. *Ibid.*, p.786. Aubert, Vatican I, p.99 said: 'dix huit d 'Oceanie (dont dix Australiens)'. In the list of bishops with the right to be present given in Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.53, col.1073, Samuel Sheehy, archiepiscopus Bethsaidae, is mentioned. Sheehy was never consecrated.

²

P.F. Moran, History, pp.803-9.

³ Goold, as his diary manifested, was a stern authoritarian, impatient with incompetence and quick to criticise. 'An illustrious occupant [Mannix] of the same See as Dr. Goold, has been known to purse the lips and move the grey head in a gesture of meaningful doubt when the said name was mentioned in conversation.' Mannix probably doubted Goold's capacity in 'the management of priests serving his Mission'. See T.J. Linane, Light (Maryborough, Victoria, May 1967), p.10, 'The Priest Who Borrowed a Tent - Patrick Dunne'.

The first days after the opening of the Council were spent in the election of Committees of Bishops, called Special Congregations, whose duty it was to discuss the amendments to the schemata which had been drawn up by groups of theologians prior to the Council itself. The Australian bishops met on 12 December and elected Murphy of Hobart as a candidate for the Congregation on Discipline and Quinn of Brisbane to the Congregation concerned with the Oriental Church and the Missions.¹ In the event Quinn was ultimately elected by the General Assembly, but his Congregation never sat due to lack of time.² Goold, who was the more likely candidate as the senior Australian bishop present, and who had taken the trouble to study various papal encyclicals and the Syllabus on his voyage across the Indian Ocean,³ did not arrive in Rome until 9 February 1870.⁴

1

S.A.A., P.F. Moran, Diary, 12 December 1869. Moran attended the opening session of the Council as Procurator of Murray of Maitland. See Diary, 9 December 1869.

2

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.50, col.397. Quinn was elected second last in a list of twenty four. Barnabò was elected president.

3

Goold's Diary in P.F. Moran, History, p.803, entry for 9 January 1870, at sea between Bombay and Aden.

4

Goold had been sent by Rome to investigate the affairs of the diocese of Auckland during November and December 1869. He left Melbourne on 7 December 1869 for the Council. P.F. Moran, History, p.800-2.

In preparation for the Council two principal schemata, or drafts, had been drawn up. The first draft dealt with 'The Catholic Faith'¹ and it was finally voted through the Council on 24 April 1870. But in its course through the Council, according to Goold, it gave rise to 'plenty of useless talk'² 'long speeches; little done';³ 'many speakers, but few said anything deserving attention';⁴ until finally on 24 April 'The placets at the Council today were general.'⁵ None of the Australian bishops intervened during the course of the debate on 'The Catholic Faith'.

'Read carefully the "Schema de Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis". This Schema, it is to be hoped, will not be the cause of serious troubles.' Goold noted in his Diary for 7 March 1870.⁶ Three weeks earlier the Herald wrote in Sydney, 'If the infallibility project is insisted on a

1

Text 'Constitutio dogmatica de fide catholica' in Denzinger, Enchiridion, pp.491-500. It dealt with God and Creation, Reason, Faith and Revelation.

2

Goold, Diary, in P.F. Moran, History, p.805, entry for 26 March 1870.

3

Ibid., p.805, 28 March 1870.

4

Ibid., p.805, 1 April 1870. Goold noted 'made my meditation before the Council closed'; this during the debate presumably.

5

Ibid., p.805, 24 April 1870.

6

Ibid., p.804, 7 March 1870.

great disruption is possible';¹ while the very thought that such a thing could take place moved Buchanan in the Legislative Assembly on 9 March to speak of 'that miserable old blasphemer at Rome, the Pope', and to declaim that if Garibaldi had 20,000 soldiers he would soon bring down 'that mighty fabric of superstition, fraud, and ignorance', which prevailed in Rome.² Polding, in his Lenten Pastoral, hoped that Infallibility would be defined, but he understood it in the sense of belonging to the Church rather than as a personal prerogative of the pope acting without the consent of the Church.³

The actual question of Infallibility was contained in a draft on the Church, called de Ecclesia, which was brought forward in the Council on 21 January. Infallibility was therefore mixed in with points on the Church and the State, the Temporal Power, the nature of the Church itself and of the Civil Power. Due to the fact that the Papacy did not come up for discussion until after ten other chapters of de Ecclesia it was obvious that nothing would be done on

1

S.M.H., 15 February 1870. At the time the Freeman's Journal, which did not have a European correspondent, contented itself with attacks on the Herald. 'We cannot, as rational men, place any faith in the Protestant press.' See letter signed 'I.I.C.' Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1870.

2

S.M.H., 10 March 1870.

3

S.A.A., Polding's Lenten Pastoral 1870.

the crucial question of Infallibility until after a summer recess. Manning, 'appointed, it appears, to the office of "Promotor" of the dogma',¹ was anxious to avoid such an eventuality. He was able to organize a petition to Pio Nono early in January which requested a definition of Infallibility. Amongst others all the Australian bishops then present in Rome signed the petition.² At the same time a group of Irish, English, American and Canadian bishops formulated a petition asking the pope not to go ahead with the definition. They gave as their major reason for the petition a judgment of their own circumstances that was remarkable if for no other reason than the fact that Australia was the only country of the Anglo-Saxon tradition that could not provide a single representative who agreed with it.

In these circumstances pertaining to the regions in which we live, where heresies not only increase with impunity but are in the ascendancy, a definition, rather than attracting others, would on the contrary alienate further from the Church those who at

1

S.M.H., 22 February 1870. A week earlier, 15 February 'It is conjectured that Cardinal [sic] Manning will be the next Pope.' Then, 22 February, 'It is alleged that a cardinal's hat, perhaps a higher position, may be the ultimate reward of this devotion.' In fact Manning's 'reward' did not come until 1875.

2

See Acta et Decreta, vol.7, col.928. Salvado, Brady, Murphy, O'Mahony, Lanigan, Quinn, Sheil and Serra signed. Gould had not arrived in Rome at the time and Griver was not then a bishop.

all costs and at any sacrifice we want to gain for Christ.¹

At the same time an anonymous prophet was going about Rome warning that if Infallibility were defined it would cause 'the total and speedy destruction of the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff'.²

The report of the Herald in late March, that 'there appears to be a profound disunion in the Council',³ was countered by James Quinn's letter in the Brisbane Courier in which he said 'All goes well, and don't believe any report to the contrary. There are those for and against the question of the Pope's infallibility outside the Council but there is nothing about it inside.'⁴ But the Herald was close to the truth in that a substantial body of bishops was against the definition either on the grounds that it could not be defined as an article of Catholic faith, or that it should not be defined as being inopportune.⁵

¹ Ibid., col.947.

² Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.51, col.686.

³ S.M.H., 23 March 1870.

⁴ Ibid., 1 April 1870, from Courier. One of the reasons given by those who urged the definition was that unless it were accomplished the division amongst the bishops would cause scandal. See Acta et Decreta, vol.7, col.923, 928.

⁵ Both Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vols.49-53 and Acta et Decreta, vol.7 give petitions and speeches on both sides. C. Butler, The Vatican Council summarized the arguments well throughout his work.

Infallibility was 'the Pope's dogma'¹ to the degree that Pio Nono believed it personally in his capacity as a private doctor, or individual teacher, and was ultimately persuaded to use his immense influence within the Church to see it brought forward and put through the Council. 'He believes himself strong in the attribute of infallibility, and therefore proceeds step by step to an end that is discerned probably by all save himself.'² The Herald then compared the proceedings of the Council to those which 'characterise the proceedings of our own Legislative Chambers when the Ins and Outs are striving for office, without any particular regard for the means by which they secure their purposes'.³

Within the Council the leader of the Majority who favoured the definition was Archbishop Dechamps of Malines with Manning as the 'chief whip',⁴ and Cullen one of the ablest supporters. The Minority, opposed to the definition on their various grounds, was led by two Austrian cardinals, Schwarzenberg of Prague and Rauschen of Vienna. Their ablest supporter was Hefele, the great historian of the

1 S.M.H., 12 April 1870.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.108.

Councils of the past, who became bishop of Rottenberg just prior to the Council.¹ Outside the Council Döllinger, professor of canon law and ecclesiastical history at Munich University, was the most vigorous opponent of the definition. His work, The Pope and the Council, published in July 1869 and quickly put into English, was republished in selected parts from the Times in the Herald in 1870.²

Butler in his The Vatican Council made a careful study of the signatures to the various petitions that were circularized in Rome during the first weeks of 1870. He came to the conclusion,

the definition was favoured in Catholic countries in which there was no other strongly organized religion; while the oppositions and hesitations came from those countries in which Catholicism stood face to face with predominant Protestantism, or, ...with the various Eastern Orthodox Churches: in these countries the bishops feared definitions that might, by creating fresh obstacles, retard the progress of the Church, by making reunion and conversion more difficult.³

1

Hefele was the last bishop of the Minority to accept and publish the decrees of the Council on Infallibility - April 1871. See C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.435.

2

S.M.H., 31 January and 8 March 1870. Döllinger died excommunicated and unreconciled in 1890. See S.M.H., 5 April 1870 for his Open Letter printed in answer to the 'Bishops' Petition for the Declaration of Papal Infallibility.'

3

C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.174.

Of the eleven English bishops only Manning and two others signed for the definition. Four of the twenty Irish bishops were opposed to the definition, while the Americans, who were 'greatly divided', had nineteen who signed the inopportunist petition. 'The Australian bishops...all Irish, were solid for the definition.'¹ Butler did not attempt to explain how it was that the Australian bishops, three of whom were not Irish, had no hesitation in favouring the dogma. If any explanation is possible it must lie in their common background, which was far more Roman than Irish, and their desire to be strengthened in their own work of preservation rather than 'reunion and conversion'. An infallible guide might alienate those outside the Church, as those other bishops who understood the same cultural environment feared. It is doubtful whether a group of bishops who were already bent on creating a total system of education that would withdraw their people's children from a hostile world feared such alienation. They needed the infallible guide to preserve them in their own chosen faith, and strengthen their line of action.

When the Herald wrote an editorial in reply to Bishop Quinn's letter it granted the verbal accuracy of the

1

Ibid., p.176. The Herald, 21 June said that 21 American bishops signed a protest against the dogma in a letter to Pio Nono. Five of the 21 were 'natives of Ireland'.

statement that there was no disunity within the Council, because at that time the subject had not come up for discussion within the Council. 'If however it is intended to imply that all the Bishops assembled at Rome are in favour of the POPE's infallibility being declared an article of faith, the statement is of course untrue.'¹ Civil intervention in the Council proceedings was looked for by the Herald on the grounds that schism would follow if 'fifty resolute Bishops' opposed the dogma provided they were 'supported by the Governments of Europe'.² In March 1870 the French government did in fact intervene, but it was rebuffed by Antonelli in a long diplomatic document, while Gladstone's attempt to secure English intervention was blocked by a Cabinet vote. Thus, according to Manning, 'the Vatican Council was left in peace to do God's work'.³

1

S.M.H., 4 April 1870.

2

Ibid.

3

C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.271. In chapter xvii, Butler gave an account of the French and English interest in the Council. He saw Odo Russell as responsible for the defeat of Gladstone, because Russell persuaded Clarendon not to intervene. Russell, a non-Catholic, saw 'infallibility as vital for the full spiritual freedom of the Catholic Church', p.270. But Noel Blakiston pointed out in the preface to The Roman Question that Russell was 'playing a double game', p.xxxvii. Russell thought infallibility would ruin the papacy, and was thus happy to see it defined.

The appeals of those who wanted a debate on Infallibility 'without any delay' as the 'only efficacious remedy against so many evils'¹ were listened to with the result that when Goold went to the Council on 14 May he heard the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome speak first 'on the "Schema de Infallibilitate Papae" and in favour,....'² Five days later Cullen went to the ambo and 'spoke in favour of the definition with dignity and energy. He criticised very freely the objections raised against it.'³ A few days prior to Cullen's intervention at the Council Moran had managed to persuade a bookseller in Paris to let him have an advance copy of a work by Hefele against the definition.⁴ Cullen was thus able to read it and to anticipate the arguments of Hefele, who was one of the most competent of the opposed minority group that fought the definition.

1

See Acta et Decreta, col.977 for petition of 22 April 1870, signed by Murphy, Quinn and O'Mahony. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.51, cols 710-11 has one of 3 May 1870 signed by Brady with eleven Irish bishops.

2

Goold's diary in P.F. Moran, History, p.806, under 14 May.

3

Ibid., 17 May. Text of speech is in Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.52, cols 112-25.

4

S.A.A., unpublished paper, D.F. O'Haran, 'Dr. Moran and the Irish College Rome' (Sydney, 1930).

John MacHale, archbishop of Tuam, replied to Cullen:

I speak for the Irish who are well known to me...The simple Catholics of Ireland...did not think about or want these definitions; they held the doctrine practically, having sucked it in with their mother's milk. Would it benefit those outside? Would it not rather be an obstacle to them?¹

But it was Verot, the 'enfant terrible' and wit of the Council who, on 28 May, hit back at Cullen even more directly than MacHale had done:

It is true that the Irish believe in the Pope's infallibility; but they also believe in their priests' infallibility - and not only do they believe it, but they beat with sticks any who deny it. But will the Cardinal of Dublin say that they believe Hadrian IV was infallible when he handed over Ireland to the King of England!²

Goold noted in his diary, 'Another French Prelate from the United States spoke most absurdly on the same side against the definition. He had to quit the pulpit. He had outraged the patience of all.'³

By early May there were several departures from the Council. Brady was the first to request permission 'on

1

See Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol. 52, col.150 for MacHale's speech.

2

See C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.311. Verot was bishop of St Augustine, Florida. Born in France he 'was probably one of the few real Gallicans at the Council....'

3

Goold's diary in P.F. Moran, History, p.807. Entry 28 May 1870.

account of an illness which continued to worsen'.¹ Lanigan followed 'with the grave necessity of his recently erected diocese' on 13 May² and Sheil asked to go on 24 May 'because of a protracted illness'.³ The three of them were confirmed Infallibilitarians as they had proved by the petitions they had signed. They probably had no fears as to the result of the debates, so did not think it necessary to add to the number who wanted a definition as the petitions had already clearly shown that the numerical strength of the Council was in favour.

The rest of the Australian bishops, besides attending the General Congregations of the Council, met on 8 June to recommend the erection of new sees at Ballarat and Bendigo and reject a proposal that Albury become a diocese.⁴ In the uncertain state of things after the occupation of Rome it was decided by the Propaganda to postpone a decision, so that no action was taken until 1874 when Ballarat and Sandhurst were created as new sees. But it

1

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.51, col.493, 4 May 1870. Permission was granted to Brady and ten others by unanimous vote. Brady possibly, and understandably, did not want to be in Rome for the consecration of Griver.

2

Ibid., col.535.

3

Ibid., vol.52, col.220.

4

Goold's diary in P.F. Moran, History, 8 June 1870, p.807. James Quinn was not present.

was under the guidance of Goold that the other Australian bishops present at the Council took part in the debates on Infallibility as listeners rather than participators. Goold was a clear Infallibilist although he constantly gave merit to those speakers who opposed the definition, like Cardinal Guidi who spoke 'well'¹ and Kettler who delivered 'a very able address'.² Contrary to the impression given in a short biographical sketch after his death Goold did not speak at the Council.³ His own impression was that by 23 June 'speakers said nothing new. Speeches a poor repetition of what has been better and more ably said. Archbishop of Rheims not ad rem de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis. Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, Canada, nowhere, et sic cum aliis oratoribus.'⁴ Bishop Murphy of Hobart, despite his close proximity to Dupanloup, 'within two of me on the same bench', was clear on the final outcome as early as March. 'As to the Council

¹ Ibid., 18 June 1870, p.808.

² Ibid., 23 May 1870, p.806.

³ See James F. Hogan, A Biographical Sketch of the late Most. Rev. James Alipius Goold, D.D. O.S.A., reprinted from the Argus (Melbourne, 1886), p.11. Goold 'was a member of the last Oecumenical Council, speaking for and voting in favour of the dogma of Papal Infallibility.'

⁴ Goold's diary, P.F. Moran, History, p.808.

of the Vatican, all I can say is that the "Inopportunist" are completely vanquished.'¹ Yet while Goold was an Infallibilist, his attitude to the papacy never approached that of some bishops, Spaniards in particular, who, when a universal catechism was proposed suggested that as Pio Nono had said 'I lay before you a universal catechism...all we bishops should say "So be it, so be it",...'² Goold said that discussion on the Catechism went on 'usque ad Nauseam'.³ The proposal never reached the voting stage.

The Herald relied on the Times for its information on the Council. 'We have...no other means of information....'⁴ The correspondent of the Times, the Reverend Thomas Mozley, had no Italian and had to rely in the main on gossip.⁵ Writing to Newman in January 1870 Ullathorne said, 'As to the Times, until lately it was ridiculous and absurd in

1

Letter from Murphy in Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 May 1870.

2

C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.197.

3

Goold's diary, 29 April. P.F. Moran, History, p.806. On 28 April Goold 'Read over the Osservatore Romano, a poor description of a newspaper.' Ibid.

4

S.M.H., 23 April 1870. The Herald wrote up the Council constantly, mostly from the Times. See 12, 16, 18 May, 21 May, 25, 30 May (a full page article from Revue Des Deux Mondes of 1 March 1870, by Edmond de Pressense against infallibility), 9 June, 15 July, 8 August 1870.

5

C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.150. Mozley was married to Newman's sister, Harriet.

almost every statement. Its correspondent was evidently hoaxed of set purpose by Roman wits.¹ The Freeman's Journal thought that 'the slanderers of Rome are not to be trusted'² and took particular umbrage at a statement in the Herald which alleged the probability of a conciliar pronouncement declaring 'the temporal power a divine institution.'³ The Freeman's Journal said 'never since the dawn of Christianity has so impossible an absurdity been proposed'.⁴ Yet when the Herald said 'The question of infallibility appears to be more and more obscure. It has certainly never been submitted in form'⁵, no reply was possible. It was exactly on the question of its form, or wording, that the definition on Infallibility proved most difficult.

It was evident to moderate observers like Ullathorne that some kind of a definition would get through the

1

Ibid., Ullathorne to Newman, 20 January 1870. One example of a possible hoax. 'The Cardinal Vicar's invito sacro for the Council contained an amusing typographical error, the words "Roma immorale" being printed for "Roma immortale"! The mistake has caused the Romans a good deal of merriment.' See S.M.H., 19 March 1870.

2

Freeman's Journal, 2 April 1870.

3

S.M.H., 23 March 1870.

4

Freeman's Journal, 26 March 1870.

5

S.M.H., 23 April 1870.

Council. As a result they were concerned that the form of the definition would be so clear as to leave no room for doubt as to exactly when the pope was infallible and in what particular fields. Ullathorne, and those who thought like him, wanted a 'moderate declaration, well balanced'.¹ On the other hand there were those who, like Manning, wanted a form which would give the papacy a free hand to declare infallibly on a whole range of matters ranging from dogmas to canonizations.² Another group, which was against the definition itself but nonetheless saw its inevitability, wanted to set the papal prerogative firmly within the authority of the whole Church rather than stating it as an act of personal infallibility. Cardinal Rauscher therefore proposed the formula of St Antoninus, 'The successor of St. Peter using the counsel and seeking for the help of the universal Church, cannot err.'³ There is no evidence that Goold was interested in the various forms of the definition which were proposed during the

1

C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.179. Ullathorne letter of 16 January 1870.

2

In October 1870 Manning wrote a pastoral letter in which he still interpreted the definition in this broad manner even though the official spokesman of the deputation which worked on the definition, Bishop Vincent Gasser, had restricted its meaning severely. See C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.461.

3

Ibid., p.352.

debates. The Herald summed up another attitude, 'Of course, to a Protestant the argument for the infallibility of the POPE and the Council are equally open to question',¹ and Buchanan wrote to the Herald to give his view that 'nothing can be imagined more blasphemous than that any wretched pragmatistical thing of clay should set up a preposterous claim to infallibility'.² Back in Rome every country of the Anglo-Saxon world had some representatives who signed a protest on 4 June against the closure of debate on Infallibility, except Australia.³ O'Mahony and Salvado were amongst those who signed the petition on 2 June asking for the closure.⁴

Cullen, who was not a signer of petitions, but preferred to do his work on the floor of the Council, or in private discussions, spoke on 18 June 1870. He put forward a formula for the definition which in the main was the one finally accepted. To Cullen the dogma was

sufficiently well founded in Scripture,
tradition and the consent of the Church.
Consecrated as it has been in the liturgy
of the Church it appears so clear that

1

S.M.H., 18 June 1870.

2

Ibid., 14 March 1870.

3

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.52, cols.444-6.

4

Ibid., cols.443-4.

there is no doubt that this sacred synod can now without any great delay impose upon it the seal of its supreme judgment.¹

Cullen has been generally given the credit for the formula although Aubert and Butler said that Cardinal Bilio, one of the Presidents of the Council, suggested the formula to Cullen.² Monsignor O'Haran in his unpublished manuscript on Cardinal Moran put forward another source for the formula.³ O'Haran was a student at the Roman College in the 1870's. Cardinal Franchi, then Prefect of Propaganda Fide, visited the College and met O'Haran. He told O'Haran that after Pio Nono heard of Cullen's speech in the Council of 17 May he sent his congratulations to him. The pope then called Franchi and told him to meet Cullen, together with other experts, and finalise a draft formula. The meeting took place at the Irish College. After a session which went on throughout the night no progress had been made towards a formula. Finally Moran, who was present but remained silent, put forward the suggestions

1

Ibid., cols 751-9.

2

See R. Aubert, Vatican I, p.225 and C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.355. P.F. Moran in his article on Cullen in The Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol.IV (New York, 1913) gave the credit to Cullen.

3

S.A.A., Denis F. O'Haran, Dr. Moran and The Irish College, Rome.

combining the elements of ex cathedra, on faith and morals, for all the faithful. The draft was taken to Pio Nono who accepted it and presided at a meeting of selected Fathers that day who gave their assent to it. 'Cardinal Franchi referred to the instance as a stroke of Irish genius on the part of Dr. Moran.'

Cullen's speeches at the Council on 17 May and the 18 June did not pass unnoticed amongst the Irish and Australian bishops. A Council Father wrote a letter on 19 May about his first speech, at which Cullen spoke for two hours. 'I was almost moved to tears, as I listened to him. I am tempted to say of him, "Numyuan [sic] sic locutus est homo!"'¹ Bishop Murphy wrote home to Hobart, 'Amongst the most conspicuous defenders of the truth were Cardinal Cullen and the Archbishop of Cashel,.... A French Cardinal exclaimed "Felix Hibernia, quae tales habet pastores"'.² On 18 July, the day on which the definition was proclaimed, an assembly of bishops gathered at the Irish College to present an address to Cullen. They were 'representatives of the Irish race' and they congratulated him on his 'most successful vindication in the Council Hall of the rights of

¹

Freeman's Journal, 13 August 1870.

²

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 August 1870.

the Holy See, and of the traditions of the Irish Church concerning them'. Amongst others, Goold of Melbourne, Murphy of Hobart, Quinn of Brisbane and O'Mahony of Armidale signed the address.¹ Neither John MacHale of Tuam nor David Moriarty of Kerry, as representatives of another tradition, were present to sign the address.² Concerning Moriarty's intervention in the Council Goold noted 'June 28th - Went to the Council; the Bishop of Kerry, Dr. Moriarty, was one of the speakers; his address which he read was a failure; it was against the definition.'³

The role of the episcopate within the Church was a question which agitated the minds of many of the Council Fathers. Even the moderates, like Ullathorne, wanted something 'said to strengthen the bishops in their own dioceses'.⁴ The Herald in March thought it saw the trend of the Council,

It has been one of the peculiarities of the Papal system to circumscribe the power of the episcopate,....This limitation of the

¹ Freeman's Journal, 15 October 1870. Text also in Acta et Decreta, vol.7, col.1517.

² E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.413.

³ Goold's diary, 28 June in P.F. Moran, History, p.808.

⁴ C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.179.

Bishops, however, is the logical result of the plan of Government now in the ascendancy at Rome, - the absolute submission of all to one central power, . . . and so to bring all men under one absolute monarch,¹

Bishop Clifford of Clifton, England, spoke on 25 May,

He grew more and more persuaded that the authority and infallibility of the Pontiff could not be treated of apart from the authority and infallibility of the Church. The great bugbear of English Protestantism is the Pope, and the idea that he acts in the Church as a tyrant: no matter in what terms the definition of infallibility be couched, the popular belief will be that we have made the Pope a despot. (Murmurs and signs of disapproval).²

Clifford's fears were made incarnate in Australia in Buchanan who spoke to the Matrimonial Clauses Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 2 September 1870.³ He said 'the main principle of Popery was to keep its denuded victims in a state of ignorance and barbarism', and 'the last device, a scheming, lying fraud, was to declare a poor miserable sinner infallible'. Dr Valentine of Campbell Town, Tasmania, said 'Pius the Ninth, broke up the Council of the Vatican, - the last, as Satan's was the first, great Oecumenical Council. The thunder rolled, and they

¹
S.M.H., 23 March 1870.

²
C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.311. Clifford was a cousin of Vaughan.

³
S.M.H., 5 September 1870.

proclaimed him the Infallible, - "our Lord God the Pope"¹.

Yet the Majority within the Council was so persuaded of the necessity for a decisive definition that, with Pio Nono's approval, on 16 July, five words were added to the formula. The words 'but not from the consent of the Church',² meant that any absolute necessity on the part of the pope to consult the Church before an infallible declaration was excluded. They meant also that any recourse from the pope to a Council became impossible. With these few words the personal infallibility of the pope was defined and Gallicanism was dealt its final death blow. On the previous day Darboy of Paris led a deputation to Pio Nono at which Ketteler of Mayence fell on his knees imploring the pope to give the bishops some recognition in the definition. Pio Nono, swayed by Manning, remained obdurate.³

On 17 May, the day before the Solemn Session, the Minority met and decided to absent themselves from the

1

See The Controversy on Romish Preparations in St. David's Cathedral and Romish Teaching between M.J. and Dr. Valentine (Hobart Town, 1873), p.23.

2

'non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae'. See Denzinger, Enchiridion, p.508.

3

See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.309 and C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.407.

Session rather than vote against the definition in the presence of the pope.¹ Goold described the Solemn Session in his diary:

July 18th - Heard the usual Mass celebrated in the Council Hall; votes taken in public session. Two non-placets on the Infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff in rebus fidei et morum being put. The German, a few French and other Bishops, numbering a little better than a hundred, who were opposed to the definition, remained away. Amongst them were Dr. McHale, Archbishop of Tuam, and Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry. One of the two, who had the bad taste to give the non-placet in the Council, was Dr. Fitzgerald, Bishop of Little Rock, in America, a native of Limerick, and the other was from Naples. Council adjourned to the 11th of November. Loud thunder, bright lightning, and heavy rain during and after the Council; resumed my preparations for leaving;²

The Australian bishops who remained on at the fourth session of the Council and were present to record their vote in favour of the definition were Goold, Quinn, Salvado, Murphy, O'Mahony, Griver and Serra.³

Pio Nono solemnly confirmed the definition and while the Te Deum was sung Fitzgerald and Riccio, the Italian bishop, came and knelt at his feet saying 'Modo credo,

¹ Text of the Minority letter to Pio Nono in C. Butler, *ibid.*, pp.408-9.

² Goold's diary, 18 July, P.F. Moran, History, p.809.

³ See Acta et Decreta, vol.7, index of persons, cols.1850-1920.

sancte Pater.'¹ The pope told the assembly that his supreme authority did not oppress but 'strengthens and protects the rights of his Brethren the Bishops'.² To the Herald infallibility was 'of very little importance outside the Roman Church'.³ Through it 'an absolute monarchy' was established but 'civil society will know how to protect its own rights' and resist 'a spiritual Government which is openly and avowedly hostile to the liberties of mankind, as well as to the Constitutions of all free nations'.⁴ Buchanan, before the Legislative Assembly, 'defied anyone to point out a more grotesque, ridiculous farce ever performed in a lunatic asylum than was performed in the city of Rome upon a late occasion when the Pope was declared infallible'.⁵ The Tasmanian Catholic Standard triumphantly proclaimed 'The infallibility of the Pontiff-King....' and declared that 'generations yet to come shall deem this our day specially

1

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.52, col.1328. Setting out for the Council with Cullen on 30 November 1869 Moran met Fitzgerald. 'Dr. Fitzgerald is a young active man and told us he was a native of Kerry.' Moran Diary, 30 November 1869, S.A.A.

2

Speech of Pio Nono in Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol. 52, col.1336.

3

S.M.H., 16 July 1870.

4

Ibid.

5

Ibid., 5 September 1870.

favoured.'¹

'War between France and Prussia was proclaimed today by France' Goold noted the very day after the Solemn Session.² By 7 August he was in Paris, distressed at the news of the 'Prussians victorious'.³ In Sydney 'J.J.C.' of Church Hill wrote to the Freeman's Journal and favoured Prussia which 'is a Protestant nation, but no nation treats her Catholic subjects better'. France let Italy rob the pope, suppressed the Syllabus and deserved thereby 'a severe chastisement'.⁴ The editor of the Tasmanian Catholic Standard wished France 'every success' because she preserved 'inviolable the temporal prerogatives of the Holy See'.⁵ To the Herald it was very improbable 'that such a Council will ever be held again'.⁶ The Council was prorogued on 20 October 1870, sine die, and was not officially closed until Vatican II met in 1962. But Bishops Quinn and Salvado were present at the very last

1

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 August 1870.

2

Goold's diary, 19 July 1870, in P.F. Moran, History, p.809.

3

Ibid.

4

Freeman's Journal, 24 September 1870.

5

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 September 1870.

6

S.M.H., 3 August 1870.

session in August. Quinn was elected to a commission on Matters of Discipline in place of one of those who had not returned after July.¹ There were only 106 Council Fathers left in Rome and at last Australia had something to propose. Bishop Salvado submitted a document on the internal affairs of religious orders.² It was never discussed because, as so often before in history, the invader was already at the gates of Rome, and the days of Pio Nono as king were almost over.

The definition of Infallibility with its consequences rapidly passed from the public mind due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. The occupation of Rome on 20 September 1870, which marked the end of the reign of the 'Pontiff-King', was the event most frequently present to Catholic minds. On 23 August 1870 the Reverend C.R. Greig lectured in St George's, Sydney, on 'the alleged supremacy and infallibility' of the Church of Rome,³ but from 29 August onwards it was the War which occupied public attention. In Melbourne Father Barsanti lectured on the 'Legitimacy of the Papal Sovereignty' and proclaimed that

1

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.53, col.1. This commission also never met.

2

Ibid., cols.104-5.

3

S.M.H., 24 August 1870.

Pio Nono was the last victim 'of freemasonry and revolutionary efforts'.¹ It was not until the bishops began to arrive home from the Council, and the initial horror at the 'enthronement of the Revolution in the capital of Christendom'² had died down, that the bishops turned to teaching the new dogma.

Bishop O'Mahony, who had never been in Australia, wrote to his Diocese of Armidale from Rome itself, on the Council and Papal Infallibility.³ Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn was welcomed home in December as 'an upholder of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility' who 'heard it decreed, and saw the submission with which it was received'.⁴ Bishop Murphy of Hobart lectured on the Council on 19 May 1871⁵ and wrote his Lenten Pastoral in the following year on Papal Infallibility.⁶ When Father Fitzgerald lectured

1

Rev. Dr Barsanti, O.S.F., Lecture on the Legitimacy of the Papal Sovereignty (Melbourne, 1870), p.30.

2

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 April 1871.

3

Freeman's Journal, 17 September 1870.

4

Ibid., 3 December 1870. Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 4 November 1870 reported that Lanigan left the Council before the final Session. Mansi confirmed this in vol.51, col.535.

5

Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 May 1871.

6

Ibid., 24 January 1872.

in Hobart in November 1870 he sang the praises of 'the Infallible Pius'¹ and the Freeman's Journal ran a series of five editorials on 'Infallibility and Supremacy of the Popes'.² The Reverend W. Nicolson, D.D., wrote a pamphlet against Infallibility called Truth and Error Tested by the Word of God which called forth an energetic defence of the doctrine in Hobart.³

The opposition to Infallibility of the Old Catholics in Germany and Switzerland stirred the Freeman's Journal to write an editorial on Döllinger, 'the new champion of Phariseedom',⁴ but otherwise the movement aroused no interest until it changed into the Kulturkampf. Similarly the protest of Father Hyacinthe who said 'I refuse to admit [infallibility] as binding'⁵ added nothing to the already received idea of the French abbé who had been dismissed as 'a great soul-stained with human pride'⁶ as early as

¹ Ibid., 21 November 1870.

² Freeman's Journal, 16, 23, 30 December 1871. 6,13 January 1872.

³ Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 20 November 1871.

⁴ Freeman's Journal, 26 August 1871. See also Tasmanian Catholic Standard, 21 July 1871.

⁵ S.M.H., 17 October 1870.

⁶ Freeman's Journal, 1 January 1870. 'for the Church, her only loss is his. She mourns over a great soul -'

January 1870. Another French priest, the Abbé Michaud, who refused to accept the dogma was alleged to be a semi-demented abbé of no consequence.¹

In public life the new dogma was received without surprise or resentment. A certain Mr Bonsfield, public school teacher at Eden, caused an inquiry on the part of the Council of Education when he taught his pupils that 'the Pope is not infallible' and 'was despotic'. He was severely reprimanded.² In 1875 the Reverend B. Butchers had the last word at the Mechanics Institute, Albury, on 4 January, when he warned Catholics that those amongst them who were liberal Catholics, numbered in the colonies in 'thousands', were 'excommunicated by the very man whom they regard as the head of the Church and the Vicar of Christ'.³

The Plenary Council of Australasia, meeting in 1885, approved a Catechism which asked:⁴

'What do you mean by the Infallibility of the pope?' Answer: 'By the Infallibility of the

¹ Ibid., 13 April 1872.

² Ibid., 28 September 1872.

³ Reverend B. Butchers, Romanism in Relation to Politics and Morals (Melbourne, 1875), p.24.

⁴ The Catechism Approved by the Plenary Council of Australasia (Dublin, 1886), p.22.

Pope I mean that the Pope can no more err than the Church, when, as Supreme Pastor, he teaches doctrines of faith or morals, to be held by all the faithful.'

Pio Nono would have wondered why the Bishops of Australasia included any reference to the Church in their answer. His own answer excluded all reference to the Church except to repudiate the necessity for its consent to an infallible papal pronouncement. It was followed by the words:

Si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni
contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit:
anathema sit.¹

But by 1886 Pio Nono was dead and the wail of the strong infallibilist bishop, Le Courtier of Montpellier, was no longer a factor,²

See what more than aught else destroys our liberty: It is crushed under the respect we have for our Head.

To the bishops who represented Australia at the Vatican Council such a consideration did not warrant attention. Their whole behaviour at the Council proved that they represented a tradition which was neither Irish nor perhaps even Australian, but Roman and, at that, curial. Even some of the bishops closest to Pio Nono, for

¹ Denzinger, Enchiridion, p.508.

² C. Butler, The Vatican Council, p.447.

example de Mérode, were prepared to go against him over Infallibility, and the pope had the good grace to respect their convictions.¹ While all other hierarchies were divided, even the Italian, on the issue, the Australian hierarchy was firmly united, and there is no evidence to suggest that had Polding, who showed his convictions in 1854, or the Romans Murray and Quinn, been present, there would have been any dissension amongst the Australians.

The Australian bishops took no active part in the Council except to sign petitions and to record their vote. Goold at least followed Cullen in that he kept clear of the petitions with the odd exception of one, inviting Jews 'to recognise Jesus as their Messiah and Saviour'.² Active participation in the Council by the Australian prelates could not have been impeded by language barriers, as, most of them, with their background, would have been proficient in Latin, and Goold's diary made his knowledge of the language plain.

Cullen's dominant influence over the Australian hierarchy was apparent at the Council, and it is reasonable

1

See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.312-13.

2

Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, vol.53, cols.554-64. O'Mahony, Murphy, Brady, Quinn and Salvado also signed this petition. No Australian bishop, in fact no one at all signed a petition for the introduction of the cause of Christopher Columbus! Ibid., cols.639-40.

to suppose that those bishops who were favoured by him, or bound to him in respect and friendship, were prepared to let him act as their spokesman in debate. But the impression is strong that the Australian bishops were firmly committed to the prospect of strengthening the prerogatives of the pope. In miniature they mirrored the Church they represented in that it was a Church receptive to the growth of the centralised powers of the papacy, indeed one that welcomed the sense of security that faith in an infallible guide held out. The Catholic Church in Australia, which had looked increasingly towards Rome since 1846, was now able to perceive in the person of Pio Nono the magisterial and awesome authority of one who spoke infallibly in matters of faith and morals. With the definition of Infallibility another cast was cut in the features of a young Church that helped to make it unmistakably Roman.

CHAPTER 6THE ALIGNMENTS OF THE CHURCH OF PIO NONO

When the Herald ran a story in 1855 of the visit to the Vatican by a prelate from New South Wales it admitted that it may have been 'quite apocryphal'. The colonial prelate informed a curial official of his territorial jurisdiction and met the reply, 'Australia! Australia! where is it? We know it not in our maps of the world, at any rate by that name!'¹ Whatever about the years prior to the foundation of the hierarchy in 1842, there can be no doubt that Rome was perfectly well aware of the Church in the South from thence onwards. The appointment of bishops, the territorial divisions of dioceses, the visits to Rome by Australian prelates, priests, and a few of the laity, the recall of Abbot Gregory and the unhappy episode over the episcopate of Bishop Brady had made Rome, and even Pio Nono, well aware that some degree of responsibility had to be assumed in the guidance of this young Church in a land of vast distances and outlandish names.²

1

S.M.H., 12 July 1855.

2

Even the experienced translators in the office of the Secretary of Latin Letters were forced to improvise at times with Australian place names. Wagga Wagga became Corvopolitanus - Crow City. See Annuario Pontificio (Vatican City, 1955), p.476.

By the 1870's communications with Rome had been well established and in 1871 Pio Nono was able to write to Polding to¹ 'give thanks to God Who has made use of Our distress to strengthen so greatly faith and virtue amongst His People as well as furthering the glory of His Name'. The pope told the archbishop how much he rejoiced to see 'Your extraordinary submission towards this See of Blessed Peter and the authority of its infallible magisterium'. He concluded by deploring the 'war called forth by the powers of hell against Our Person and the Church itself'.

Pio Nono was able to write to Polding, and through him to the whole Church in Australia - in this vein because during the preceding years Australian Catholics had proved in deeds and words that the pope's judgments were based in fact. The protracted vicissitudes that the papacy had suffered in the person of Pio Nono since 1848 had indeed strengthened certain qualities in the fabric of Australian Catholicism that the pope called 'faith and virtue'. When Pio Nono used the expression 'extraordinary submission' he did not exaggerate in applying it to the attitude of the Australian Church to the Roman See, and the manner in which the hierarchy, and with it the clergy and people, accepted and rejoiced in the acquisition of an

1

S.A.A., Pio Nono to Polding, 5 April 1871.

'infallible magisterium' was possibly unique in the Catholic world. No single voice of dissent before, during, or after the Council seems to have been raised by any member of the Australian Church.

The condemnation of the forces that malevolent powers had unleashed against the papacy and the Church was perhaps not quite so clear to Australian Catholics as the pope's two preceding points. In any given time of the Church's history it had normally been possible to identify with absolute clarity an enemy who personified the powers of darkness, whether in the figures of the persecuting Roman emperors, a Frederick II or a Napoleon. Since the French Revolution, the rise of liberalism, the development of the democratic states, and in general the growth of a whole civilization that seemed to rest on purely secular foundations, identification of the forces which warred against the Church was not so simple. It was the process of ascertaining the sources of enmity that preoccupied Pio Nono, and in its own sense the Church in Australia, during the latter years of his reign.

Until his death in 1878 Pio Nono looked out from the Vatican on a world that he judged hostile to the cause of the Church, and of religion in general. Close at home, in Italy and in Rome itself, he thought that the young nation, which in its growth had despoiled him of his

temporal kingship, was the very embodiment of those forces against which he had struggled. In Germany, Switzerland and Austria he saw in the Kulturkampf another manifestation of that liberalism which he had grown to detest from the day of Rossi's murder in 1848. In England the liberalism of Gladstone had, in Pio Nono's eyes, shown its true nature when Gladstone charged in 1875 that Catholics could not be loyal to both the Crown and the pope.

Polding himself, in a Pastoral to commemorate the Jubilee Year of 1875, summed up the fears and the hopes of Pio Nono:

Now the masses of people, like a heaving restless ocean, are dragging down everywhere to the level of the fierce democracy, which, having lost its guide in the Chair of Peter, is making towards such a reign of anarchy and terror as seems alone capable of opening the eyes of Statesmen to the fearful political and religious havoc produced by modern thought.¹

But in the world of the late nineteenth century the

1

S.A.A., Polding's Pastoral, 1875, p.23. The letter was entitled Pastoral Letter of John Bede, O.S.B. Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of Australia For the Holy Year of Jubilee 1875. In the previous year Victoria had become a province in its own right, so that Polding could no longer call himself Metropolitan of Australia. The attention of Rome was apparently drawn to this matter because on 16 November 1875 Franchi wrote to Vaughan to tell him to get Polding to stop calling himself Metropolitan of Australia as the use of the title was no longer his and it ~~might~~ disturb relations between the two provinces. S.A.A. The fact that the language of the pastoral was clearly Vaughan's made the intervention of Rome even more pointed.

'masses' were hungry for 'fierce democracy'. Australian society was one in which a readiness to experiment was evident, especially after the goldrushes.¹ The very term 'conservative' was relative in a society which was still struggling to erect and consolidate values and structures worth preservation, while 'liberal' was a term much attenuated in a society which had separated the State from the Church, believed, in the main, in free, secular and compulsory education, struggled for an unimpaired franchise and took fundamental liberties, e.g. the press and speech, for granted. In the field of politics before 1880 the struggle was not between liberal and conservative. If anything it was a clash between 'the supporters of free trade and the supporters of protection', and being either a liberal or conservative did not necessarily mean an espousal of either free trade or protection.² When the Liberal Party drew up a platform in 1889 none of the six planks bore any necessary resemblance to the issues for which European liberalism had fought during the previous

1

See G.W. Rusden, History of Australia, 3 vols (Melbourne, 1897), 2nd edition, p.122.

2

G.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History 1851-1900 (Sydney, 1955), p.318.

forty years.¹ When the Freeman's Journal wrote in 1857 that the Church 'abominates the modern doctrine of the so-called "rights of man", "equality" and an undefined "progress" towards no one can tell what',² it was not an attack on 'liberalism' as Pio Nono understood the term. Later in that same year the statement 'No Catholic therefore, can without guilt be a "liberal" in the modern acceptance of the term';³ was not a minor forecast of the anathemas of the Syllabus. It was not until 1873, when the Freeman's Journal said in reference to the Butler affair 'we would rather have a Chief Justice of no definite creed than a conscientious but very liberal Catholic',⁴ that it began to understand the term with the mind of Pio Nono. Sir James Martin was a 'liberal Catholic' in the sense that he did not accept, amongst other things, the Infallibility dogma and he believed in a system of secular education.

1

P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, Parliament, Factions and Parties, The First Thirty Years of Responsible Government in New South Wales, 1856-1889 (Melbourne, 1966), pp.163-4.

2

Freeman's Journal, 18 July 1857.

3

Ibid., 8 August 1857.

4

Ibid., 22 November 1873. Martin finally left the Catholic Church.

If on the one hand liberalism had begun to take on a meaning in the minds of Catholics in Australia by the 1870's as a creed that preached secular education, divorce and in general the separation of religion from life, it was equally evident that another term applicable to Catholics had begun to take on a fixed meaning in the minds of many non-Catholics. The basic liberal concept that Catholicism was the enemy of human progress, manifested in any field one cared to mention from divorce to despotic governments, from the formation of young minds to human effort in the field of the physical sciences, was prevalent throughout large sections of the intellectual world of Europe, and showed itself likewise in Australia. The chosen word to sum up the mentality of Catholics who appeared to embody opposition to progress and enlightenment was 'Ultramontane'.

In 1869 Cardinal Cullen was questioned before the Powis Committee on the meaning of the word 'Ultramontane'. He said that he did not know what it meant in England, and denied that it had political implications in Ireland. As for himself he said,

If I were asked, am I an Ultramontane, I would say in this sense - that I respect the decisions of the Head of the Church, and that I am always an obedient subject in religious matters of the Pope.¹

1

E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, pp.18-19.

The Melbourne Age warned in 1872,¹ 'The danger to Roman Catholicism is its tendency to become identified with Ultramontaniam', which is 'in opposition to liberal progress in every land wherein...[it has] a footing' and thus 'in Australia [it] is an excrescence and an anachronism'. By 1874 the Age was 'bound to note the growing boldness and distinctness with which ...even in these colonies, the doctrines of Ultramontaniam are being promulgated without circumlocution or veil'.²

Finally, the Age asked:

How far is it right to permit the subjects of a Government, under cover of the demands of a falsely educated and enslaved conscience thus to sow the seeds of treason and disloyalty in the public mind, and strike at the root of the immemorial institution of civil government? Are there no limits to liberty? Or must we all sit silent and inactive, while avowed enemies of the State openly advocate principles that can only issue in sedition and revolt?³

The Argus was likewise of the opinion that 'the growth of the tolerant spirit has been checked by the excesses of the Ultramontanists, and we need not go far from home to find an evidence of this'.⁴ In Sydney the Protestant

1 Age, 5 July 1872.

2 Ibid., 11 February 1874.

3 Ibid.

4 Argus, 11 November 1873.

Standard hoped that there were Catholics who were 'not the full-blown Ultramontanes and Jesuits which Pius IX. is [sic].'¹ The Protestant Standard attempted to define an Ultramontanist, also called a Romanist, as 'one who accepts the decrees of the Vatican Council, which makes the Pope to be as infallible and unerring as God Himself, and which doom all civil liberty and modern civilization to the deepest curses'.² Thus 'the Syllabus with all its atrocious opposition to everything which is the glory of our Protestant Constitution'³ was vividly remembered, despite the fact that the Vatican Council had not dogmatised any of its propositions.

The evidence for Ultramontanism within the Catholic Church in Australia depended firstly upon an accepted definition of the meaning of the word. In the eyes of the Age, the accepted definition was that given by Archbishop Manning:⁴

This is Ultramontanism,...the essence of which is that the church, being a divine institution, and by divine assistance infallible, is, within its own sphere, independent of all civil powers,

1

Protestant Standard, 6 December 1873.

2

Ibid.

3

Ibid.

4

Age, 11 February 1874.

and as the guardian and interpreter of the divine law is the proper judge of men and of nations in all things touching that law, in faith or morals.

While the Australian bishops themselves were careful never to attempt a definition of the term it was nonetheless clear that Manning's definition, when restricted to the field of education, was a precise case in which the Church in this country attempted to show herself 'independent of all civil powers'. The bishops, as early as 1862, refused to accept an education system which did not recognize 'the guardianship of the Bishops over the education of Catholic children'.¹ When Archbishop Vaughan and the bishops of New South Wales concluded their pastoral on education in 1879 they made it clear that in their minds the Church was ruled 'by the successor of St. Peter and the Bishops of the Church who are in communion with him'. Catholics who obeyed that source 'in faith and morals' would be safe.² Thus the link between education as a right and duty of the Church and the infallible guide who ruled over the Church was always clear in the minds of the bishops. The development of Australian Catholic attitudes to education, and the eventual decision to erect a system apart from the

1

S.A.A., Pastoral Letter from Provincial Council, 1862.

2

S.A.A., Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops Exercising Jurisdiction in New South Wales (Sydney, June 1879).

secular one, can no more be divorced from the context of its Roman, theological and in some senses emotional background, than it can from the circumstances that persuaded the bishops that Australia was a country in which the Church had to act as 'guardian and interpreter of the divine law', even to the degree of inflicting enormous sacrifices on a community to ensure the desired ends.

While the Australian bishops with a Roman background were not slow to use their powers within their own dioceses to shape the Church here in its Roman mould, it still required a metropolitan in Sydney with the same background to round out the work and give it greater purpose. In 1873 when notification had been received in Australia of the appointment of Roger Bede Vaughan as coadjutor with the right of succession to the Archdiocese of Sydney, 'A Catholic' wrote to the Freeman's Journal to ask whether the suffragan bishops had protested against the appointment,¹ but John Joseph Cope of Marrickville in another letter considered the question impertinent and stated 'The Holy Father...is well able to decide what is best for us.'² In

1

Freeman's Journal, 17 May 1873. The paper replied that it did not know. Vaughan wrote to Bernard Smith, 3 August 1877. He said the bishops did 'protest against my appointment'. S.A.A. The protest was not because he was English, much less Roman, but because he was a Benedictine.

2

Freeman's Journal, 24 May 1873.

that same year, 1873, Catholic minds in Australia were alarmed at 'the hostility borne by the "liberal" party to the Church'¹ as evident under Bismarck in Germany. The Bishop of Maitland preached a sermon on the 'spirit of liberalism' at the consecration of Bishop Reynolds in Adelaide, in which he stated that the bishops were troubled that the same spirit infesting Europe was taking on in Australia.²

Roger Bede Vaughan was part of the Roman answer to the 'spirit of liberalism'. The 'noblest Roman of them all' as he was called after his death in 1883,³ arrived in Australia in 1873 and became archbishop on the death of Polding, 16 March 1877. On 6 July he issued his first pastoral letter entitled Pius IX. And the Revolution.⁴ To Bernard Smith in Rome he wrote 'I thought my first [pastoral] should be dedicated to the defence of the Holy Father and to showing up the enemies of the Church.'⁵

The 95 page pastoral set out to establish on

1

Ibid., 15 March 1873.

2

Ibid., 22 November 1873.

3

James T. Donovan, His Grace, p.5.

4

Roger Bede, Archbishop of Sydney. Pius IX and the Revolution (Sydney, 1877).

5

S.A.A., Vaughan to Smith, n.d. but after July 1877.

historical evidence a thesis which Pio Nono had asked the bishops to propagate - 'The Church is persecuted in Italy, and that the Word [Vicar?] of Christ is neither free nor independent in the exercise of his Supreme Power.'¹

Vaughan identified the enemies of Pio Nono as 'the Libertines, Revolutionists and Atheists of the world'.²

He outlined the evils which had befallen the Church in Italy since 1870. The work of the religious orders was destroyed, the clergy crushed and silenced, the pope held up to ridicule. The state was guilty of robbery and sacrilege and had interfered in two sacred domains of the Church, marriage and education. Vaughan asked his clergy and people to 'bring our influence to bear, so that the world may know emphatically we protest...against that Evil Spirit, that Revolutionary Party or sect,....'³

The new archbishop's eloquent and lengthy pastoral was favoured with a reply from Rome. Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, who succeeded to the position of Prefect of Propaganda on the death of Alessandro Barnabò in 1874, wrote to tell Vaughan how grateful the Holy Father was for

1

Roger Bede, Pius IX, p.74. On p.4 Vaughan quoted from an Allocution given by Pio Nono, 12 March 1877 where the rendering 'Vicar' was used.

2

Ibid., p.38.

3

Ibid., p.72.

the pastoral 'against the sacrilegious attacks on the rights of the Holy See'.¹ The Freeman's Journal admitted 'we owe much to the Archbishop'² for his exposition of 'that principle of infidelity and anarchy and hatred of everything good' embodied in 'that spirit of "liberalism" which the Holy Father has denounced in the Syllabus', and then compared the Education League of New South Wales with the Commune in France.³ Further proof of the truth of Vaughan's assertions was given in November 1877 when it was known that Victor Emmanuel had consummated his perfidy with the confiscation of the Irish College at Rome.⁴

More close to home however, Vaughan felt it his duty to identify and expose another, more tangible, source of enmity to the Church in Australia than the assorted groups of 'Libertines, Revolutionists and Atheists' who so incessantly troubled Pio Nono. As early as 1852 the Freeman's Journal had drawn a distinction between English and colonial freemasonry and that of the continental variety on the grounds that the continental lodges were

1

S.A.A., Franchi to Vaughan, 11 September 1877.

2

Freeman's Journal, 21 July 1877.

3

Ibid., 25 August 1877.

4

Ibid., 17 November 1877.

'hot beds of revolutionary and political convulsions'.¹
 This distinction had been made in the wake of a pastoral by Cullen on Masonry in which he wrote 'It is a sad calamity that a system so pernicious in its effects, and so hostile to Christian charity, should be tolerated or encouraged in any district.'² In 1865 Pio Nono had given an allocution on the same subject in which he condemned 'the wicked association of men usually called Masonic' and 'this sect breathing crime and attacking sacred and civil life'.³ Ten years later the situation seemed obvious so it was not difficult for Vaughan to identify more closely the 'sect' which he had castigated in his first pastoral as the enemy of the pope and the Church. He did so in a speech on 9 October 1876.⁴ It was 'the International Secret Society' 'the Secret Craft'.⁵ Its aim was 'the utter destruction of the Supernatural in every shape and form'.⁶ Its watchword or war cry was 'Universal Secular,

1
 Ibid., 29 April 1852.

2
 Ibid.

3
 Ibid., 6 January 1866.

4
 Archbishop R.B. Vaughan, Hidden Springs; or, Perils Of The Future and How to Meet Them (Sydney, 1876).

5
 Ibid., p.43.

6
 Ibid., p.58. On p.59 a further elaboration of the aim - 'Deicide'.

Free, and Compulsory Education for all classes of Society'.¹ Its results went by the name of 'Civilization and Modern Progress'.² Was it any wonder then that 'the Heart of the Supernatural, the Catholic Church, has anathematized with all the thunders of the Vatican this "progress" and "modern civilization"?'³ Vaughan used the phrases of the Syllabus, the aspirations of the liberals and the faith of the Church in her transcendent mission to bring home to his listeners that even here in their midst the enemy was at work, whose 'Hidden Springs' had to be unveiled so that their poison might be avoided or neutralized.

It is not known what steps were taken privately within the masonic lodges to cope with Vaughan, but at the Temple Hall in Pitt Street, Sydney, before the Number 4, No Surrender Loyal Orange Lodge, on 24 October 1876, Pastor Daniel Allen undertook to reply. After he had identified 'The Hidden Springs of her Woman God...in the Pagan Queen of Heaven' and the 'Hidden Springs of her whoredom...in the Pagan Temples of fornication, by woman priests',³ Allen,

¹ Ibid., p.67.

² Ibid., p.52.

³ Ibid., p.69.

⁴ Pastor D. Allen's Reply to Dr. Vaughan upon Hidden Springs, (Sydney, 1877). Printed from S.M.H., 1 November 1876.

'relative to the present aggression of Rome upon our nation'
said:

If chains for freedom must be forged,
If England's Throne must fall;
If any part of our free Isle
The Pope must hold in thrall
If we must live mean hearted slaves,
Or as brave heroes die,
Two hundred thousand Orangemen,
Must know the reason why.¹

The pastor concluded by advising his hearers:

Put your trust in God brave boys
And keep your powder dry.²

A year later Pastor Allen wondered why 'liberty of speech is a plant which never flourishes well among a Popish people, and...is especially disagreeable to an ignorant Irish people'.³

During the 1870's the phase of Catholic experience which most interested the universal church, and thus the Church in Australia, was the struggle between Bismarck and the Catholic Church in Germany, known as the Kulturkampf.⁴ It interested the Church here not only because of its German ramifications, but also because it was constantly

1

Ibid.

2

Ibid.

3

Pastor D. Allen, The History of the Convent (Sydney, 1878), p.4.

4

Erich Eyck, Bismarck and the German Empire (London, 1958) 2nd ed. has an account of the Kulturkampf. Also see J. Rovin, Le Catholicisme Politique en Allemagne.(Paris,1956).

connected with the situation of Pio Nono in Rome. Bismarck was not prompted to attack the Church because he feared the results of the Vatican Council. He had built a unified nation and would not tolerate a 'foreign' element within its borders.¹ That 'foreign' element was ready at hand with the result that 'Prince Bismarck is understood to be fixed in his determination to put down the Pope,....'² In the days when Pio Nono was the pope-king it was a constant refrain that he used his temporal power amiss. Now that he was no longer king he was still accused of wrongful use of his power on the grounds that 'So long as he was a territorial prince he was responsible to international law, but he is no longer amenable to that salutary check.'³ Bismarck tried in vain to have the Italian government exercise a 'salutary check' on Pio Nono. Thus 'In Germany there is war to the knife between...[the Church] and the constituted authorities, because she claims the right of violating the laws which are obligatory on the Protestant

1

'In Germany...[the Ultramontanes] are also disunionists, and are still at work with a view of breaking up the empire.' Age, 5 July 1872. Bismarck said, 'Catholics and enemies of Prussia are synonymous.' See M.V. Boschet, Histoire De L'Union De L'Ordre De Sainte-Ursule (Rome, 1951) p.130.

2

Age, 10 August 1875.

3

Ibid.

churches of the empire.'¹

Initially Bismarck thought that he would be able to use the Old Catholics for his purposes of subduing the Church, through the fostering of a schism.² He thought that 'troublesome bishops' could be quietened because 'if they continued their intrigues the local clergy and laity would form themselves into a new German Catholic Church'.³ But despite the 'great schism on the question of the infallibility of the Pope',⁴ the bishops were not intimidated. The Chancellor himself saw his power threatened by the rise of the Centre party so he tried to defeat Catholicism on a political level by aiming at its alleged heart - the Jesuits and Catholic education. The Reichstag passed a law in 1872 giving the government the right to expel the Jesuits. Only one liberal, Lasker, voted against the measure.⁵ In May 1873 all schools and

1

Argus, 11 November 1873.

2

See P. Polman, 'The Historical Background of Old Catholicism' in Concilium, vol.7, no.1 (London, September 1965).

3

Age, 5 July 1872.

4

Ibid. The 'great schism' numbered 30 priests, no bishops, and only about 150,000 members. See Freeman's Journal, 1 February 1873 and E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.323.

5

E. Eyck, Bismarck, p.206. 'The honour of Liberalism was only saved by Lasker....'

seminaries, were subjected to the State, and priests could not be appointed to parishes without civil authorization. While the Herald saw the proposed laws as too severe and inclusive, it excused them on the grounds that the Catholic clergy 'exposed themselves to this suppressive measure', and that the Pope had to be checked from 'using his spiritual army for party temporal purposes'.¹

Amongst Catholics Bismarck was seen in Australia as 'the latest antagonist of the Church,...'² as early as 1871. He revived 'the worst traditions of the feudal times'³ and because he made a God of the State the German Empire would crumble, destroyed by 'its own internal policy'.⁴ At the same time it was thought that the Church in Germany was in no danger because 'The State can do nothing without a Schism, and a Schism is impossible where the hierarchy is loyal to the Chair of Peter and united with its people.'⁵ While the Protestant Standard thought that in Germany 'the

1

S.M.H., 12 March 1873.

2

Freeman's Journal, 7 October 1871, 31 August 1872. Editorial entitled 'Berlin and Rome'. 'Berlin now sends menaces, instead of condolences, to Rome.' Bismarck wants to found 'a German church'.

3

Ibid., 11 January 1873.

4

Ibid., 8 February 1873.

5

Ibid., 1 February 1873.

priests, bishops, and other agents of the Church of Rome...are the fomenters of sedition and disloyalty and disaffection among the people',¹ the Freeman's Journal thought that 'Protestantism, by its decay into infidel Liberalism'² had reduced Germany to an unhappy plight.

Bishop Collier wrote to explain to his godson why he was able to read such biased information on the Kulturkampf. 'Three English papers are known to be sold to Bismarck, The Times, Daily News and Daily Telegraph and those three earn their wages by supporting the German Chancellor in his anti-catholic policy. Of course the cruellest tyrant is justified in the eyes of the man he has bribed. Tyrants always act as if Almighty God were dead.'³ Bishop Lanigan in Goulburn reminded his people that they did not have to suffer 'Pagan persecution, as your brethren in Germany...',⁴ but the editor of the Freeman's Journal thought he saw some similarity in the sufferings of the Church in Rome and Germany and the

1

Protestant Standard, 22 November 1873.

2

Freeman's Journal, 14 June 1873.

3

S.A.A., Bishop W.B. Allen Collier to his Godson, 5 May 1875.

4

S.A.A., Pastoral letter of Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn, 1875. Lanigan said that there were over a thousand priests in prison in Prussia.

state of the Church in Australia, through the agency of the Public Schools Act. The intention behind the activities in all three places was 'to undermine religion'.¹ Meanwhile the sale of some of the property of the Irish College in Rome by the Italian government was a signal to get a Parliament in Dublin if England did nothing to prevent the outrage.²

A meeting held in London in 1874, 'to express... sympathy with the victims of the persecution of Prince Bismarck'³ was given widespread publicity. Two years later Father J.N. Binsfield was granted permission by Vaughan to collect funds in the Archdiocese for the victims of the 'Pope in Jackboots' and the appeal soon spread to Goulburn.⁴ In Germany many thousands of priests had been removed from their parishes, bishops put in prison and nuns expelled.⁵ The Ursuline nuns who came

¹ Freeman's Journal, 21 February 1874.

² Ibid., 28 February 1874.

³ Ibid., 18 April 1874.

⁴ Ibid., 17, 24 June and 9 September 1876.

⁵ 'Wrote to the Archbishop of Cologne enclosing a letter of sympathy to the imprisoned Archbishop Ledochowski, of Posen.' Goold's dairy, 22 February 1874, in P.F. Moran, History, p.814. Ledochowski was in prison because he insisted that the Polish children in his archdiocese had to be taught the catechism in Polish rather than in German.

out to Armidale in 1880, lived in London for some time, after leaving Germany to escape the effects of the Kulturkampf.¹ Just before the Conclave after the death of Pio Nono the Freeman's Journal warned that although Bismarck wanted 'a temperate and liberal' pope, he would find himself with one who would 'have as little as Pius IX had to do with Germany, unless she mends her ways'.² Bismarck who had sworn never 'to go to Canossa' was realistic enough to know that his policies had failed in regard to the Church. When Leo XIII 'a pope with the conciliatory spirit, succeeded the bellicose Pius IX'³ the Chancellor made his journey. Bismarck wanted an understanding with the Catholic Centre Party.

At the same time as the impressions of the Kulturkampf were filtering through the Australian Catholic community resentment locally was reinforced by the refusal of Henry Parkes to appoint Edward Butler to the Chief Justiceship of New South Wales in 1873. The motives of Parkes to deny an office to a man to whom he had promised it, and who was fitted for it, may be explained on

1

R. Fogarty, Catholic Education, vol.2, p.274, note 41 and M.V. Boschert, Histoire, p.131.

2

Freeman's Journal, 9 February 1878.

3

R. Aubert, Le pontificat, p.392.

political and broad social grounds, once it became known that Sir James Martin sought the appointment. Yet the Melbourne Argus saw as the main reason 'the recent proceedings of the Ultramontanists all over the world'.¹ The Protestant Standard argued that 'as the Ultramontanism of Papal infallibility and modern Catholicism' was beyond dispute, so too was it clear that a Catholic 'cannot be true to the law or the constitution of our country'.² Butler 'swallowed the whole dogma of the Infallibility' and he thereby 'lost all claim to position among a free people',³ because it was 'dangerous to the State to have persons in power who profess themselves to be "subjects" of the Pope'.⁴ In the end Parkes appointed Martin, a lapsed Catholic, to the post. Meanwhile Buchanan kept up his stream of invective against the hierarchy of New South Wales which was 'a gang of ignorant priests',⁵ while Vaughan 'practised the most abhorrent tyranny over his followers'⁶ and Pio Nono was 'that miserable old blasphemer at Rome,...'⁷

¹ Argus, 11 November 1873.

² The Protestant Standard, 22 November 1873.

³ *Ibid.*, 22 November 1873.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 December 1873.

⁵ D. Buchanan, An Australian Orator, p.63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁷ S.M.H., 10 March 1870.

It was perhaps easy for Butler, leader of the New South Wales bar, to dismiss Buchanan with gentle irony, but it was not easy for the less enlightened Catholics, clerical or lay, to set such remarks to one side when they read them in the Herald.

In Rome the 'Prisoner in the Vatican'¹ continued to linger on, apparently in the best of health, despite frequent fears and hopes as to his impending demise. Through the years the changed position of the pope was constantly before the minds of Catholics in Australia, as in other English speaking countries. 'It would really seem as if the influence of the Pope was appreciated only in those countries where it is most contemned',² wrote the Melbourne Age in 1875, without perhaps realizing that the very extent of the contempt contributed forcibly to the strength of the influence. In Ireland John MacHale and David Moriarty signed an Address to sympathise with Pio Nono after the Italian occupation of Rome, even though the pope was called 'infallibilis magister Ecclesiae' and 'Irish sympathy for the plight of the Pope was, in fact, a

1

Freeman's Journal, 2 September 1871. Pio Nono's Encyclical on his silver jubilee as pope, printed in this issue, was called the 'utterance of the Prisoner of the Vatican'.

2

Age, 10 August 1875.

bond which helped to unite the bishops after their return from the Council',¹ In Australia, where there had never been any disunity on fundamental questions, the situation in Rome tended to cement further the bonds of unity.

In 1871 Pio Nono celebrated his silver jubilee as pope. Bishop Murray wrote a pastoral on the event, while Father McAuliffe preached two sermons, one on Mortal Sin and the other on Death, to the people of Braidwood, at St Bede's, who gathered to celebrate the jubilee.² The Freeman's Journal explained that there was no crusade to free the pope because the Catholic spirit was 'a spirit of peace, of order, of patience'.³ When Napoleon III died the Herald thought that he would be 'pronounced by future ages as a man of great ability'⁴ but his death gave an opportunity to the Freeman's Journal to contrast him with Pio Nono, whose triumph was 'that all that he has done and all that he has said as Vicar of Christ has been received into the hearts of his two hundred and fifty millions of

1

E.R. Norman, The Catholic Church, p.414.

2

Freeman's Journal, 16 September 1871. On 23 September 'Veritas' wrote to the Freeman's Journal to inform the editor that, not to be outdone by Braidwood, Araluen had 400 at Communion for the celebrations.

3

Ibid., 16 September 1871.

4

S.M.H., 13 January 1873.

subjects'.¹ At the same time offerings for the 'Prisoner' continued to pour in from all quarters, although people were 'almost weary of reading, again and again, the same sad story of Christ's Vicar's imprisonment by a Christian King in a Christian city,....'² Antonelli wrote to Polding to tell him how much 'His Holiness appreciates with the very fulness of His heart this new sign of filial love'³ which amounted to £447.2.2, and Goold wrote to Pio Nono and to Antonelli enclosing £600 for the pope.⁴

In 1874 one of Australia's links with Rome died in the person of Alessandro Barnabò, who had watched the development of the Church in this country from the early forties, as an official of the Propaganda.⁵ Barnabò was born at Foligno in 1801, of a noble family, and was taken to Paris by Napoleon's orders to study at the Ecole Polytechnique. On his return to Rome he studied for the priesthood, became secretary to Propaganda in 1847, and Prefect from 1856 until his death. He was likewise

1

Freeman's Journal, 18 January 1873.

2

Ibid., 13 December 1873.

3

S.A.A., Antonelli to Polding, 25 February 1874.

4

Goold's diary, 30 January 1871 in P.F. Moran, History, p.812.

5

Freeman's Journal, 18 April 1874.

Protector of the Irish College. Goold was 'celebrant at the Solemn Requiem Mass in the Propaganda' on 27 February 1874.¹ It was a function normally reserved to a Roman cardinal unless special reasons indicated another course. In this case it could only have been Barnabò's connection with the Australian Church, and it indicated the changing status of the Church here in Roman eyes.

On this occasion Goold was made an archbishop when Ballarat and Sandhurst were made episcopal sees. He received Australia's fourth pallium as Polding had already received three, two of which were burnt in the fires at St Mary's.² Goold described the ceremony of 10 May 1874:

Vested in chasuble and mitre, I assisted at Mass in the private chapel, celebrated by Cardinal Antonelli's Secretary; thus vested, I knelt before Cardinal Antonelli and read the petition for the pallium; he then put it on me;...After the ceremony I gave the Episcopal Benediction wearing the pallium.³

A week later Goold helped Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, the new Prefect of Propaganda, to consecrate Michael O'Connor

1

Goold's diary, 27 February 1874 in P.F. Moran, History, p.814.

2

Freeman's Journal, 4 January 1873.

3

Goold's diary, 10 May 1874. P.F. Moran, History, p.815. Antonelli, not being in priest's orders, was unable to celebrate Mass.

for Ballarat,¹ The next week he had an opportunity to see part of the work of the Risorgimento when he visited his old house of studies at Perugia. It was 'now a military barracks - a disgraceful ruin'.² On Sunday 13 December 1874 the new Archbishop was welcomed home to Melbourne by his clergy and laity. The address of welcome read in part:

More especially in these days of persecution, we desire to unite ourselves as closely and as intimately as possible with the suffering and visible Head of our Holy Church, and to prove ourselves on all points faithful to her doctrines....Without any wish to claim credit for the performance of an obvious duty,...we beg to mention that we have not identified ourselves with the system of secular education that has been imposed on the colony with great injustice to the members of the Catholic Church.³

In these years it became more customary to confer papal honours on members of the laity. At Polding's request Pio Nono made Patrick Jennings a Knight of St Gregory in 1874⁴ and when Morgan O'Connor was made a Knight of the Golden Spur on 22 November 1874 at Albury, Dr P. Bermingham preached the sermon. He called Pio Nono 'the greatest man on earth today' and said 'Oh, it is indeed a proud

¹ Goold's diary, 17 May 1874. P.F. Moran, History, p.815.

² Ibid., 25 May 1874.

³ Text of Address in P.F. Moran, History, pp.818-19.

⁴ S.A.A., Antonelli to Polding, 25 September 1874.

distinction to receive the honour of Christian knighthood from the Prisoner of the Vatican'.¹ Pastor Allen warned 'There are some most loyal to the Pope in Melbourne, Sydney and London who are bold in rebellion against our English Constitution, and long for the days of blood to return. These pine for the infallibility to work....'² Yet it was not a picture of a pope bent on stirring up sedition that T.B. Potter, a Liberal member in the House Commons, gave to Henry Parkes in 1874:

We were all presented to the Pope on Wednesday.The Pope went all round to everyone with a kind word to each. He is 83 but looks well and is not infirm. After he had gone round he said a few words in a strong vigorous voice and gave us his benediction. You know how strongly I am anti-Catholic but I do not think that an old man's blessing can harm anyone....There is no harm in the old man.³

When Bishop Quinn came back in 1875, after a visit to Pio Nono, he said 'the last time he saw him he was sitting quietly in his chair, and it was evening. While he looked at His Holiness, the thought occurred to his mind that if ever they could obtain a vision of Heaven, it would surely

1

Freeman's Journal, 5 December 1874.

2

Pastor D. Allen, The Pope V. The Queen in the Vatican Decrees (Sydney, 1875), p.23.

3

T.B. Potter to Henry Parkes, 27 November 1874. Parkes correspondence, M.L.-A926.

resemble the scene presented to his view....'¹

The next of Pio Nono's circle to die was Antonelli, in 1876. The Herald described him as 'typical Italian in his disdain for metaphysical subtleties and in the flexibility of his practical sense'² while the Freeman's Journal thought that his policy was one of 'No surrender'³ and that he was 'the embodiment of the most absolute hostility to what is called Liberalism throughout the world'.⁴

In the Lent of 1877 John Bede Polding put his name to his last Lenten Pastoral. As had been his custom through the long years of his episcopate, he urged his people to pray, fast and give alms. He then held up to them a model - the pope 'struggling and hopeful, against an unchristian world'.⁵ Polding's own struggle came to an end on 16 March and Vaughan said at his funeral 'He was good to all but by the poor he was specially loved.'⁶

1 Freeman's Journal, 30 October 1875.

2 S.M.H., 10 January 1877.

3 Freeman's Journal, 2 December 1876.

4 Ibid., 13 January 1877.

5 Text of Pastoral in Freeman's Journal, 17 February 1877.

6 Freeman's Journal, 24 March 1877.

The Herald spoke of his 'liberal and tolerant sentiments',¹ Although he was 'supposed to be... Ultramontane' he did not let it get out of proportion, because he was 'graced by the spirit of an English gentleman',²

Dr Lang visited the archbishop on his deathbed and went away with tears in his eyes. The visit illustrated the common bonds of humanity between the two servants of Christ, but the fact that they both laboured in the cause of religion in Australia for the previous forty years without ever meeting each other spoke volumes about the debris which the tide of the Reformation, as it swelled on the shores of colonial society, had cast between them. In any case, whatever about the relations that the old patriarch had seen established with the community around him, there is no evidence that he was other than happy with the relations which had been established with the See of Rome during his episcopate. Polding lived and died in the faith that the Roman Church was the Rock of Peter. He well knew that in the bishops and clergy about him, in the discipline that the Church had maintained and in the sentiments that motivated her action the Australian Church

¹

S.M.H., 17 March 1877.

²

Ibid., 20 March 1877.

was Roman. No one has recorded whether he still grieved that it was not also Benedictine.

In the same Lent in which Polding died Pio Nono's life was likened to the events of Holy Week after Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and it was thought that 'all may unhappily yet end in a violent death at the hands of his enemies'.¹ Father Burke, the Irish Dominican preacher, drew a parallel between Pio Nono and Ireland's Catholic people. The editor of the Freeman's Journal agreed with it all except that he thought that the parallel was not fully drawn in that the priest had not seen that they both lacked 'political liberty'.² 'A Subscriber' wrote to suggest a deputation to Rome from the various colonies for the jubilee of the pope's fifty years as a bishop, but it seems to have come to nothing.³ The Italian parliament celebrated the jubilee by passing a Bill for the suppression of Church Abuses which the Freeman's called a 'Bill to Abolish the Catholic Religion' and which expressed the 'undying hatred the world bears towards the Church'.⁴

¹ Freeman's Journal, 7 April 1877.

² Ibid., 20 January 1877.

³ Ibid., 28 April 1877.

⁴ Ibid., 2, 30 June 1877.

The sudden death of the 58 year old King Victor Emmanuel in Rome on 9 January 1878, surprised and pained many, even amongst those who had suffered at his hands. Before his death he said 'I die in the faith of the Catholic Church. I ask pardon of Pius IX. for whatever offence I may have given him in his person. I am not conscious of having committed any wrong towards the Church. I have done what I could to procure and maintain the unity of Italy.'¹ To the Herald the king's life was a protest against 'the doctrine that it is within the scope of ecclesiastical power to define the boundaries of civil authority',² The Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald feared that his death would cause a revolution to restore the temporal power, but could scarcely believe 'that Germany and England would allow Italy to be lost to freedom'.³ The Freeman's Journal, which regarded Victor Emmanuel as the 'incestuous enemy' of Pio Nono⁴ and lamented that he had set his children 'such an example as would make a street-walker blush', was nonetheless happy to know that he died 'what he had been at heart - a

¹ S.M.H., 11 March 1878.

² Ibid.

³ Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald, 26 January (Sydney, 1878).

⁴ Freeman's Journal, 29 December 1877.

Catholic'.¹ Pio Nono had long been accustomed to writing to that son whom he repeatedly told 'I love you with all my heart',² and to whom Victor Emmanuel concluded his letters with 'Your most affectionate son in Christ'.³ When he heard the king was dying he sent a priest with power to absolve him from the censures he had incurred, and thus be enabled to receive the last sacraments.⁴

In the last weeks of his life Pio Nono decided to restore the hierarchy in Scotland. Unlike the restoration of the English hierarchy twenty eight years before it caused little comment, although the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Edinburgh was warned by Principal Rainy 'There was no doubt that the Church of Rome was a Church whose ambitions were to dominate the world, to be temporarily as well as spiritually supreme....'⁵ The Weekly Review considered the proposed step an insult and advised 'Do away with the temporal power of the Papacy,

1

Ibid., 26 January 1878.

2

Pio Nono to Victor Emmanuel, 10 March 1865. In Pirri, La Questione Romana, part 2, 1864-1870. I Documenti, p.52.

3

Victor Emmanuel, to Pio Nono, 5 April 1865. Ibid., p.63.

4

See E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, p.328.

5

Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald, 11 May 1878.

and the Papacy would fall. Popery is not religion, but an earthly power.'¹ The restoration took place in March, which saved Pio Nono from proffering this final insult to Scotland. In Sydney the Freeman's Journal rejoiced at the lack of opposition, because it proved how things had changed since 1851.²

'His Holiness the Pope died at 3 o'clock today in the Vatican.'³ The date was 7 February 1878 and it was left to Cardinal Pecci, his successor two weeks later, to tap his forehead with the silver hammer while calling him by his baptismal name, Johannes-Maria. In Melbourne the Reverend D.T. Taylor exulted 'The Pope is dead. Amen. Hallelujah!' and pronounced his epitaph with phrases such as 'an immoral fashionable flop', 'a libertine' and 'a curse to mankind'.⁴ Pastor Daniel Allen in Sydney caused

1 Ibid., 9 March 1878.

2 Freeman's Journal, 23 February 1878.

3 S.M.H., 12 February 1878.

4 See H.W. Cleary, The Orange Society, 6th ed. (Melbourne, 1897), p.158. 'The most shocking instance of coarse abuse of the Popes which has ever come under the writer's notice is a paean of rejoicing at the death of Pius IX.' This despite a poem on the Church and the papacy, p.153, with lines, e.g.

'Harlot! cease thy midnight rambles
Henceforth sit in hellish shambles
Orge, ghoul of Papacy!'

a riot in Hyde Park with his soliloquy on 'the late pope',¹ The Herald, which had followed Pio Nono through 32 years without allowing even the insignificant to escape its columns, found no space for an editorial at his death. It granted that 'no one who has lived during the last half century has done more, and few have done as much to attract or to repel mankind'.² The South Australian Advertiser was glad that Pio Nono was the last of the pope-kings and hoped that his successor realised that he 'must be content to rule as the spiritual head of the Roman Church'.³ The Australian Witness thought that Pio Nono left 'the Papacy in critical times, with claims as lofty as ever, and with a homage almost divine yielded by Roman Catholics'. Both factors proved how much 'the minds of men can be blinded by error'.⁴ To James Fullerton, 'The History of Mahomet, Brigham Young and Pius the Ninth [demonstrated] the weakness and infatuation of men',⁵ while the plea of Vaughan

1

S.M.H., 21 March 1878. The Herald was ill-pleased with the pastor for his lack of manners, and with his Catholic hearers for theirs.

2

Ibid., 12 February 1878.

3

South Australian Advertiser, 11 February 1878.

4

Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald, 16 February 1878.

5

Ibid., 23 February 1878.

to Catholics to pray for the pope's soul proved the evil of 'Praying for the Dead'.¹

In the Melbourne Review David Blair wrote an article in April 1878 entitled 'The Last of the Popes'.² He conceded that Pio Nono, 'like Nero and Louis the Fifteenth' began well, but overall it was a disastrous reign, 'a dismal drama of intrigue, treachery and murder'. As for the papacy 'Happily for the world, it has fallen, and fallen for ever.'³ When D.F. Barry, O.S.B. replied with an article on 'The Late Pope', he asked 'What bigot, ranter, or anarchist, but has been telling the world this for centuries?'.⁴

In St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 'accompanying sobs could be heard throughout the church'⁵ while the Requiem was sung for Pio Nono. His life 'of trial, of suffering, of sacrifice, of almost unbroken conflict,⁶ was seen by

1

Ibid., 2 March 1878.

2

David Blair, 'The Last of the Popes' in The Melbourne Review, vol.III, no.10, April 1878, pp.204-14.

3

Ibid., p.206, p.214.

4

Ibid., D.F. Barry, 'The Late Pope', vol.III, no.11, July 1878, p.260.

5

Freeman's Journal, 16 February 1878.

6

Ibid.

Vaughan as having had three distinctive triumphs - the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus of Errors and the Vatican Council.¹ When the new Prefect of Propaganda wrote to Vaughan in May he hoped that the joy of the people in hearing that Leo was pope would be 'equal to the sorrow caused everywhere by the loss of the immortal Pontiff Pius IX'.²

Some time between 1875 and 1878 an unknown hand in Australia wrote a poem which, regardless of its intrinsic qualities as poetry, nonetheless summed up in its own way the sentiments produced in Australian Catholicism by that combination of historical circumstances which had blended to make a Pio Nono:³

SAINT PETER'S CHAINS : A Ballad

Ye Catholics of Australia,
Who live at home at ease,
Oh, listen to the tale of one
From far beyond the seas.

I come from Italy's fair plains,
And from beloved Rome,
To tell the Holy Father's griefs
To those who sit at home.

¹ Ibid., 23 February 1878.

² S.A.A., Simeoni to Vaughan, 21 May 1878.

³ 'The Fruits of Catholic and Protestant Doctrine', Tract No.8 of Catholic Truth Society (Sydney, n.d.), p.16.

This is no time for idle joys,
 Or for luxurious waste,
 While God's own foes are gathering round
 With mad and hellish haste.

They've robbed God's Vicar of his lands;
 They've robbed the Church of God;
 They've left a curse on every field
 Their guilty footsteps trod.

The Holy Pontiff calmly waits
 Within his palace walls,
 Till by his prayers, and with your aid,
 His adversary falls.

The tiara that binds his brow,
 (Now white with age) appears
 A triple crown of martyrdom,
 And jewelled with his tears.

The white robe of his prelacy,
 Whose state has now grown dim,
 Seems that the King of Sorrows wore,
 And makes him more like Him.

And, like Him too, his royal heart
 Forgives the wicked hands
 That strip him of his dignities,
 And rob him of his lands.

But, injured, outraged, pillaged, there
 He grandly sits and waits
 Till his true sons with love and aid
 Shall throng his palace gates.

In memory of Jesus, then;
 In memory of God;
 In memory of Calvary's height,
 And of its blood-stained sod;

In memory of Mary's tears,
 And of Eternal Love;
 Of all we prize in our dear Faith,
 And all we hope above;

Oh! let us each, with loving speed,
 And with large hearted gift,
 From out our stores our eager hand,
 Dripping with offerings lift.

For Peter wears Saint Peter's Chains,
 Forged by the Church's foe;
 And like his Lord, the Church's Head
 Is still the "Man of Woe".

Our tears, our vows, our gifts we bring,
 O Holy Sire! to thee
 And lay them at the sacred feet
 Of thy Supremacy.

That when to each the storm shall come,
 Of Death's uncertain sea,
 True children of the Church of Rome,
 And blest, dear Sire! by thee.

In Peter's bark, that cannot sink,
 On which we shipped our store,
 We calmly on the waves of faith
 Drift to the wished-for shore.

The Australian Church at the death of Pio Nono had taken on the shape in which a group of men, making full use of the historical circumstances, had moulded her. When Pio Nono came to the throne of Peter in 1846 the Catholic Church in the Australian colonies lacked direction and like a young sapling it swayed with the winds of change that blew variously from England, Ireland, Rome and Sydney itself. Thirty two years later its direction had been firmly set Romewards, and that direction has scarcely varied into the present day. The metropolitan sees of the Australian Church, with the exception of Perth, are all filled today by Romans trained in the same institution which gave Cullen to Ireland, and through Cullen gave so many of the hierarchy of Pio Nono's day to Australia - the

Urban College of Propaganda Fide. Despite the long episcopate of Daniel Mannix in Melbourne, during which the tinges of Maynooth's Gallicanism, so abhorred by Cullen, began to show themselves faintly, Rome has had no difficulty in redressing the balance by the appointment of James Knox, in some senses another Cullen, to the Archbishopric of Melbourne.¹

To say that the direction of the Australian Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century was Romewards is not to deny the qualities which also made her Irish. Some of those qualities were deplored at the time,² and have been made much of since. The main charge

1

Like Cullen, Knox spent a long period of fifteen years in Rome and then worked for another fifteen as a papal diplomat in various countries before returning to Australia in 1967.

2

Some examples: Makinson to Gregory, 22 February 1867. 'I do wish Rome would do something to have the priests that are sent out from Ireland better furnished with a little ordinary refinement, and accomplishment and knowledge of the world,....' See M. Shanahan, Henry Gregory, p.229. In London, allegedly, Wiseman did not want Irish priests because they were 'totally deficient in the accomplishments suited to the clerical character in England, however fitted they may be for the half-savage people they were bred among. They are good enough he says, "pro agrestibus et sylvestribus"'. S.M.H., 10 January 1848. Antonelli told Odo Russell in 1869 'that the Irish character was incomprehensible to him. He knew no nationality so difficult, so hopeless or so disagreeable to deal with....' See Noel Blakiston (ed.), The Roman Question (London, 1962) p.363. Antonelli was probably saying the same to Cullen about the English!

against the Irish Church was that it lacked an intellectual ferment. This lack was evident likewise in Australia in what became so rapidly a Church made up in the main of Irishmen. Now while this charge so frequently laid at the door of the Irish is without doubt true, it must be remembered that the Irish were not singular in that field, though they perhaps had better reason than most, due to the state of things in Ireland. It was a fact that, 'after 1789 every major Catholic institution of learning in Northern Europe - and often in the South as well - was seized by the state. Originality, and imagination in Catholic studies were at a low ebb in the eighteenth century; but in the nineteenth Catholic studies were virtually wiped out'.¹ It was the French Revolution that made Maynooth a necessity and prior to that time the majority of the Irish clergy were educated on the continent. Maynooth had not had time to acquire any real status as a centre of Catholic ecclesiastical learning by the middle of the nineteenth century and the fate of the Catholic University in Ireland is well known.

On the other hand, of course, there were good reasons why the clergy at least, were unable to engage in the

1

M. Novak, 'After the Council', Quadrant, no.38, vol.IX, no.6 (Sydney, 1965), p.61.

luxury of higher studies here in Australia, even if, as was frequently the case, they had the inclination for them. The case of George Francis Dillon was one example. After leaving Australia he became a competent historian, but while working as a priest in the Armidale district in 1863 he wrote a letter home in which he said 'I am serving a parish as large as two provinces of Ireland and containing a scattered population of about three thousand Catholics. I am scarcely ever off the road...and often away from home for two months at a time. I do all my journeys on horseback and many a day I do sixty miles in the saddle....'¹ Dillon's case was the rule rather than the exception. Besides the ever present necessity of caring for the people in their charge, the Irish clergy had the task of building the material fabric of a church from the very ground up. Whether the emphasis they laid on the pastoral and the material to the detriment of the intellectual was mistaken is a matter of opinion.² But it is necessary to understand

1

R. Wynne, 'Dillon of Balmain' in Australian Catholic Record, vol.XXVII, no.3 (Sydney, July 1951), p.201.

2

A Frenchman, Achille Lemire, who came out in 1888 saw the Irish bishops at work amongst their people. He wrote home telling his brother how he visited the cathedral in Melbourne and found Archbishop Carr preparing a group of children for confirmation. In Ballarat he noted that Bishop Moore heard confessions every Saturday and feast day and, 'The worker and the son of the people, as well as
(continued next page)

the reasons why such a decision seemed the most viable one in the circumstances.

On the positive side the factor that marked off Irish Catholicism as different from the Latin or Roman variety was the retention by the people of the basic elements of the Catholic faith.¹ The Irish practised their faith through attendance at Mass and the reception of the Sacraments, and, in the main, they lacked the anti-clericalism, so evident in other Catholic countries.² It must be conceded that to a certain degree there was an element of reaction against the dominant state Church in Ireland during the centuries preceding Catholic Emancipation and the disestablishment of the Anglican Church. This was a unifying reaction against what was frequently persecution, sometimes bloody, and always injustice as the majority of the Irish people never became

² (continued from page 314)

the great lady and the very wealthy man, can have a conversation with him.' Lemire's conclusion - 'In this country here, the bishops and the archbishops lead a life which is totally apostolic.' A. Lemire, D'Irlande en Australie (Lille, 1890), p.165.

¹ 'Religious feeling lies very deeply in the Irish character and contains a singularly small infusion of superstition... Among Catholics they are early Christians' from C. Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, third series, Religious Influences, vol.7, pp.246-7 in J.A. Jackson, The Irish in Britain (London, 1963), p.144.

² Fenianism, especially in its anti-clerical content, was not characteristic of Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century.

Protestant. Nevertheless Irish adhesion to Catholicism was also a matter of the spirit, of faith itself, as well as a matter of the emotions. It is likewise certain that the long period of suffering for the Catholic Church in Ireland built bonds of unity between the Irish people and their priesthood that prevented the growth of the anti-clericalism so prevalent on the continent, where the hierarchy and clergy were frequently part of the establishments that oppressed the people. It was nonsense for Gavazzi to say that the priests were the soul of the Latin,¹ it would not have been nonsense for him to have said that the priests were the soul of the Celt.

These positive elements of Catholicism the Irish brought with them to Australia - faith, the practice of the faith, and a bond of unity between bishops, priests and people. Once the Irish in Australia were given their own bishops and priests, and this happened quickly, the stage was set for the hierarchy to direct that Australian Irish Church Romewards and the historical circumstances, anti-popery here in Australia and the events of Pio Nono's reign, helped a hierarchy which was itself basically Roman, to cement those bonds. What were the results of

1

Freeman's Journal, 6 May 1854 gave as an example of Gavazzi's eloquence whilst in America, 'de priests! dey are de soul of de Latin....'

this Romanization of the Catholic Church in Australia?

There was naturally a sense of strict dependence upon the Holy See that manifested itself in matters ranging from the territorial divisions of the Church in this country to the appointment of bishops, the continuation of Australia's position as a missionary Church under Propaganda Fide to the simplest matters of canonical procedure,¹ and finally the policy on education itself. From even the little that has been said on the latter subject in the foregoing pages the question arises as to the degree to which educational policy stemmed from a desire for conformity with Roman attitudes rather than from a realistic assessment of the local situation.

Then there was a ready acceptance of Roman pronouncements on the matters of faith and morals without any serious attempt to analyse their content. The Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus and the dogma of Infallibility may

1

Polding wrote to McEncroe from the English College, Rome, 20 May (no year given, but probably 1854) about a marriage case which he had discussed with two Roman theologians, Perrone and Cardella, at McEncroe's request. The manner in which McEncroe submitted the case and the fact that Polding actually put it forward in such a form is indicative of the lack of specialized knowledge of Canon Law possessed by either Polding or McEncroe. Perrone and Cardella noted on the envelope containing the case that they presented their respects to His Grace but 'as for the case, as it is, it is useless to propose it'. Copy of Polding's letter in McEncroe Papers in the possession of Archbishop E. O'Brien, Manly.

indeed have been the crowning glories of Pio Nono's reign, but the manner of their acceptance in the Australian Church indicated the degree of passivity in the face of Rome with which the young Church was imbued, and to which it became accustomed. It is not surprising therefore that there was a lack of initiative within the Church and an acceptance of the status quo on the grounds that the people went to Mass and received the Sacraments while the children went increasingly to Catholic schools. What more could be desired from Catholicism than this, it was thought, especially when it could be pointed out that in the Latin countries attendance at Mass and reception of the Sacraments was minimal, while nothing like the Australian system of Catholic education was being achieved?

Finally the intellectual sterility that is the inevitable result of a form of absolute dependence was the most marked characteristic of the Catholic Church throughout this period, as indeed it has been until quite recent times. Any real intellectual ferment within the Church had its origins with the rise of the lay apostolate in the thirties of this century. It is not surprising that it centered around the person of Archbishop Mannix who possessed little, and indeed rejected, the quality of Romanità, at least insofar as its negative aspects were concerned.

One last point can be made. While it may be relatively easy to pinpoint the negative results of the policy of Romanization, it is difficult to estimate just what positive value lay in the loyalty to the Holy See that the Roman trained bishops of the nineteenth century inculcated. Perhaps it may best be summed up by saying that only in our own day will it be possible for that loyalty to be fully realized, provided it issues forth in adherence to the mind of the Church as expressed through the second Vatican Council, rather than to the mind of the Roman Curia. Until the Vatican Council and the advent of Pope John, the Curia was the source from which sprang the direction and consequent sterility of large segments of Catholic religious and social life from the time of Pio Nono onwards.

It has been impossible to travel that long road from 1846 to 1878 in the company of Pio Nono and Polding, Cullen and Goold, Cavour and Parkes, Antonelli and Lang, Garibaldi and Buchanan, without understanding something of the convictions that motivated them and the events that shaped them. That they in their turn all helped to mould a Church which was impetuous and timid, servile yet unflinching, Benedictine but then secular, Irish but above all Roman, is simply an illustration of how institutions are no more than a reflection of their moulders and their milieu.

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 - (v) Serra to Bernard Smith.
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